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THE *CONVENIENTIA* IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES*

Adam J. Kosto

THE written agreement known as the *convenientia* has attracted increasing interest as a characteristic institution of Mediterranean Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. *Convenientiae* from this period concerning the settlement of aristocratic disputes and the tenure of castles are perhaps most familiar; these play a prominent role in the debates over the “transformation of the year 1000.” But *convenientiae* also address a bewildering variety of the more ordinary concerns of more ordinary individuals, such as terms for simple plots of land, inheritance settlements, and marriage contracts.¹ Similarly, while they survive in the greatest numbers in the rich archives of Catalonia and in cartularies from the Midi, examples from beyond these regions suggest that the *convenientia* may be a much more geographically widespread phenomenon than initially thought.² Just as a better understanding of the *convenientia* requires looking beyond the most conspicuous types from the most notable regions, research must also venture beyond the temporal confines of the central Middle Ages. Conclusions drawn from the *convenientia* about social change in

* An earlier version of this study formed Chapter 1 of my unpublished dissertation, “Making and Keeping Agreements in Medieval Catalonia, 1000–1200” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1996). I would like to thank Professors Thomas N. Bisson, Michael McCormick, and Charles Donahue, as well as the two anonymous readers for *Mediaeval Studies*, for their comments and assistance.

¹ Most recent study of the *convenientia* stems from Paul Ourliac, “La ‘convenientia,’ ” in *Études d’histoire du droit privé offertes à Pierre Petot* (Paris, 1959), 413–22. See also Francesco Calasso, *La “convenientia”: Contributo alla storia del contratto in Italia durante l’alto medioevo*, Biblioteca della Rivista di storia del diritto italiano 9 (Bologna, 1932); Pierre Bonnassie, “Les conventions féodales dans la Catalogne du XI^e siècle,” *Annales du Midi* 80 (1968): 529–61; and idem, *La Catalogne du milieu du X^e à la fin du XI^e siècle: Croissance et mutations d’une société*, 2 vols., Publications de l’Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, ser. A, 23, 29 (Toulouse, 1975–76), 2:566–69 and 736–39. For the place of the *convenientia* in the debate over the “transformation of the year 1000,” see Dominique Barthélemy, “La mutation féodale a-t-elle eu lieu? (Note critique),” *Annales E. S. C.* 47 (1992): 767–77 at 773; and T. N. Bisson, “The ‘Feudal Revolution,’ ” *Past & Present* 142 (1994): 6–42 at 41.

² See, for example, *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Vendômois*, ed. A. de Trémault (Paris, 1893), nos. 16, 32, etc., pp. 26–27, 51–54, etc.; and Olivier Guyotjeannin, “Recherches sur le développement de la seigneurie épiscopale du nord du royaume de France (X^e–début XIII^e s.): Les exemples de Beauvais et Noyon,” 2 vols. (thèse de 3^e cycle, Paris IV, 1981), 2:449–51.

the eleventh and twelfth centuries depend on an accurate description of the early medieval situation.

The term *convenientia* may be found in many early medieval documents, often with a purely general meaning, but at other times denoting specific legal forms or institutions. Can a connection be drawn between these early medieval *convenientiae* and their later counterparts? Words change meaning over time, and the persistence of a term does not necessarily indicate the persistence of an institution—a fallacy accepted by many who argue for continuity between particular late imperial structures and their early medieval analogues, or between early and later medieval ones.³ But such persistence is suggestive and merits investigation. Because most studies approach the *convenientia* from the perspective of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the early medieval period has received only cursory attention.⁴ This has permitted widely differing conclusions. Thus one student of the subject has described the *convenientiae* of the central Middle Ages as “highly original in their form, and without antecedents in Roman or barbarian law.”⁵ Others, however, have drawn explicit links between the early medieval *convenientia* and its later manifestations.⁶ Which view is correct? Did a written agreement called a *convenientia* exist in the early Middle Ages? If it did, what was its function, and is there evidence for institutional continuity?

³ Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford, 1994), 12–14, discusses these problems. The continuity question remains a subject of vigorous debate; see Chris Wickham, “La chute de Rome n’aura pas lieu,” *Le Moyen Âge* 99 (1993): 107–26.

⁴ Patrick J. Geary, “Extra-Judicial Means of Conflict Resolution,” in *La giustizia nell’alto medioevo (secoli V–VIII)*, 2 vols., Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo 42 (Spoleto, 1995), 1:569–605 at 575–85, is a notable exception. As this work came to my attention at an advanced stage in research on the present study, some of what follows covers similar ground, though with different emphases. I would like to thank Professor Geary for allowing me to read a prepublication version of his article and for additional helpful suggestions on this subject.

⁵ Bonnassie, “Les conventions féodales,” 529. Cf. Ourliac, “La ‘convenientia,’ ” 413–14 (although see also 420 n. 3). Ourliac has since insisted on this point: “Nous persistons à croire que, même si le mot apparaît à l’époque mérovingienne, la *convenientia* concerne à partir du X^e siècle des accords particulièrement solennels dont les effets sont susceptibles de se prolonger dans le temps . . .” (“La tradition romaine dans les actes toulousains des X^e et XI^e siècles,” *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 60 [1982]: 577–88 at 579 n. 5).

⁶ Michel Rouche, “Les survivances antiques dans trois cartulaires du Sud-Ouest de la France aux X^e et XI^e siècles,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 23 (1980): 93–108 at 95–96. The connection may be found throughout the work of Élisabeth Magnou-Nortier, e.g., “La foi et les *convenientiae*: Enquête lexicographique et interprétation sociale,” in *Littérature et société au Moyen Âge: Actes du colloque des 5 et 6 mai 1978*, ed. Danielle Buschinger (Amiens, 1978), 249–62 at 254–59.

As these are fundamentally questions about the intersection of law and the written word in the early medieval period, charters and law codes are the obvious sources in which to search for answers. In the case of charters, however, very few examples survive before the second half of the eighth century. This fact cannot be explained by the simple suggestion that there were fewer agreements put into writing that could survive. The law of contracts familiar to a classical Roman lawyer had broken down to such an extent that a document, once a minor form of proof of an oral contract, might represent the contract itself.⁷ Meanwhile, the earliest formula-books confirm that written agreements were common in a wide variety of early medieval transactions.⁸ The reason for the lack of evidence lies elsewhere: first, in the fact that papyrus was less durable than parchment, which replaced it as the support of choice for documents; second, and perhaps more importantly, in the final collapse of the late antique bureaucracy, a fact that made the preservation of written proof of transactions by ecclesiastical institutions all the more important.⁹ The term *convenientia* appears in only five charters from before 700; one is a forgery, and of the remaining four, three are known only from copies made at least two and a half centuries after the fact.

Law codes are only slightly more informative. *Convenientia* appears only once in the *Corpus iuris civilis*, with a generic meaning. It is not to be found in the *Codex Theodosianus*. References to an agreement called a *convenientia* are more common in later legal texts, both the compilations of Roman vulgar law and the Germanic codes. The precise meaning of the term, however, varies from text to text and situation to situation, and it is difficult to associate it with any one particular institution.¹⁰

By supplementing these materials with the wide range of other contemporary sources—capitularies, records of councils, formula-books, histories, and hagiographical texts—it is possible to develop a broad understanding of the semantic range of the term *convenientia*. The present study employs literary

⁷ L. Stouff, "Étude sur la formation des contrats par l'écriture dans le droit des formules du V^e au XII^e siècle," *Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et étranger* 11 (1877): 249–87, esp. 249–68.

⁸ See, e.g., Ian Wood, "Administration, Law and Culture in Merovingian Gaul," in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, 1990), 63–81, esp. 64–66.

⁹ See Peter Classen, "Fortleben und Wandel spätromischen Urkundenwesens im frühen Mittelalter," in *Recht und Schrift im Mittelalter*, ed. Peter Classen, Vorträge und Forschungen 23 (Sigmaringen, 1977), 13–54, esp. 16–17.

¹⁰ Ernst Levy does not discuss the *convenientia* as an institution in either *West Roman Vulgar Law: The Law of Property*, *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society* 29 (Philadelphia, 1951) or *Weströmisches Vulgarrecht: Das Obligationenrecht*, *Forschungen zum römischen Recht* 7 (Weimar, 1956).

sources to demonstrate the problems of interpretation of the term in early medieval texts; other types of records will show the variety of meanings that *convenientia* had in this period. This provides the background for a close examination of the private charters that first appear in significant numbers in the second half of the eighth century. These reveal that scribes used the term *convenientia* in certain specific contexts—contexts similar to those in which the term appears in eleventh- and twelfth-century documents from Catalonia and the Midi. Furthermore, although the term does not always refer to a written instrument, the early medieval sources provide ample evidence of the existence of a document—a diplomatic form—called a *convenientia*. Neither of these findings proves, of course, institutional or formulaic continuity. The state of the evidence prohibits such a demonstration. It is possible that eleventh-century Catalonian and Languedocian scribes independently developed analogous solutions to analogous problems. The similarities between the early and later medieval *convenientia* offer strong circumstantial evidence, however, for an uninterrupted notarial tradition.

I. PROBLEMS OF INTERPRETATION: THE EXAMPLE OF MEROVINGIAN HISTORICAL WRITING

Three overlapping problems complicate the study of the term *convenientia* in early medieval texts: the semantic range of the term itself, variations in orthography that promote confusion of the term with words spelled or pronounced in similar ways, and the existence of a number of additional terms with comparable meanings. The semantic problem is the most serious. Classical and post-classical Latin writers, from Cicero on, used the word *convenientia* (derived from the verb *convenire*, “to come together”) in a general sense to mean “understanding,” “concord,” “harmony,” or “coherence.” It is found with this meaning in Tertullian, Augustine, Macrobius, and Orosius, as well as in its sole appearance in the *Corpus iuris civilis*, in a constitution, dated 466, of the eastern emperor Leo I on the subject of sanctuary in churches.¹¹ *Convenientia* also served as a technical term, most commonly in rhetorical and scientific

¹¹ *Thesaurus linguae latinae* (Leipzig, 1900–) [TLL], s.v. *convenientia*, 1; Albert Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens* (Turnhout, 1954), s.v. *convenientia*, 1, 3; *Corpus iuris civilis* (ed. Paul Krueger, Theodor Mommsen, et al., 3 vols. [Berlin, 1872–95]), C. 1, 12, 6, 10: “Inter haec autem, quae sedulo ad religiosi oecnomi sive defensoris ecclesiae sollicitudinem curamque respiciunt, erit etiam illud observandum, ut singulorum intra ecclesias confugientium personas causasque incessanter conquirant, denique iudices vel eos, ad quos causae et personae pertinent, instantius instruant, ut aequitatis convenientiam diligentius exsequantur” (2:67).

texts (e.g., Bede, Vitruvius, and Boethius).¹² In works of the late antique and early medieval periods, however, it appears more and more frequently with the sense of "an agreement," such as a legal agreement between two individuals on a particular matter. Here, *convenientia* is simply a Late and Vulgar Latin doublet of *conventio*.¹³ The earliest cited instances of this type are in the works of Siculus Flaccus, Tertullian, Gregory of Tours, and Isidore of Seville, the last in his book of the *Etymologies* devoted to legal terminology: "A purchase and sale is an exchange of things and a contract arising from an agreement."¹⁴ Although this legal sense quickly became more widespread, the general sense remained common, and it is often difficult to tell which meaning a scribe intended the word to convey.

Orthography presents the second problem. Variant manuscript readings indicate the conflation of two and possibly even three different Latin words: *convenire*, *conivere*, and *cohibere*. The first, with a root *venire* and meaning "to come together," is the etymologically true base for words meaning agreement. The second, related to modern English "connivance" and modern German *neigen*, means literally "to wink at," and by extension, "to assent to."¹⁵ The third verb, *co(n)hibere*, means, generally, "to contain" or "to restrain"; its nominal forms do appear in instances where they must mean "agreement," though more rarely than those of *conivere*.¹⁶ The conflation of these three terms has both phonological and semantic causes. Because of the common Vulgar Latin permutation of *b* for *v*, and the even more prevalent unaspirated *h*, *coniventia* and

¹² *TLL*, s.v. *convenientia*, 1.

¹³ Veikko Väänänen, *Introduction au latin vulgaire*, 3d ed., Bibliothèque française et romane, ser. A: Manuels et études linguistiques, 6 (Paris, 1981), §184; Yakov Malkiel, *Development of the Latin Suffixes "-antia" and "-entia" in the Romance Languages, with Special Regard to Ibero-Romance*, University of California Publications in Linguistics 1.4 [pp. 41–188] (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1945), 43–50; Calasso, *La "convenientia"*, 45; and Max Bonnet, *Le latin de Grégoire de Tours* (Paris, 1890), 463.

¹⁴ *TLL*, s.v. *convenientia*, 2; Charles [Dufresne, sieur] du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, ed. L. Favre, 10 vols. (Niort, 1883–87), s.v. *convenientia*, 1; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX* (ed. W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols. [Oxford, 1911]), V.24.23: "Emtio et venditio est rerum commutatio atque contractus ex convenientia veniens."

¹⁵ *TLL*, s.vv. *conventia*, *coniveo*. The term appears with this meaning in the *Corpus iuris civilis*; see H. Heumann and E. Seckel, *Handlexikon zu den Quellen des römischen Rechts*, 9th ed. (Jena, 1907; rpt. Graz, 1958), s.v. *conivere*, 2.

¹⁶ *TLL*, s.v. *cohibeo*; Heumann and Seckel, *Handlexikon*, s.v. *cohibere*. It is used with the meaning "to restrain" by Gregory of Tours in the *Liber in gloria confessorum* (ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum [SSRM] 1.2 [Hannover, 1885], 744–820 [1969 ed., 294–370]), 74: "cum qua spiritalis dilectionis conhibentia, non luxoria copulatur" (792[342].3). Bonnet (*Le latin*, 463), noting a possible substitution of "conhibentiam" for "coniventiam" earlier in the same text (see n. 18 below), suggests that this may be an error as well, but the opposition *conhibentia/luxoria* seems clear.

con(h)ibentia were phonologically identical.¹⁷ In addition, “to connive” is “to agree to let happen” or “to be in secret agreement,” and to restrain oneself from acting in a given situation might amount to connivance, or at least assent.¹⁸ But did medieval scribes appreciate these nuances? Should a word, for example, with a spelling closer to *coniventia* than to *convenientia* be read as indicating an agreement with sinister overtones, or should it be interpreted as a scribal error? Did three distinct words continue to exist in the sixth century? In the eighth? In the tenth? The vagaries of manuscript textual transmission only complicate these questions.

The third source of difficulty in these texts is the variety of words used to indicate agreement. In the eleventh- and twelfth-century Catalonian evidence, *convenientia*—that particular word with that particular spelling—appears very consistently as a designation for documents recording certain types of agreements. That consistency does not hold for earlier periods. Is it possible to distinguish between *convenientia*, *conventio*, and *conventus/conventum*? In cases where it is clear that these terms are used in a general sense, the question is moot. But where the meaning may be technical (*carta convenientiae* or *carta conventionis*, for example), is the scribe’s choice relevant? And how do these terms relate to a group of words with the roots **pak-* (<*paciscor*, “to agree”) and **pag-* (<*pango*, “to bind, fetter”): *pax*, *pactum/pactus*, *pactio*, etc.¹⁹ In Roman law, for instance, *pactum* originally had the technical meaning of an agreement not to sue, but it later came to designate more generally any agreement not couched in a form recognized as a contract.²⁰ To these may be added terms such as *amicitia*, *placitum*, *foedus*, *finis*, and *concordia*, also common in

¹⁷ Väänänen, *Introduction*, §§89, 101, and 107.

¹⁸ E.g., Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria confessorum* 62 (ed. Krusch, 785[335].5–6): “‘Si,’ inquit, ‘meo consilio conhinentiam praeberis, multa nobis haec ratio poterat luca deferre.’” Bonnet (*Le latin*, 463) cites a similar passage in the *Histories* (see n. 40 below) as evidence that this must be a scribal error for *coniventia*, but the passage remains ambiguous. Similarly, a letter of Pope Gelasius I (Philip Jaffé, S. Lowenfeld, et al., eds., *Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, 2d ed., 2 vols. [Leipzig, 1885–88], no. 622; text in E. Schwartz, *Publizistische Sammlungen zum acaianischen Schisma*, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung, n.s., 10 [Munich, 1934], 16–19): “itaque necesse est ut in illam recideret iusta lance sententiam quam cum suis successoribus per conuenientiam synodalem susceperat auctor erroris” (ed. Schwartz, 17.8–9). According to *TLL* (s.v. *convenientia*, 2), in some manuscripts the key word is written “conventionem,” while in others it is written “conniventiam”; Schwartz adds the variant “conuentiam.” The “connivance” of the synod in the error is clear, but “with the agreement of the synod” is a perfectly reasonable translation.

¹⁹ A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine: Histoire des mots*, 3d ed., 2 vols. (Paris, 1951), s.vv. **paco*, *pango*.

²⁰ Heumann and Seckel, *Handlexikon*, s.v. *pacisci*; and Barry Nicholas, *An Introduction to Roman Law* (Oxford, 1962), 191–92.

documentation of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. For these distinctions, careful attention to usage of regions, eras, and even individual authors and scribes is the only solution.

These three problems—generality, orthography, and variety—are best illustrated by an examination of the use of *convenientia* and related terms in early medieval narratives, especially in the work of Gregory of Tours. Gregory is a good case in the first instance because one scholar cites the appearance of the term *convenientia* [*sic*] in Gregory's writings as evidence of the roots of the tenth- and eleventh-century *convenientia* in Roman vulgar law.²¹ More significantly, however, the extensive survival of Gregory's works—in both volume and variety of manuscripts—allows for confirmatory examples drawn from a single writer, as well as comparisons across the genres of hagiography and history.²²

The specific passage in the *Histories* that supposedly establishes the *convenientia* as an early medieval institution describes the negotiations surrounding the proposed marriage between Riguntha, daughter of the Merovingian king Chilperic, and Reccared, son of the Visigothic king Leovigild. Gregory first mentions this plan in the context of more general descriptions of Leovigild's relatives, referring to Riguntha as betrothed to Reccared.²³ The explicit descriptions of the betrothal occur in book VI. In 582, Ansovald and Domigisel, who had been sent by Chilperic to Spain to look into the question of the dower (*dos*) promised to Princess Riguntha, returned empty-handed; negotiations had been obstructed by Leovigild's campaign against his eldest son Hermenegild.²⁴ After additional embassies with no apparent connection to the wedding plans, Chilperic's ambassadors again returned in 584,²⁵ and they were followed shortly thereafter by a mission from the Visigothic court:

²¹ Rouche, "Les survivances," 95–96.

²² Walter Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History* (Princeton, 1988), 112–234, and Martin Heinzelmann, *Gregor von Tours (538–594): "Zehn Bücher Geschichte," Historiographie und Gesellschaftskonzept im 6. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt, 1994) offer important reassessments of Gregory as an historical source. As Rudolf Buchner points out, because of the independent transmission of the historical and hagiographical works, consistency across genres makes it more likely (though by no means certain) that a particular usage can be traced back to Gregory himself (*Zehn Bücher Geschichten*, ed. and trans. Rudolf Buchner, 2 vols., *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters* 2–3 [Berlin, 1955–56], 1:xxxvii).

²³ Gregory of Tours, *Libri historiarum X* [*LH*] (ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH SSRM 1.1 [Hannover, 1951; rpt. 1965]), IV.38 and V.38: "Chilperici filiam dispensavit" (170.4); "Chilperici regis filiam dispensaverat" (244.4).

²⁴ *LH* VI.18.

²⁵ *LH* VI.18 and 33.

The ambassadors came once again from Spain, bearing gifts and accepting an agreement (*placitum*) with King Chilperic, that he should hand over his daughter in marriage to the son of King Leovigild according to an earlier *convenientia*. And then, with the agreement (*placitum*) given and everything dealt with thoroughly, the ambassador returned.²⁶

The spelling here—"convenientiam"—is a common variant in manuscripts of the *Histories*; other manuscripts offer for this passage "convenientiam," "conventiam," and "coniventia."²⁷ The context clarifies the meaning: the term refers to an open agreement, not a connivance. What was the nature of this agreement? The text mentions an earlier *convenientia*, but gives no indication as to when the marriage plans, under discussion for at least two years, acquired this designation; nor does it indicate whether the *convenientia* was a written document. Gregory does reveal, however, when the plans stopped being a *convenientia*: the parties reached an agreement (*placitum*) on the basis of this earlier convention. This agreement may, in fact, have been written: it was given ("dato placito") and accepted ("accipientes placitum"), and the acceptance is set up in parallel construction with the grant of presumably tangible gifts. If it was written, Gregory would seem to be drawing a distinction between a preliminary oral agreement, called a *convenientia*, and a final, written agreement, called a *placitum*.²⁸

²⁶ *LH* VI.34 (ed. Krusch and Levison, 304.15–19): "Legati iterum ab Hispania venerunt, deferentes munera et placitum accipientes cum Chilperico rege, ut filiam suam secundum convenientiam anteriorem filio regis Leuvichildi tradere deberet in matrimonio. Denique dato placito et omnia pertractata, legatus ille reversus est."

²⁷ Bonnet (*Le latin*, 463) suggests that Gregory's *convenientia* is not derived from *convenientia*, but rather from *coniventia*: "Le plus probable, c'est que c'est précisément *coniventia* qui a donné *convenientia*, soit par analogie (*conuenientia*: *conuenire* = *coniuientia*: *coniuire*), soit par une sorte de fausse étymologie. *Conuenientia* ne serait pas à proprement parler dérivé de *conuenire*; ce serait une altération de *coniuientia*, dont on aurait voulu faire, par une légère modification, le substantif verbal de *conuenire*." But cf. Väänänen, *Introduction*, §§50 and 81. The mention of variant readings is simply meant to illustrate the possible effects of semantic overlap on early medieval scribes. The manuscripts of the *Histories*, which I have not consulted directly, extend over five centuries. More detailed study of the habits of particular scribes would certainly add to this analysis—allowing, for example, a more precise account of the semantic and orthographical development of the term. One particular example is discussed below (nn. 36 and 43). Bruno Krusch addressed the variant readings of *convenientia/conuentia/coniventia*/etc., but purely as a question of orthography, without a consideration of context ("Die handschriftlichen Grundlagen der *Historia Francorum* Gregors von Tours," *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 27 [1932–33]: 673–757 at 717–18).

²⁸ *Placitum* here might also have the sense of "promise," or "undertaking"; see J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus*, ed. C. van de Kieft (Leiden, 1976; rpt. 1993), s.v. *placitum*, 4. Further discussions of embassies between the courts and the marriage plan do not provide additional information on these questions: *LH* VI.40, 45, 46; VII.15, 27, 35, 39; VIII.46; IX.1, 15, 16, 20, 34.

This argument rests on the questionable assumption that the much-maligned Gregory uses legal language precisely.²⁹ Another of his works, the *Miracles of Saint Andrew the Apostle*,³⁰ provides some support for this view. Narrating an episode in which Andrew stops a planned incestuous double marriage, Gregory describes the father of two boys as ratifying the marriage agreement: "These words pleased the brother, and having begun the alliance (*foedus*), they confirmed this *convenientia* through the dower that the father of the boys handed over."³¹ Here Gregory uses *convenientia* in precisely the same way, in precisely the same situation as in the *Histories*: a preliminary agreement in a marriage negotiation.³² Here, too, though, he juxtaposes *convenientia* with another term meaning agreement, *foedus*, and the precise relationship between the two is not evident.

The description in the *Histories* of a proposed agreement between the Franks and the Lombards presents additional support for this interpretation of *convenientia* as a preliminary agreement, but it also introduces further problems. In 589, Childebert marched his army into Italy and was met by legates from the Lombards offering gifts and proposing friendship (*amicitia*). Gregory continues:

Hearing these things, King Childebert sent to King Guntramn a legate who was to relate to [the king] those things that were offered by [the Lombards]. Not opposed to this *coniventia*, [Guntramn] advised that a peace (*pax*) be confirmed.³³

²⁹ Bonnet (*Le latin*, 244–47) provides no analysis but lays the foundation for research on this interesting question. Edward James's stimulating study of the peace-making role of Merovingian bishops, based on Gregory, does not directly address the problem of language ("‘Beati pacifici’: Bishops and the Law in Sixth-Century Gaul," in *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West*, ed. John Bossy [Cambridge, 1983], 25–46). On Gregory's latinity generally, see also Goffart, *Narrators of Barbarian History*, 145 ff.; and *Zehn Bücher Geschichten*, ed. Buchner, 1:xxxvi–xliii.

³⁰ *Liber de miraculis beati Andreae Apostoli* (ed. Max Bonnet, MGH SSRM 1.2:371–96 [821–46]); see *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, 2 vols., and H. Fros, ed., *Novum supplementum*, *Subsidia hagiographica* 6, 70 (Brussels, 1898–1901, 1986) [BHL], no. 430. On the authorship, see n. 32 below.

³¹ *Liber de miraculis beati Andreae Apostoli* 11 (ed. Bonnet, 382.7–9): "Placuit hic sermo fratri, et inito foedere, obligaverunt hanc convenientiam [*var.*: convenientiam; conventionem] per arrabone quod pater puerorum misit."

³² The attribution of the *Liber de miraculis beati Andreae Apostoli* to Gregory is disputed; the congruence of usage demonstrated here adds support to the argument in favor of his authorship. See Klaus Zelzer, "Zur Frage des Autors der *Miracula B. Andreae Apostoli* und zur Sprache des Gregor von Tours," *Grazer Beiträge: Zeitschrift für die klassische Altertumswissenschaft* 6 (1977): 217–41.

³³ *LH IX.29* (ed. Krusch and Levison, 447.19–448.2): "Haec Childeberthus rex audiens, ad Gunthchramnum regem legatus dirigit, qui ea quae ab his offerebantur in eius auribus intimeret. Sed ille non obuius de hac coniventia, consilium ad confirmandam pacem praebuit."

Once again Gregory juxtaposes related terms: *pax*, *amicitia*, and *convenientia*. *Amicitia* and *pax* can support general readings—"friendship" and "peace"—although the fact that the *pax* is something to be confirmed hints at a more specific sense, such as "treaty" or "alliance." Nevertheless, as in the two cases just considered, Gregory uses the term *convenientia* to indicate a preliminary step in a process of negotiation. The Lombards offered terms, but nothing was settled. Childebert communicated the information to Guntramn, who was not opposed to the agreement, at this stage still referred to as a *convenientia*. Guntramn told the legate to advise Childebert to confirm not the *convenientia*, but the *pax*.

Conven(i)entia appears elsewhere in manuscripts of the *Histories* only in variant readings, where "connivance," "restraint," or "assent" usually seem more appropriate interpretations.³⁴ These cases demonstrate, however, how easily phonetically similar and semantically linked terms may be confused. One instance occurs, again, in the context of a marriage, during a discussion of the character of Duke Rauching. Gregory tells the story of two of Rauching's servants who marry without his knowledge. When Rauching hears of this, he goes to the priest who had married them and demands their return. He tricks the priest into doing this with an equivocal oath and then buries the unfortunate couple alive, but together. It is in the oath itself that the term appears:

And he, after he had been silent for a long time considering his options, then turned to the priest, placed his hands on the altar and swore that, "They will never be separated by me, but rather I shall see to it that they continue in this union, since, although it was an annoyance to me that these things were done without the *coniventia* of my counsel, nonetheless I willingly embrace it, since they did not marry the servants of other people."³⁵

Despite the context, the word in question does not refer to a marriage contract of any kind, but rather to the "assent" of the duke, or (more likely) to the

Once again, the manuscripts offer alternate readings ("convenientia" and "convenientia"). If *coniventia* in Gregory's language does mean connivance, however, the choice of *coniventia* here seems incorrect; the parties were considering an alliance, not a plot. Bonnet (*Le latin*, 462 n. 2) reaches the same conclusion, but with different reasoning. On *obvius* meaning "opposed to," see Bonnet, *Le latin*, 280. The opposition implied by *sed* is problematic.

³⁴ E.g., *LH* v.14 (ed. Krusch and Levison, 208.6): "non recte eum a communione sine fratrum conibentia suspenderemus" (i.e., "assent"). Scribes had difficulty with this passage, as is evident from the number of variant readings: "conibentia," "conhibuentia," "convenientia," "conivent(c)ia," "couiuentia," "conbenentia," "convenencia," and "conventia."

³⁵ *LH* v.3 (ed. Krusch and Levison, 197.16–21): "At ille, cum diu ambiguis cogitatione siluisset, tandem conversus ad sacerdotem, posuit manus suas super altarium cum iuramento, dicens, quia: 'Numquam erunt a me separandi, sed potius ego faciam, ut in hac coniunctione permaneant, quia, quamquam mihi molestum fuerit, quod absque mei consilii coniventia [var.: conibentia; conuentia; convenienda; convenientia] ista sint gesta, illud tamen libens amplectur, quod nec hic ancillam alterius neque haec extranei servum acceperit.' "

“restraint” of his counsel (*con(h)ibentia*>*coniventia*).³⁶ This did not stop other scribes from rendering this word *convenientia*.

Similar problems appear in the text of the discussions between King Guntramn and his nephew Childebert following the death of Chilperic. Childebert’s legates attempted to convince Guntramn to open the city of Paris to him according to earlier agreements (*placita*).³⁷ Guntramn, however, accused Childebert of having entered a separate *written* agreement with Chilperic in order to cheat him (Guntramn) out of his lands. Guntramn showed the legates a subscribed copy of the agreement as proof, as well as a copy of his original agreement with Childebert:

behold, everything that you promised to me you forsook when you wrote a new agreement (*pactio*) with King Chilperic, in order to divide my cities between them after expelling me from the kingdom. Here are those agreements (*pactiones*)! Here are the subscriptions in your hands, by which you confirmed this *conibentia*! . . . Here are the agreements (*pactiones*) that were concluded between us.³⁸

Here *conibentia* is best read as “connivance,” with all of that word’s sinister connotations: the connivance, or plot, was enshrined in the *pactio*. It is easy to see, however, how *convenientia* might make sense in this case: the *pactio* could be viewed as putting into writing an unwritten agreement called a *conven(i)entia*. Indeed, one scribe does make this substitution. Once again, Gregory employs multiple words in referring to agreements. He labels the first agreement between Guntramn and Childebert a *placitum*, while for the later agreements he uses *pactio*. All were clearly in written form, but it is difficult to see a distinction between the two terms.³⁹

³⁶ Cf. *Leges Langobardorum* (ed. Friedrich Bluhme, MGH Leges [in folio] 4 [Hannover, 1868; rpt. Stuttgart, 1965]), Liutprand 139 (XXII.1): “Si haldius cuiuscumque haldiam alienam tulerit, aut servus ancilla, et antequam de ipso coniugio aliquam convenientia domini eorum inter se faciant . . .” (169.10–11). The scribe of the most complete manuscript of the *Histories*, a late eleventh-century Beneventan exemplar (Monte Cassino, Biblioteca dell’Abbazia 275; Krusch/Levison A1) writes “absque mei consilii *coniventia* ista *sit* gesta,” perhaps thinking of the “connivance” of the servants. On this manuscript, see n. 43 below.

³⁷ *LH* VII.6 (ed. Krusch and Levison, 329.1).

³⁸ *Ibid.* (lines 4–7 and 11): “ecce omnia quae mihi polliciti estis relictis, cum Chilperico rege novam pactionem scripsistis, ut, me a regno depulso, civitates meas inter se dividerent. Ecce pactiones ipsas, ecce manus vestrae subscriptiones, quibus hanc *conibentiam* [*var.: coniventiam; convenientiam; conventiam*] confirmastis! . . . Ecce pactiones, quae inter nos factae sunt. . .”

³⁹ The Chilperic-Childebert agreement is described at *LH* VI.3 and X.19. The Childebert-Guntramn agreement may be the adoption described at *LH* V.17, on which see Bernhard Jussen, *Patenschaft und Adoption im frühen Mittelalter: Künstliche Verwandtschaft als soziale Praxis*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 98 (Göttingen, 1991),

The same scribe made this substitution of *convenientia* for *coniventia* in another passage, the story of the plot of two royal officers, Sunnegisil and Galomagnus, to kill Childebert, his wife Faileuba, and his mother, Brunichilde. When the officers claimed to have had nothing to do with the plan, Childebert challenged them: “‘If,’ he said, ‘you were not part of the *coniventia*, you would at least have told me about it. Is it not true, then, that you consented in this matter, since you wanted it to be concealed from me?’”⁴⁰ Here, again, Gregory’s intended meaning—connivance—is clear, emphasized by the word *consensus*. But *conven(i)entia* would fit in this passage, in the sense of “agreement” or “understanding,” and the scribe errs again, writing “nullam convenientiam prae buissetis.” A third substitution by this same scribe does, however, result in a more congruous reading. Narrating the episode of the *sortes biblicae*, in which the priests of Dijon read the Bible for omens concerning Chramn, Gregory writes, “At the same time, they had a *conibentia* that each one would read whatever he found first in the book.”⁴¹ Here the scribe’s emendation of *convenientia* fits well. Given the frequency with which the term *convenientia* was used in Italy in the central Middle Ages,⁴² it is perhaps not surprising that the manuscript with these three variants is an eleventh-century Italian exemplar.⁴³

43, 65, 69, 71, etc. In the second book of the *Chronicle of Fredegar* a story is told of Clovis becoming the godfather of Alaric II in the course of a treaty. Part of this arrangement is called a *convenientia*: “post multa prilia, quae invicem gesserant, intercedentes legatus, cum pacem inire coepissent huius convenientiae, ut Alaricus barbam tangerit Chlodovei, effectus ille patrenus, perpetuam ab invicem pacem servarint, et ad huius placita coniunctione nec Francos nec Gothos armatus paenitus non accederit, aestatuentes diem ad locum designatum ab invicem” (*Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii scholastici libri IV cum continuationibus* II.58, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SSRM 2 [Hannover, 1888; rpt. 1956], 82.12–16).

⁴⁰ LH IX.38 (ed. Krusch and Levison, 459.10–12): “‘Si,’ inquit, ‘vos nullam convenientiam prae buissetis, nostris auribus utique intulissetis. Verumne ergo est, vos in hac causa prae buisse consensum, cum hoc nostrae scientiae oculi voluistis?’” An earlier plot, of Ursio and Bertefred against Lupus, Duke of Champagne, in 581, is called a *conventio* in VI.4 (267.16–268.1): “ad extremum conventione facta ut occideretur.”

⁴¹ Ibid. IV.16 (149.16–17): “simulque unam habentes conibentiam [*var.*: conhibentiam; con(ventionem); convenientiam], ut unusquisque in libro quod primum aperiebat hoc ad misas et legeret.”

⁴² Calasso, *La “convenientia,”* passim.

⁴³ This manuscript (Monte Cassino, Biblioteca dell’Abbazia 275; Krusch/Levison A1) has been seen as either a more faithful rendering of Gregory’s text than the manuscripts of the “B class” that form the basis for the MGH edition, or a version deformed by the classicizing improvements of a scribe of Monte Cassino under Abbot Desiderius; compare, for example, Zelzer, “Zur Frage,” 235–39, and Heinzelmänn, *Gregor von Tours*, 170 and 246–47 n. 120. The apparent misreadings in two of three cases here would seem to support the latter position. In one case the scribe does *not* alter *coniventia* but oddly alters a verb form, perhaps to attempt a more congruous reading (see n. 36 above).

The text of the *Histories* contains fifty-five additional appearances of words based on the verb *convenire*.⁴⁴ These can be broken down into fairly distinct semantic categories: 1) those associated with motion, including gatherings, crowds, etc. (thirty-six instances); 2) those meaning “fitting,” “acceptable,” or “agreeing with a set of (grammatical or canonical) rules” (seven instances); and 3) those implying an agreement between individuals (twelve instances). Of this last group, eight occur in a single chapter, the one that describes the Treaty of Andelot, concluded between Guntramn and Childebert II on 28 November 587.⁴⁵ Gregory claims that Guntramn had the complete text read aloud at Chalons-sur-Saône in Gregory’s presence. Neither Gregory in referring to the treaty nor the treaty itself uses the term *convenientia*; *pactio* is the usual word. The forms of *convenire* appear mostly in the repeated impersonal use of the phrase “convenit, ut” (“it is agreed that”) to introduce clauses of the treaty. This corresponds to the interpretation of Gregory’s language being developed here: the convention (*conven(i)entia*, *conventio*) is not a written agreement, while the pact (*pactio*) is.⁴⁶

Although Gregory does not call the Treaty of Andelot a convention, a later writer, the author of the fourth book of the so-called *Chronicle of Fredegar*, does employ the term in referring to this agreement:

Guntramn met with Childebert at Andelot to conclude a peace (*pax*); King Childebert’s mother, sister and wife were also there. And a special *convenientia* was agreed there between lord Guntramn and Childebert, that after Guntramn’s death Childebert should assume control over his kingdom.⁴⁷

The phrasing here may suggest that it is not the entire agreement that is called a *convenientia*—it is, rather, a *pax*—but only the specific clause dealing with the succession. The text thereby reduces the meaning of the treaty to one of its clauses.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ These calculations are based on Denise St.-Michel, *Concordance de l’“Historia Francorum” de Grégoire de Tours*, 2 vols., Collectum 1 ([Montreal], 1979), which uses the first (1884) MGH edition. I have checked the citations against the second edition.

⁴⁵ This is first mentioned in *LH* IX.11; the full text is in IX.20.

⁴⁶ Other occurrences of the term *pactio*: *LH* VI.3 (ed. Krusch and Levison, 267.11 and 14) and X.19 (511.18), both in reference to the Childebert-Chilperic agreement (see n. 39 above); VI.27 (295.2); VII.14 (335.11); and X.28 (521.21). The first three of these clearly describe written agreements.

⁴⁷ *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii scholastici libri* IV.7 (ed. Krusch, 125.15–18): “Gunthramnus se cum Childeberto pacem firmandum Andelao coniuncxit. Inibi mater et soror et coniux Childeberti regis pariterque fuerunt; ibique speciale convenencia inter domno Guntramno et Childeberto fuit conventum, ut regnum Gunthramni post eius discessum Childebertus adsumerit.”

⁴⁸ Cf. *LH* IX.20 (ed. Krusch and Levison, 436.1–3): “Ea igitur conditione servata, ut, quem Deus de ipsis regibus suprestitem esse praeciperet, regnum illius, qui absque filiis de

The term *convenencia* appears in three other situations in the chronicle, all in the fourth book rather than the continuations.⁴⁹ In 611, Theuderic sent a mission to Chlothar, proposing an attack on Theudebert. If Chlothar did not aid Theudebert, Theuderic promised to return to him the Duchy of Dentelin, which had been seized from Chlothar by Theudebert. The chronicler labels this agreement a *convenencia*; Theuderic succeeded in defeating Theudebert and, as promised, transferred control of Dentelin.⁵⁰ Later (s.a. 629), the chronicler describes the conflict in Asia Minor between the Byzantine emperor Heraclius and the Persian Emperor Chosroes. Heraclius proposes a single combat between himself and Chosroes; it is the agreement to a single combat that is (twice) referred to as a *convenencia*:

The Persian emperor promised to uphold this *convenencia* to go out and engage in single combat. . . . The Persian emperor Chosroes sent one of his patricians, whom he knew to be most strong in battle, in disguise to fight for him against Heraclius in keeping with the *convenencia*. When the two approached each other on horseback to do battle, Heraclius said to the patrician, whom he took for the Persian emperor Chosroes: "It was agreed that we should face each other in single combat, so why are there others following behind you?"⁵¹

The juxtaposition of the verbal form with the nominal form here is common in later texts; the *convenientia* is something to which parties agree (*convenire*).⁵²

praesentis saeculi luce migraverit, ad se in integritate iure perpetuo debeat revocare et posteris suis, Domino auxiliante, relinquere. . . ."

⁴⁹ The appearance in book II (n. 39 above) is from an interpolated passage. Thus, if the single-author theory of composition of the chronicle is correct, the use of the term can be localized and dated more precisely (Walter Goffart, "The Fredegar Problem Reconsidered," *Speculum* 38 [1963]: 206–41). The orthography (*convenencia*) is consistent, and is present in the earliest manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 10910 (Gabriel Monod, *Études critiques sur les sources de l'histoire mérovingienne*, vol. 2: *La Compilation dit de "Frédégaire,"* Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études 63 [Paris, 1885], 73.30, 119.36, 133.3, 134.9, 146.30 and 35, and 161.8).

⁵⁰ *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii scholastici libri* IV.37, 38 (ed. Krusch, 139.3–4 and 140.2–3): "Hanc convenenciam a Theudericum et Chlotharium, legatus intercurrentes, firmatam, Theudericus movit exercitum. . . . Chlotharius docatum Denteleno secundum convenientiam TheudERICI integro suae dicione redegit."

⁵¹ *Ibid.* IV.64 (152.15–16 and 18–23): "Emperatur Persarum huius convenientiae se egresurum ad prilio singulare certamen spondedit. . . . Emperor Persarum Cosdroes patricium quidam ex suis, quem fortissemum in prelio cernere potuerat, [h]uius convenenciae ad instar pro se contra Aeraglio priliandum direxit. Cumque uterque cum aequetis hy duo congressione priliae in invicem propinquarint, Aeraglius ait ad patricium, quem imperatore Persarum Cosdroae stemabat, dixit: 'Sic convenerat, ut singulare certamen priliandum debuissimus conflagre, quare postergum tuum alii secuntur?'"

⁵² See n. 174 below.

The last appearance of the term in the chronicle occurs in the description of the revolt in 639 of Radulf, duke of the Thuringians, against the Austrasian king, Sigibert III. At one point, Sigibert, unable to prevail against the rebel army, requests a safe passage from his foe. The chronicler relates that Sigibert, after having sent legates to arrange for a safe passage of the Rhine, returned with his army to their base with the *convenencia* of Radulf.⁵³ Here *convenencia* has the meaning "assent" or "permission." In the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, therefore, *convenientia* is an ambiguous term: it is used once to indicate a clause of a written agreement, once to indicate an (oral?) agreement to participate in a judicial combat, and once to indicate permission. In each case, though, the chronicler uses the term in the context of a conflict being settled, whether by treaty, combat, or safe passage.

Early medieval hagiographical writings show a similar degree of semantic variation of the term *convenientia*. For example, the author of the *Life of Arnulf* uses *convenencia* to indicate an agreement between two parties, while in the *Life of John of Réôme*, *convenientia* means simply "assembly."⁵⁴ The author of the *Life of Bonitus of Auvergne* employs the term in a context where it must mean "assent," that is, where *conivencia* might be expected.⁵⁵ In other cases, however, *conivencia* is used when this sense of "assent" is clearly intended, once in reference to an episcopal election.⁵⁶

⁵³ *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii scholastici libri* IV.87 (ed. Krusch, 165.19–21).

⁵⁴ *Vita Sancti Arnulfi* (ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SSRM 2 [Hannover, 1888; rpt. 1956], 426–46 [BHL 689–92]), 19 (440.18, with alternate readings of "conibentia," "convenientia," and "cumbentia"); *Vita Iohannis abbatis Reomaensis auctore Iona* (ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SSRM 3 [Hannover, 1896; rpt. 1977], 502–17 [BHL 4424]), 7 (509.27, with an alternate reading of "conivencia").

⁵⁵ *Vita Boniti episcopi Arverni* (ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SSRM 6 [Hannover, 1913; rpt. 1979], 110–39 [BHL 1418]), 15: "cum plebis aecclesiaeque convenientia dirigit oratores" (127.15–16). Similarly, Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi archiepiscopi Traiectensis* (ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH SSRM 7 [Hannover, 1920; rpt. 1979]), 81–141 [BHL 8935–36]), 4: "cum convenientia sui abbatis et fratrum" (119.5; some scribes corrected this to "conivencia").

⁵⁶ *Vita Sadalbergae abbatisae Laudunensis* (ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SSRM 5 [Hannover, 1910; rpt. 1979], 40–66 [BHL 7463]), 12: "religionis veste accepta, inito cum beato Waldeberto consilio, connivencia [var: convenientia] existente mariti" (56.24–25); *Passio Praiecti episcopi et martyris Arverni* (ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SSRM 5:212–48 [BHL 6916]), 20: "ex permissio et conivencia [var: convenientia; cohibentia] Warmecharii" (238.3); *Passio Desiderii et Reginfridi martyrum Alsegaudiensium* (ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH SSRM 6:51–63 [BHL 2147]), 1: "electione populi et clericorum connivencia [var: convenient(c)ia; conibentia] episcopatus dignitatem ascendit" (56.1). For a later example of the use of *convenientia* in reference to an election, see Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi*, s.a. 961 (ed. Friedrich Kurze, MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi 50 [Hannover, 1890], 171): "Indequé progrediens convenien-

In very general terms, then, in the literary sources surveyed *convenientia* usually means "agreement," often a preliminary agreement, often unwritten, and often made in the context of a conflict. Because of the philological problems it presents, especially phonological and semantic overlap with the words *coniventia* and *cohibentia*, and the wide semantic variation of *convenientia* itself, analysis of any particular occurrence of the term is potentially very difficult. Sensitivity to usage patterns of individual authors (e.g., Gregory's use of the term to indicate preliminary agreements) and scribes (e.g., the Italian scribe's substitution of *convenientia* for *coniventia*) is essential.

II. THE SEMANTIC RANGE OF THE TERM *CONVENIENTIA* IN NONLITERARY SOURCES

However exact the authors of these historical and hagiographical writings were in their use of language, nonliterary texts are much more likely to provide reliable evidence for an early medieval legal and institutional concept such as the *convenientia*. But here, too, the term manifests a very wide semantic range. Scribes compiling and composing capitularies, law codes, conciliar acts, and the earliest formula-books and charters used the word in a variety of different ways. They did not use it randomly, though. Certain meanings appear regularly in certain contexts, several of which overlap. *Convenientia* in these sources was at once a general idea and a specific, if complex and multifaceted, technical term.⁵⁷

tia quoque et electione omnium Lothariensium Aquis rex ordinatur." A passage in the Alammanic laws refers similarly to the election of judges: "qui a duce per conventionem populi iudex constitutus sit" (*Leges Alamannorum* 41.1, ed. Karl Lehmann / Karl August Eckhardt, MGH *Leges nationum Germanicarum* [LL] 5.1, 2d ed. [Hannover, 1966], 100.12–13 in cod. A; lines 15–16 in cod. B).

⁵⁷ Notable early examples of the use of *convenientia* in a clearly nontechnical sense (e.g., "permission," "suitable," "fitting") in charters include one from 685: "una cum voluntate uel conuenientia filiae meae" (*Diplomata Belgica ante annum millesimum centesimum scripta*, ed. M. Gysseling and A. C. F. Koch, 2 parts, *Bouwstoffen en Studiën voor de Geschiedenis en de Lexicografie van het Nederlands* 1 [Brussels, 1950], no. 5 [=no. 404 in the Pardessus edition cited below], pp. 15–17 at 16); one from 709: "Dum leges et jura sinunt, et convenientia Francorum est" (*Diplomata, chartae, epistolae, leges, aliaque instrumenta ad res Gallo-Francicas spectantia*, first edited by Louis G. O. F. de Brequigny and Jean François de la Porte du Theil, ed. Jean-Marie Pardessus, 2 vols. [Paris, 1843–49], no. 474, 2:280); and one from 716: "locis convenientibus" and "pro locis convenientibus" (*Diplomata regum francorum e stirpe Merowingica*, ed. Karl A. F. Pertz, MGH *Diplomata imperii* 1 [Hannover, 1872; rpt. Stuttgart, 1965], no. 86, pp. 76.43–44 and 77.9; see also *ibid.*, spuria, no. 36, p. 154.38, dated 635 [a forgery]: "data alia villa communi convenientia").

A. The *convenientia* as a collectivity

The compilers of the capitularies of Carolingian rulers and the records of Carolingian church councils often used the term *convenientia* in reference to groups or to collective action.⁵⁸ Because some of the documents in which the term appears with these meanings are principal sources for the study of Carolingian history, they deserve particularly close attention here. Although editions and studies usually address conciliar and capitulary texts separately, it is not unreasonable to consider them as a single genre. Most of the conciliar texts are legislative—church legislation—and many of the capitularies were issued in “councils.” The same individuals may have been responsible for the composition of both types of texts, and the manuscript tradition reflects this overlap, with several conciliar texts transmitted in capitulary collections.⁵⁹

In some cases in these sources, *convenientia* designates an assembly itself, as is evident from a text from ca. 800: “sancta synodus, id est convenientia.”⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Editions of the councils (MGH Legum sectio III [Conc]): I: *Concilia aevi Merovingici*, ed. Frederic Maassen (Hannover, 1893; rpt. 1956); II: *Concilia aevi Karolini I*, ed. Albert Werminghoff (Hannover, 1906–8; rpt. 1979); III: *Concilia aevi Karolini DCCCXLIII–DCCCLIX*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann (Hannover, 1984). Commentary on the councils: Wilfried Hartmann, *Die Synoden der Karolingerzeit im Frankreich und in Italien* (Paderborn, 1989). Editions of the capitularies (MGH Legum sectio II [Cap]): *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. Alfred Boretius and Victor Krause, 2 vols. (Hannover, 1883–97; rpt. 1960). A new MGH edition is being prepared by Hubert Mordek; more recent editions of individual capitularies are noted below where appropriate. *Convenientia* manifests in these texts, as elsewhere, a wide semantic range: “permission” or “assent” (e.g., Conc I, Saint-Pierre-de-Granon 663–75 [Concilium Burdegalense], c. 2 [215.24]; Cap I, no. 16, c. 4 [40.23]; Cap I, no. 33 [93.20]); “appropriate” or “acceptable” (e.g., Cap I, no. 122 [241.32]; Cap II, no. 255, cc. 3 and 4 [256.32 and 257.4]; Conc III, no. 11 [=Cap II, no. 293], c. 53 [109.18]); and “harmony” or “concord” (e.g., Conc III, no. 14 [=Cap II, no. 248], c. 7 [166.20–21]: “De potestate episcoporum super res ecclesiasticas eorumque convenientia cum laicis”; cf. Conc II, no. 36, c. 8 [262.17–18]: “De potestate episcoporum pro rebus ecclesiasticis ac de convenientia episcoporum cum laicis”).

⁵⁹ Wilfried Hartmann, “Zu einigen Problemen der karolingischen Konzilgeschichte,” *Annuarium historiae conciliorum* 9 (1977): 6–28 at 13–15; Hubert Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta: Überlieferung und Traditionszusammenhang der fränkischen Herrschererlasse*, MGH Hilfsmittel 15 (Munich, 1995).

⁶⁰ Conc II, no. 7, c. 1 (51.22–23). Although described in the edition as “Concilium Baiuvaricum, 740–50,” this collection of fifteen edicts has recently been shown to be a *Bischofskapitular* from ca. 800 (Hartmann, *Die Synoden*, 90). Cf. Conc II, no. 21, preamble (180.11): “in generali celeberrimae synodi venerabilium patrum conventione”; Conc II, no. 24 [=Cap I, no. 112], rubric before c. 6 (208.29–30): “capitula conventionis nostrae.” This designation for council does not seem to have been discussed in the literature, e.g., Hartmann, “Zu einigen Problemen,” 12–13. It is surely derived from the idea of “coming together,” as is evident, for example, in the preamble to the synod of Mainz in 813 (Conc II, no. 36, preamble [259.10–11]: “quatenus sancta sua gratia conventum et actionem ipsius synodi sibi acceptabilem facere dignaretur”), in one of the *acta spuria* from the council of Quierzy (Conc II, app. 9 [849.40–

Alternatively, *convenientia* may indicate an agreement reached at such an assembly,⁶¹ or a specific chapter or edict of an order issued by an assembly.⁶² At other times, it is not clear which of these meanings is intended, as when a rule is said to apply “post istam convenientiam” (after this assembly? after this decree?).⁶³ In two notable cases, *convenientia* refers not to a particular gathering, but to a group of people, or perhaps to the agreement constituting such a group. The chapter of the capitulary of Herstal (779) that forbids the formation of sworn associations or guilds (*gildonia*), allows the establishment of *unsworn* societies for mutual aid in case of need. These societies, or the agreements that establish them, seem to be called *convenientiae*.⁶⁴ The prayer association (*Gebetsverbrüderung*) formed by the Bavarian bishops and abbots at the Council of Dingolfing (ca. 770) is a similar type of society, in this case for the purpose of liturgical commemoration; it is also called a *convenientia*.⁶⁵

This understanding of the meaning of *convenientia* sheds light on some of the texts that scholars have long studied as fundamental for Frankish constitutional history. The first of these is the so-called Treaty of Coulaines (843), the agreement between Charles the Bald and the ecclesiastical and secular powers

850.1]: “consilio et iudicio omnium ad praedictam synodum convenientium episcoporum”), and perhaps in a canon of the council of Tours in 567 (Conc I, Tours 567, c. 25 [134.14–15]: “convenient omnis omnino una coniventia simul cum nostris abbatibus ac presbyteris”).

⁶¹ Conc III, no. 11 [=Cap II, no. 293], preface (82.15–16): “Quantum ex convenientia in praedicto conventu ceptum [i.e., Yutz 844] et in Verno palatio perpetratum.”

⁶² Cap I, no. 45, c. 16 (129.35), repeated at Cap II, no. 194, c. 12 (23.22–23): “Quod si de his statutis adque convenientiis aliquid casu quolibet vel ignorantia . . . inruptum fuerit.” Cf. Cap II, no. 194, c. 14 (23.38–40): “quicquid adhuc de rebus et conventionibus [*sic*], que ad profectum et utilitatem eorum pertineant his nostris decretis adque preceptis addere voluerimus.”

⁶³ Conc II, no. 24 [=Cap I, no. 112], c. 17 (210.5). Cf. Cap II, no. 271 (302.5): “post hunc bannum nostrum.”

⁶⁴ Cap I, no. 20, c. 16 (51.2–3): “Alio vero modo de illorum elemosinis aut de incendio aut de naufragio, quamvis convenientias faciant, nemo in hoc iurare presumat.” See Otto Gerhard Oexle, “*Conjuratio et gilde* dans l’Antiquité et dans le Haut Moyen Âge: Remarques sur la continuité des formes de la vie sociale,” *Francia* 10 (1982): 1–19 at 3, and “Gilden als soziale Gruppen in der Karolingerzeit,” in *Das Handwerk in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit*, vol. 1: *Historische und rechtshistorische Beiträge und Untersuchungen zur Frühgeschichte der Gilde*, ed. Herbert Jankuhn et al., Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, 3d ser., 122 (Göttingen, 1981), 284–354 at 301–2 and 348–49. In the ninth-century formula-book of St. Emmeram, the term *convenientia* is glossed with the OHG *kezumft*, related to the modern German *Zunft*, “guild.” See Form. codicis S. Emmerami fragmenta 21 (p. 467.2 of the edition cited in n. 108 below). The gloss is cited in Elias Steinmeyer and Eduard Sievers, *Die althochdeutsche Glossen*, 5 vols. (Berlin, 1879–1922), 5:329, and defined in John C. Wells, *Althochdeutsches Glossenwörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1990), s.v. *zumft*: “pactum, Vertrag.”

⁶⁵ Conc II, no. 15 (96.32–33): “notitia, qualem convenientiam gentis Baiuvariorum episcopi et abbates inter se fecerunt.” See Hartmann, *Die Synoden*, 93–94.

of his realm. Written down in the form of a capitulary, it is heavily influenced by conciliar forms and language.⁶⁶ Ferdinand Lot saw in this the beginnings of the "good-natured yet powerless kingship of the French Middle Ages," Magnou-Nortier the birth of a "legitimate, tempered, contractual monarchy," and Classen the "founding document of the west Frankish kingdom."⁶⁷ The language of assembly and agreement pervades the text, which, as these differing views on its import suggest, defies easy interpretation. One important point, often overlooked, is that the surviving treaty describes two agreements, only one of which was written down.⁶⁸

The preamble to the six *capitula* relates that, on account of the general chaos in the west Frankish realm following the treaty of Verdun, secular and ecclesiastical leaders joined together in order to deal with affairs of king and kingdom ("in pacis concordia et vera amicitia copularent, quatenus . . . de regis ac regni stabilitate et utilitate possent tractare sublimius").⁶⁹ This association is the first "agreement." When the magnates had finished their council ("Sicque Deo amabili atque laudabili conventu unanimiter ac rationabiliter perpetrato"), they approached the king, who associated himself with their preexisting agreement; it is this initial agreement among the magnates to which Charles refers when he states that he has promised that his power will be an ally and companion of their *convenientia* ("nos nostramque potestatem eorum bonae convenientiae . . . sociam et comitem fore tota devotione spondimus").⁷⁰ He again refers to the agreement in the fourth chapter of the capitulary, in which he encourages the magnates to endeavor to adhere to everything they had settled on in their *convenientia* ("omnes, sicut in vestra bene memorabili convenientia pepigistis,

⁶⁶ Hans Hubert Anton, "Zum politischen Konzept karolingischer Synoden und zur karolingischen Brüdergemeinschaft," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 99 (1979): 55–132 at 80 ff.

⁶⁷ Conc III, no. 3 [=Cap II, no. 254] (10–17); the *capitula*, but not the preamble, are repeated in the text of the council of Meaux-Paris in 845–46 (Conc III, no. 11 [=Cap II, no. 293], cc. 1–6 [86–88]). Important commentary, translations, and citations for passages discussed: Ferdinand Lot and Louis Halphen, *Le règne de Charles le Chauve (840–877)*, 1 vol. only, Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études, Sciences historiques et philologiques, 175 (Paris, 1909), 90–97 at 96; Élisabeth Magnou-Nortier, *Foi et fidélité: Recherches sur l'évolution des liens personnels chez les Francs du VII^e au IX^e siècle*, Publications de l'Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, ser. A, 28 (Toulouse, 1976), 98–108 at 108; see also her "Nouveaux propos sur 'Foi et fidélité,'" *Francia* 7 (1979): 537–50, esp. 547 ff.; and Peter Classen, "Die Verträge von Verdun und von Coulaines 843 als politische Grundlagen des westfränkischen Reiches" (1963), rpt. in *Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Sigmaringen, 1983), 249–77 at 270. For the opposite argument that the importance of this treaty has been overestimated, see Jean Devisse, *Hincmar, archevêque de Reims, 845–882*, 3 vols., Travaux d'histoire ethico-politique 29 (Geneva, 1975–76), 1:287 n. 26 and 1:309.

⁶⁸ Classen, "Die Verträge," 267–69.

⁶⁹ Conc III, no. 3 (15.4–6).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* (lines 7–8 and 11–14).

conservare studebitis").⁷¹ These are the only two times *convenientia* appears in the text, both referring to the first agreement. As for the meaning of the term, Charles was not approving of or signing on to a treaty concluded among the magnates; he, or his *potestas*, was becoming a member (*socia, comes*) of their society (*convenientia*). Classen translates the term at times as *Genossenschaft*, a characterization to which Magnou-Nortier objects, insisting that *convenientia* must mean a written contract.⁷² But, as seen above, *convenientia* appears elsewhere in conciliar and capitulary documents with precisely this meaning, in the prohibition against guilds in the capitulary of Herstal and in the formation of the Bavarian prayer association. The other terms in the text that might be interpreted as referring to the group of magnates and their agreement seem to be used, in fact, in other senses: *concordia* in a nontechnical sense and *conventus* in its usual sense of council or assembly. While it remains unclear whether the *convenientia* is the group itself, the agreement constituting the group, or the purposes for which the group was formed, the term suggests the idea of collective action.

The second agreement embodied in the Treaty of Coulaines is given decidedly different designations. The second chapter, establishing the principle of episcopal and lay support for the king, calls for the public accusation of anyone who acts against the king or "contra hanc pactam sinceritatem"; the sixth chapter appeals for action against those who oppose "hoc foedus concordiae."⁷³ This second agreement, the one directly involving the king, is never called a *convenientia*. Thus although Magnou-Nortier is correct (like Classen before her) in seeing this agreement as adding a contractual element to the Frankish constitution, she is wrong to see this contractual idea as based on the idea of the *convenientia*, which she suggests Charles would have picked up either

⁷¹ Ibid. (16.19–20). Classen ("Die Verträge," 268) argues that that the second part of this chapter is in fact the content of the *convenientia*, that is, that the magnates should take care that no one exercise undue influence over the king. While his conjectures as to the political circumstances hidden behind this passage are very convincing, I am not certain that it is accurate to call this the entire content or goal of the *convenientia*. We might take the text (n. 69 above) at face value and say that they "came together, in order to deal . . . with affairs of state." The use of the verb *pango* (*pangere, pepigi, pactum*) in this context is interesting.

⁷² Magnou-Nortier, "Nouveaux propos," 549: "une *convenientia* n'est pas exactement une 'Genossenschaft.' Ce type de contrat, bien connu depuis l'étude que lui consacra M. P. Ourliac, est inspiré par le droit romain. Les liens personnels n'y entrent pas en compte. Il apparaît toujours comme une entente synallagmatique fondée sur la libre volonté des parties considérées comme égales en droit, et garantie par un acte écrit. . . ."

⁷³ Conc III, no. 3 (16.6 and 17.1–2). Both of these are difficult to translate. "Pactam" here seems to be an adjective (past participle of *pango* or *paciscor*) modifying *sinceritas*, rather than a noun. For the second: "this treaty of union"? "of harmony"?

during his southern campaigns or from his lawyerly counselor Hincmar.⁷⁴ First of all, the *convenientia* of the magnates was presented to the king as a fait accompli; second, in the context of this agreement *convenientia* means collectivity, not contract; third, the treaty itself is never called a *convenientia*.

The term *convenientia* also appears in the record of the second conference of Meersen (851), where once again it refers not to a specific written contract but rather to the idea of collective action. Terms characterizing the agreement as a whole occur only in the eighth chapter, which serves as a guarantee or penalty clause:

And if anyone of [our] subjects, of whatever order or status, departs or withdraws from this *convenientia* or refuses to respect this common decree (*commune decretum*), the lords with their true faithful men shall punish the one who resists and refuses to respect divine counsel, the decree, and this *convenientia*, according to the will of God and the law and right reason, whether he wishes it or not. And if anyone of the lords departs or withdraws from this *convenientia*, or—let it not happen—refuses to accept this common decree, when our many faithful lords and magnates of the kingdoms come together, by the counsel of those who shall have observed these things, by the judgment of the bishops, and by common consent, with God's support we will determine what should be done concerning the one who, although duly warned, refuses to yield.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Magnou-Nortier, *Foi et fidélité*, 95–96. Despite her assertion that the *convenientia* was foreign to the east Frankish kingdom (ibid., 97), there are a few diplomas that include the term (see nn. 136, 148, and 160 below). It is, rather, the west Frankish kingdom that seems to lack a royal *convenientia*, although the term does appear in diplomas: an act of Carloman II (4 Feb 884) in which lands granted “per convenientiam conscriptam” before a confiscation are excepted from a restitution of lands to the church of Narbonne (*Recueil des actes de Louis II le Bègue, Louis III et Carloman II, rois de France [877–884]*, ed. Félix Grat et al. [Paris, 1978], no. 73, p. 189.14); a document involving the future French king Eudes in his capacity as abbot of St. Martin of Tours, in which the term appears in the phrase “pro communi opportunitate et convenientia” meaning “suitability” (*Recueil des actes d'Eudes, roi de France [888–898]*, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier [Paris, 1967], app. 56, p. 219.22); and a forged diploma of Raoul containing the phrase “in tali convenientia, ut” (*Recueil des actes de Robert I^{er} et Raoul, rois de France [922–936]*, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier and Jean Dufour [Paris, 1978], *Actes faux de Raoul*, no. 35, p. 132.18).

⁷⁵ Cap II, no. 205, c. 8 (73.43–74.8): “Et si aliquis de subditis in quocumque ordine et statu de hac convenientia exierit aut se retraxerit vel huic communi decreto contradixerit, seniores cum veraciter fidelibus suis haec secundum Dei voluntatem et legem ac iustam rationem, velit aut nolit ille, qui divino consilio et decreto et huic convenientiae resistens et contradicens fuerit, exsequantur. Et si aliquis de senioribus de hac convenientia exierit aut se retraxerit vel huic communi decreto, quod absit, contradixerit, cum plures seniorum nostrorum fideles et regnorum primores in unum convenerint, eorum, qui haec observaverint, seniorum consilio et episcoporum iudicio ac communi consensu, qualiter de eo, qui debite admonitus incorrigibilis perseveraverit, agendum sit, favente Domino decernemus.” The text

This chapter uses two terms in reference to the agreement: *convenientia* and *commune decretum*. The language of the chapter, however, shows that they are not conceptually synonymous. Violation of the *convenientia* is described in terms of motion (*exire, retrahere*), while violation of the decree is verbal (*contradicere*). The *commune decretum* is the document, the joint decree made by the three brothers. The *convenientia*, on the other hand, is the collectivity established by their agreement. Whereas in the treaty of Coulaines the *convenientia* united the lay and ecclesiastical magnates, joined later by Charles, in this case the collective idea applied to a much larger group. It included not only the three royal brothers but all their *fideles* as well.⁷⁶

The council of Beauvais in 845, at which Hincmar was elected archbishop of Reims, also saw the creation of a *convenientia*.⁷⁷ The eighth chapter of the separate text of the council (additional chapters are preserved in the canons of the council of Meaux-Paris) expresses the common interest of the king and the bishops. The king is not to violate the *capitula*, most of which (3–7) deal with the restitution and protection of the property of the church of Reims; the bishops, on the other hand, are to do nothing to oppose the king. Any violations are to be dealt with by negotiation. The text ends with an order that the *convenientia* remain valid (“et firmata deinceps convenientia maneat”); here, as in the text of the conference of Meersen, *convenientia* appears only in the equivalent of a guarantee clause.⁷⁸ *Convenientia* does not refer to the *capitula*, in which all of the obligations fall on the king. The *convenientia* is the community of interest between king and bishops expressed in the final clause. This, too, is similar to the *convenientia* of Coulaines, but on a smaller scale.

The first capitulary addressed from Quierzy in 856 to the Aquitainian rebels provides a final example of this particular use of the term *convenientia* in conciliar and capitulary texts.⁷⁹ Seven dispositive chapters (introduced by the phrase “mandat vobis”) offering amnesty to the rebels are followed by five chapters (introduced by the phrase “sciatis quia”) describing to them the new

of the *capitulum* is repeated in the treaty of Conflent in 860 (Cap II, no. 242, c. 12 [156.39–157.5]). See Magnou-Nortier, *Foi et fidélité*, 92–97; and Lot and Halphen, *Le règne*, 226–29. Reinhard Schneider, *Brüdergemeine und Schwurfreundschaft: Der Auflösungsprozeß des Karlingerreiches im Spiegel der caritas-Terminologie in den Verträgen der karlingischen Teilkönige des 9. Jahrhunderts*, Historische Studien 388 (Lübeck, 1964), refers frequently to this agreement but does not consider the term *convenientia* in its detailed analysis of the vocabulary of this text or others (term mentioned in passing at 22).

⁷⁶ Lot and Halphen, *Le règne*, 228: “concorde non seulement entre les rois, mais entre les rois et leurs fidèles.”

⁷⁷ Conc III, no. 9 [=Cap II, no. 292] (47–55); Hartmann, *Die Synode*, 205–8, further elucidates the problems posed by the manuscript transmission of this text.

⁷⁸ Conc III, no. 9 (55.20).

⁷⁹ Cap II, no. 262 (279–82).

constitutional situation, in which the *fideles* have considerable consultative powers. The language echoes that of the records of Meersen and Beauvais, although here the word *pactum* is used. The idea of collectivity is present, however: rebels shall be banished from the collective society (*omnium societas*).⁸⁰ This idea is expressed once again when the rebels are asked to join the group of *fideles*.⁸¹ In this context, the description of the assembly at which this constitutional situation was confirmed becomes more clear:

and on 26 July at the palace of Verberie, he called together all of his *fideles*, in order that he might let be known to all his will and pardon and our loyalty, we who are his *fideles*, so that this *convenientia*, which with God as witness we will confirm, might be kept henceforth, in the days of his life and the days of our lives.⁸²

The *omnium societas* is a *convenientia*.

B. The *convenientia* as part of the dispute-settlement process

The concept of dispute settlement represents a second aspect of the idea of the *convenientia* in nonliterary sources of the early Middle Ages. This is revealed most clearly in the Visigothic laws, in a novel of Egica (687–702) that prescribes penalties for those who, after having brought a dispute before the king, proceed then to “settle out of court.” The law refers to this extrajudicial settlement first as a *finis convenientie* and then simply as a *convenientia*.⁸³ The

⁸⁰ Cap II, no. 262, c. 10 (281.7–17): “si ille iuxta humanam fragilitatem aliquid contra tale pactum fecerit. . . . Et si aliquis de nobis in quocumque ordine contra istum pactum in contra illum fecerit, . . . et ille, qui debitum pactum et rectam legem et debitam seniori reverentiam non vult exhibere et observare. . . . Et si sustinere non voluerit et contumax et rebellis extiterit et converti non potuerit, a nostra omnium societate et regno ab omnibus expellatur.”

⁸¹ Cap II, no. 262, c. 12 (281.37–40): “Et sciatis, quia vult senior noster et nos ac caeteri fideles illius, ut, si vos, qui illius fideles et consiliarii esse debetis, volueritis, sicut vobis diximus, ad illius praesentiam et fidelitatem atque servitium venire et nobiscum in ista societate esse, quia et ipse et nos quae voluntarie volumus. . . .”

⁸² Cap II, no. 262, c. 11 (281.30–34): “et habet VII. Kalend. Augusti ad ipsum palatium Vermeriam generaliter omnes fideles suos convocatos, ut omnibus suam voluntatem et pardonationem et nostram, qui fideles illius sumus, devotionem accognitet, ut ista *convenientia*, quam teste Deo confirmabimus, inante diebus vitae suae et diebus vitae nostrae conservetur. . . .” On this notion of “group-consciousness,” see Janet L. Nelson, “Kingship and Empire in the Carolingian World,” in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, 1994), 52–87 at 67–68; she connects this last text to Coulaïnes and Meersen but does not comment on its use of the term *convenientia*.

⁸³ *Liber iudiciorum sive Lex Visigothorum* (ed. Karl Zeumer in *Leges Visigothorum*, MGH LL 1 [Hannover, 1902], 33–456), II.2.10: “Si cepta causantium negotia dirimentis non terminet discreta censura, non solum difficile sedantur altercantium negotia, sed et diversis causatur objectionibus iustitia perquisita. Solent enim plerique, postquam suarum inten-

penalty for abusing the system of royal justice in this manner was a forfeit by both parties of the sum to be gained by the plaintiff in a successful suit. The law was applicable not only to suits heard before the king but also to those heard before judges specifically appointed by him, as well as before judges lower down in the judicial hierarchy. In those lower courts, where the litigants were less likely to have the resources to pay the fine, floggings were an optional penalty.⁸⁴ This law was not simply a measure to ensure that the fisc would benefit from the revenues of justice. In both cases, before the king and before lower judges, the case was to be continued after the payment of the fine. The disputes could be settled by compromise, but only with the express permission of the king or the judge before whom they were first brought.⁸⁵ Thus the Visigothic law was not opposed to settlement *per se*; indeed, parties could elect their own judges to decide cases, rather than bring them before a royal court, although these judges were still to rule according to the royal code.⁸⁶ The intent of the law was to preserve not simply the revenues but the integrity of royal justice.⁸⁷ This separation of royal law and *convenientia* is explicit in one

tionum iurgia principali adpetunt examine finienda, quandoque resoluti licentia legalem fugiendo iacturam ad convenientie finem deducere, quam regis auditibus protulerant causam. Ne ergo sub fraudis huius argumento pars causantium iudicis fori equitatem effugiat, ideo presentis legis sanctione decernimus, ut, quicumque deinceps causam suam contra alium regio intimaverit culmini decernendam, nulla ratione se de iudicio submoveat nec quamlibet cum suo adversario convenientiam agat; sed tam diu cepti negotii propositionem intendat, donec regalis clementia speciale partibus iudicium promat" (87.5–16).

⁸⁴ Ibid. (lines 16–25): "Quod si inchoatum negotium coram principe, vel quos idem princeps arbitrio suo elegerit. . . . Simili quoque damno et illi mulctandi sunt, qui post cause initium renuentes iudicium de inchoato presumpserint inter se pactitare negotio. . . . Quod si ipsi causidici non habuerint, unde conponant, CC flagellorum ictus utrique accipiant. . . ."

⁸⁵ Ibid. (87.20–88.4) "ita videlicet ut, quod regia potestas exinde facere vel iudicare decreverit, in arbitrio voluntatis illius subiaceat. . . . sicque denuo iudex ille causam ipsam terminandi licentiam habeat. Illos tantundem a legis huius iactura indemnes efficiant, quibus aut regia iussio licentiam deliberationis indulserit, aut quos iudex ille, qui causam terminat, inter se pacificandos absolverit."

⁸⁶ *Liber iudiciorum* II.1.15, 18, and 27. See P. D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 3d ser., 5 (Cambridge, 1972), 83–84.

⁸⁷ *Liber iudiciorum* VII.4.1 establishes a fine of five *solidi* for those who settle criminal cases after initiating proceedings before a judge. See King, *Law and Society*, 93–94: "it was not so much the public interest as a notion of contempt of court which underlay this provision" (94). Patrick Geary cites parallel examples of the "desire of the constituted authority to control the disputing process, and the desire of the disputants to avoid judgment" ("Extra-Judicial Means of Conflict Resolution," 582). Paul Fouracre suggests that the point of no return in a seventh-century Frankish judgment may have been the issuing of *noticiae*: "once warrants had been issued a *placitum* had to be held, thus preventing an out of court settlement" ("‘Placita’ and the Settlement of Disputes in Later Merovingian Francia," in *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre

other text, a title of the Bavarian law. This establishes the restitution for damage of property but presents the *convenientia* as an alternative to the prescribed payment of composition.⁸⁸

The *convenientia* was not necessarily an extrajudicial agreement, however. The term could apply to a settlement ordered by a judge, rather than one arranged contrary to or outside of a judicial context. This is the case in the earliest surviving private charter to contain the term *convenientia*. It records a division of lands in the Limousin among the noblewoman Thedetrudis and four other individuals.⁸⁹ The document, dated 20 June 626, is known only through several seventeenth-century transcriptions made from the twelfth-century cartulary of La Chapelaude, a priory of St. Denis, but it has long been considered authentic. The scribe refers to the agreement eight times as a *convenientia*: once in the *narratio* ("iuxta convenientia praesentia"), once in the *sanctio* ("Et haec convenientiae inter ipsis conscripta"), and six times in the subscriptions ("pactionem seu convenientiam . . . subs." or "hanc convenientiam subs.").⁹⁰ The bulk of the document is a description of the lands, divided into three *tabulae*, two parts going to Thedetrudis and the third part going to the others. The brief *narratio* relates that the division was effected according to a precept of Dagobert I to the count Barontus.⁹¹ The most recent editor of the text concludes that it represents a confiscation by Dagobert—who had recently taken control of the Limousin—of lands of a supporter of his rival, Charibert. This may be correct, but the language of the text suggests the settlement of a dispute. There was a royal order (*praeceptio*) to Barontus, and this order led Barontus and another *vir illuster*, Gainoaldus, to walk the boundaries of the

[Cambridge, 1986], 23–43 at 35, discussing *Diplomata regum francorum e stirpe Merovingica*, ed. Pertz, no. 60, pp. 53–54; for a facsimile edition of this document, see *Chartae Latinae antiquiores: Facsimile Edition of the Latin Charters Prior to the Ninth Century* [ChLA], ed. Albert Bruckner et al., 48 vols. to date [Olten, etc., 1954–], no. 573).

⁸⁸ *Lex Baiuvariorum* (ed. Ernst von Schwind, MGH LL 5.2 [Hannover, 1926]), XII.11: "Et si ea sibi in usum miserit, nisi per convenientiam non potest cum alio placare restituendi et cum sold., dum ipsam habet componat" (405.4–5). Cf. *Lex Romana sive forma et expositio legum Romanorum* (Lex Romana Burgundionum) (ed. Ludwig Rudolf von Salis, in *Leges Burgundionum*, MGH LL 2.1 [Hannover, 1892; rpt. 1973]), 23.1: "Si a iudice statutum fuerit aut inter partes convenerit, ut de rebus dubiis sacramenta praebeantur . . ." (146.8–9).

⁸⁹ Karl Heinz Debus, "Studien zu merowingischen Urkunden und Briefen: Untersuchungen und Texte" (pt. 1), *Archiv für Diplomatik* 13 (1967): 1–109 at 32–34 (commentary) with text on 91–94 (no. 5 [= *Diplomata*, ed. Pardessus, no. 253, 2:9–11]).

⁹⁰ Debus, "Studien," 91.7, 93.56, and 93.62–69. For the *tabula* as a measure of land, see Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus*, s.v., 9.

⁹¹ Debus, "Studien," 91.5–6: "iuxta ut praeceptio gloriosissimo domno Dagoberto regi ad viro illustri Baronto comite data edocet."

land.⁹² There was also, however, a *placitum* ("si qua pars de placito resillire voluerit"); the *placitum* was presumably the meeting at which the boundaries of the *tabulae* were fixed, a meeting at which Thedetrudis was represented by an advocate ("prosequente iamdicto viro Landegiselo").⁹³ The text is presented not as a division imposed upon the parties but as one agreed among them. It begins "Placuit atque convenit inter" and is called a *convenientia* "inter ipsis conscripta."⁹⁴ Even if it masks a royal confiscation, its form is that of a negotiated settlement following the judgment of a judicial assembly: a *convenientia*.

C. The *convenientia* as the Roman law pactum

In two places in the law codes of the Germanic kingdoms, both the codifications of Germanic law and the adaptations of Roman law, *convenientia* is used in a sense very close to technical meanings of the Roman legal term *pactum*: either a specific agreement not to sue, which barred any action on an obligation, or an agreement not adhering to a recognized contractual form.⁹⁵ A law of the Lombard code offers an example of *convenientia* in the latter sense. An edict regulating scribal practice from the fifteenth year of the reign of Liutprand (727–28) states that scribes are required to compose charters strictly according to either Lombard or Roman law and assigns penalties for non-compliance. The law also allows, however, that "if anyone wishes to deviate from his law and they [*sic*] make pacts or *convenientiae* between themselves, this shall not be considered contrary to law."⁹⁶

The *Lex Romana Curiensis* contains an example of *convenientia* used in the stricter sense of *pactum*, that is, as an extracontractual agreement barring an action. The text departs from its source (the *Lex Romana Visigothorum*) and all other epitomes in adding the passage containing the term *convenientia*. It is found in an *interpretatio* of an early fourth-century edict on disputes between buyers and sellers. To the statement that the buyer owes the seller no more than the agreed price the code adds "unless they have a *convenientia*."⁹⁷ A verbal

⁹² Ibid., 91.9–11: "terminus, qui ad viros illustris Gainoaldo et Baronto comitis ex ordinatione dominica fuerat circuitus."

⁹³ Ibid., 93.52–53 and 91.6–7.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 91.1 and 93.56.

⁹⁵ Heumann and Seckel, *Handlexikon*, s.v. *pacisci*, b, c.

⁹⁶ *Leges Langobardorum*, Liutprand 91 (XV.8) (ed. Bluhme, 144.19–145.4): "sive ad legem Langobardorum . . . sive ad Romanorum. . . . Et si quicumque de sua lege subdiscendere voluerit et pactionis aut convenientias inter se fecerent, et ambe partis consenserent, isto non inpotetur contra legem, quia ambe partis voluntariae faciunt."

⁹⁷ *Lex Romana Raetica Curiensis* (ed. Karl Zeumer, MGH Leges [in folio] 5 [Hannover, 1875–89; rpt. Stuttgart, 1965], 289–452) at III.1.1: "nisi solum quod convenientia habuerunt

parallel is present in a Visigothic law dating back to the *Codex Euricianus* that describes the following rule: If a buyer has paid partially for an item, has received that item, and fails to pay the balance due at the appointed time, the sale is not thereby invalidated, but rather the buyer is to pay interest on the balance; the parties, however, may agree (*convenire*) to disregard the law and invalidate the sale.⁹⁸ This is the sole use of the verb *convenire* in the text of the *Codex*.

Even in these heavily Romanized texts, this apparent substitution of *convenientia* for *pactum* is far from consistent, and the term might have a more general sense. In a different section of the *Lex Romana Curiensis*, for example, the compiler added to an *interpretatio* describing types of theft the example of someone keeping another's horse for a longer time period than was initially agreed; the initial agreement, rather than any subsequent agreement barring action, is called a *convenientia*.⁹⁹

D. The *convenientia* as a preliminary agreement

One of the shades of meaning of *convenientia* in the writing of Gregory of Tours was, as seen above, the idea of preliminary agreement, either an agreement reached in the process of a longer negotiation, or an oral agreement eventually recorded in a document that was not itself called a *convenientia*. *Convenientia* in this sense may be found in several other contexts. The earliest definite appearance of the term *convenientia* in a Frankish diploma is in the record of a *placitum* held before Childebert III, dated 14 March 697.¹⁰⁰ Magnoald, abbot of Tussonval, charged that a plot of land had been unjustly seized from the monastery by Drogo, son of Pippin (II), the mayor of the palace.

det, et in ipsa permaneat" (327.18–19). Cf. earlier in the same passage (lines 16–17): "si ad difinitum de ipsam rem conveniencie precium, sicut inter eos convenit." The parallel text of the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* (ed. Gustave Haenel [Leipzig, 1849]), III.1, ends as follows: "Et si voluerit revocare, qui vendidit, nullatenus permittatur" (72–73). On the term *convenientia* in these texts, see Elisabeth Meyer-Marthaler, *Römisches Recht in Rätien im frühen und hohen Mittelalter*, Beihefte der Schweizerischen Zeitschrift für Geschichte/Suppléments de la Revue suisse d'histoire 13 (Zurich, 1968), 184–87; and Calasso, *La "convenientia,"* 89.

⁹⁸ *El Código de Eurico*, ed. Alvaro d'Ors, Estudios visigóticos 2, Cuadernos del Instituto jurídico español 12 (Rome, 1960), no. 296, p. 29 [= *Liber iudiciorum*, V.4.5].

⁹⁹ *Lex Romana Raetica Curiensis* XXII.13 (ed. Zeumer, 411.12–14): "Oblati actio furtus est, ut si aliquis alterius caballum super convenienciam ipsius longius minaverit, quam inter eos convenerit." Cf. *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, Inst. Gai, II.10 (XVII or XVIII) (ed. Haenel, 336–37).

¹⁰⁰ *Diplomata regum francorum e stirpe Merowingica*, ed. Pertz, no. 70, pp. 62–63 [= *ChLA* 581]. See Werner Bergmann, "Gerichtsurkunden der Merowingerzeit," *Archiv für Diplomatik* 22 (1976): 1–186 at 170–71; and Fouracre, "Placita," 36 and n. 52.

Drogo countered that his father-in-law (*socer*), Berchar,¹⁰¹ had acquired the property in an exchange with the monastery. The abbot admitted that such an exchange was planned in a *conlocucio et convenencia* with Berchar but never made final.¹⁰² Drogo was asked by the court to show written proof of the exchange (*epistulae conmutacionis*), but he was unable to do so. The court awarded the property to the abbot. Two interpretations of *convenencia* are possible here. The term may be synonymous with *conlocucio* and thus mean simply "meeting" or "conversation." In the conciliar and capitulary texts, however, *convenientia* used in this sense suggested a more extensive gathering of people, often with an official purpose—an "assembly" rather than a "meeting."¹⁰³ Thus it is likely that in the context of this dispute, *convenientia* refers to the agreement reached between the abbot and Berchar. This was a preliminary agreement that was never made final. The fact that Drogo was unable to produce written proof may indicate that the agreement was purely oral.

In a letter of 813 from Charlemagne to the Byzantine emperor Michael I, *convenientia* describes a preliminary agreement concerning the protocol for signing a final agreement.¹⁰⁴ Michael's legates and Charlemagne agreed ("talīs fuit nostra et legatorum tuorum convenientia") that the legates should carry the text of the treaty back to Constantinople, and that Charlemagne's legates would follow at the earliest opportunity to retrieve a properly subscribed copy. Here the preliminary or procedural agreement was an oral understanding, whereas the final agreement, a *pactum* or *foedus*, was written ("supra dictam pacti seu foederis conscriptionem").

Convenientia has a similar meaning in another of the earliest surviving private charters, a document recording the settlement of a dispute over lands claimed by the monastery of Le Mans. It was originally written in either 684 or

¹⁰¹ *Diplomata regum francorum e stirpe Merovingica*, ed. Pertz, no. 70, p. 62.44–45. There is conflicting evidence concerning Berchar's relationship to Drogo; Berchar may have been not the father-in-law of Drogo but the first husband of Drogo's wife. See Richard A. Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians and the "Liber Historiae Francorum"* (Oxford, 1987), 92 n. 2; and Horst Ebling, *Prosopographie der Amtsträger des Merowingerreiches von Chlothar II. (613) bis Karl Martell (741)*, Beihefte der Francia 2 (Munich, 1974), 234–35.

¹⁰² *Diplomata regum francorum e stirpe Merovingica*, ed. Pertz, no. 70, p. 62.46–48: "Intendebant aecontra ipsi Magnoaldus, quasi conlocucione et convenencia exinde apud ipso Berchario habuissit, ut ipsa inter se conmutassent, sed hoc numquam ficissent."

¹⁰³ Conversely, *collocutio* might also mean "assembly." See Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus*, s.v., citing ninth- and tenth-century texts.

¹⁰⁴ *Epistolae Karolini aevi II*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Epistolae 4 (Berlin, 1895), no. 37, pp. 555–56, esp. 556.26–30. On this treaty, see François-Louis Ganshof, "The Treaties of the Carolingians," in *Proceedings of the Southeastern Institute of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Summer 1967*, ed. John M. Headley, Medieval and Renaissance Studies 3 (Chapel Hill, 1968), 23–52 at 31–33.

722; although it is transmitted in the *Gesta Aldrici*, the source of the "Le Mans Forgeries," this document is also considered authentic.¹⁰⁵ A woman named Betha sold lands, which she had inherited from her son [*sic*], to the monastery. Her other children contested the sale, producing a charter demonstrating their rights in the land. The disputants reached a compromise ("ad pacis concordiam visi sunt eos revocasse") over distribution of the lands. The final section of the text describes how documents were to be drawn up in triplicate, lest any party be able to withdraw from the agreements. The charter ends with an order that the documents remain valid for all time. Again the documents are called *epistolae*, while the agreements that they embody are *convenientiae*.¹⁰⁶ This meaning of *convenientia* is close to the most general sense of *pactum* in Roman law.¹⁰⁷

A similar distinction between the *convenientia*, as the agreement enshrined in a document, and the *epistola*, as the document in which an agreement is enshrined, is present in texts preserved in some of the early medieval formula-books.¹⁰⁸ The famous formula of commendation from the Tours formula-book has long provided grist for the mill of historians of feudalism, though until Élisabeth Magnou-Nortier none had focused on the appearance of the word

¹⁰⁵ *Diplomata*, ed. Pardessus, no. 179, 1:135–36; *Gesta domni Aldrici Cenomannicae urbis episcopi a discipulis suis*, ed. R. Charles and L. Froger (Mamers, 1889), 188–91; and Walter Goffart, *The Le Mans Forgeries: A Chapter from the History of Church Property in the Ninth Century*, Harvard Historical Studies 76 (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 260–61, 280, and 296. The date proposed by Pardessus, following Mabillon, is 572. This is unlikely because it requires a misreading of "Theodoric" for "Chilperici." Goffart's dates are based on the twelfth year of the reigns of Theuderic III and IV.

¹⁰⁶ *Diplomata*, ed. Pardessus, no. 179, 1:136: "Unde convenit ut tres epistolas uno tenore conscriptas inter se fieri et accipere deberent; quod et ita fecerunt, ut nullus contra parem suum de istis convenientiis se remutare non posset. Quod qui hoc facere praesumpserit, partem suam a pare suo amittat, et insuper, fisco sociante, auri libras decem, argenti pondo viginti, coactus exsolvat, et nec sic quod repetit vindicare non valeat; et has epistolas, quas in invicem bona voluntate fecerunt, cum stipulatione intrapositione, firmas et inviolabiles omni tempore valeant perdurare." Another possible example may be found at Conc III, no. 11 [=Cap II, no. 293], c. 53 (110.4–5): "si autem de alia casa Dei aut de cuiuslibet proprio fuerit, ex convenientia commutandi licentia tribuatur." That is, "if the property (desired by the church for the construction of a canonry) belongs to another church or a private individual, after an agreement has been reached, permission for an exchange shall be granted."

¹⁰⁷ Heumann and Seckel, *Handlexikon*, s.v. *pacisci*, a; thus Calasso's description (*La "convenientia,"* 91) of *l'incontro delle volontà*, and Meyer-Marthaler's observation (*Römisches Recht*, 185): "Daneben gebraucht die Lex Romana Curiensis das *definire*, öfters *conveniencia* und *carta*, was nicht nur die Urkunde als solche, sondern geradezu das *pactum* selbst bedeuten kann."

¹⁰⁸ *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi*, ed. Karl Zeumer, MGH Legum sectio V (Hannover, 1886).

convenientia toward the end of the text.¹⁰⁹ This formula has traditionally been interpreted as a forerunner of the vassalic contract: the unspecified *obsequium* and *servicium* of this text become, in a few centuries, the military service owed by a vassal to his lord. Magnou-Nortier, on the other hand, seizing on the terminology, sees this as a contract between persons of equal legal standing, a *convenientia*, without a hint of Germanic fealty, oath of fidelity, *immixtio manuum*, or military service. Its links are not forward in time to feudal institutions but backward in time to the Roman patron-client relationship. She cites the Latin style, "incomparably better than that of the legal texts," as evidence of this.¹¹⁰ It is not necessary to exclude this text from the corpus of documents illuminating the origins of the similar relationships common in later centuries, but Magnou-Nortier is correct to call attention to the terminology employed. Thus an influential recent survey stresses the fact that this arrangement is called a *convenientia* and duly integrates it into an account of the origins of vassalage and fidelity.¹¹¹

The text itself records the fact that a poor individual places himself under the protection (*mundoburdum*) of another man, an act that gives rise to reciprocal obligations: the patron promises to feed, clothe, and protect his client, while the client must serve the patron as a free man for the remainder of his life. There follows a clause of guarantee:

Wherefore it is agreed that if one of us tries to withdraw from these *convenientiae*, he shall pay a composition of so many *solidi* to his counterpart, and let this *convenientia* remain valid; wherefore it is agreed that they ought to draw up and confirm between themselves two identical documents concerning this matter; and they have done so.¹¹²

There are two reasons for questioning whether this should be recognized as a formula for a *convenientia*. First, the term appears here in a statement of guar-

¹⁰⁹ *Formulae Turonenses* 43 (*ibid.*, 158). See Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, *Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France*, ed. Camille Jullian, 6 vols. (Paris, 1888–92), 5:267–75; Victor Ehrenberg, *Commendation und Huldigung nach fränkischem Recht* (Weimar, 1877), 66, 79, and 139–40; François-Louis Ganshof, *Feudalism*, trans. Philip Grierson, 3d English edition (New York, 1964), 6–9; Magnou-Nortier, *Foi et fidélité*, 27–30; and Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, 83.

¹¹⁰ Magnou-Nortier, *Foi et fidélité*, 29.

¹¹¹ Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, *La mutation féodale, X^e–XII^e siècle*, 2d ed. (Paris, 1991), 109–11; trans. (from the 1980 edition) Caroline Higget, *The Feudal Transformation, 900–1200* (New York, 1991), 48–49.

¹¹² *Formulae Turonenses* 43 (*Formulae*, 158.24–27): "Unde convenit, ut, si unus ex nobis de has convenientiis se emutare voluerit, solidos tantos pari suo componat, et ipsa convenientia firma permaneat; unde convenit, ut duas epistolas uno tenore conscriptas ex hoc inter se facere vel adfirmare deberent; quod ita et fecerunt."

antee. Ganshof separated this clause from the rest of the formula, claiming that it alone represents the “dispositive clause (*dispositio*), the essential part of the act.”¹¹³ Thus everything that precedes it, the *narratio*, is what this penalty clause refers to with the words *convenientia* and *convenientiae*. Thus, this particular formula is not in itself a *convenientia*, although it may record the substance of such an agreement in the form of an *epistola*. The second reason is more fundamental. This is not an actual charter, but a formula, and must be read as one. Thus it is possible that this part of the text represents not a single standard closing to this type of document, but two:

a) Wherefore it is agreed that if one of us tries to withdraw from these *convenientiae*, he shall pay a composition of so many *solidi* to his counterpart, and let this *convenientia* remain valid.

b) Wherefore it is agreed that they ought to draw up and confirm between themselves two identical documents concerning this matter; and they have done so.

A scribe would use the first for an agreement in which a fine had been established; he would use the second when asked to draw up two identical copies of the agreement. He might use both, but not with this precise language. *Convenientia*, then, may serve here in a purely general sense, as part of a detachable guarantee clause that might be added to any number of different agreements. This specific type of commendation agreement, then, is not necessarily a *convenientia*.

Two charters of adoption in other formula-books have a diplomatic structure similar to the commendation from the Tours formula-book, and in each the term *convenientia* seems to refer generally to the agreement enshrined in the document, rather than to the document itself. In a text from the formula-book of Marculf the primary actor is the one performing the adoption.¹¹⁴ He states, “I have drawn up this *epistola* for you, so that neither I nor any of my heirs or anyone whosoever can alter this *convenientia* between us.”¹¹⁵ A document from the late eighth-century Salic formula-book of Lindenbruch is clearly based on Marculf’s adoption formula and maintains this distinction. The document, like the text from Marculf, is called an *epistola*, and later more precisely “haec

¹¹³ Ganshof, *Feudalism*, 7.

¹¹⁴ Marculfi Formulae II.13 (*Formulae*, 83–84) [New edition: *Marculfi formularum libri duo*, ed. Alf Uddholm (Uppsala, 1962)]. The formula-book dates from between ca. 644 and 725. Cf. Jussen, *Patenschaft und Adoption*, 57–58.

¹¹⁵ Marculfi Formulae II.13 (*Formulae*, 83.30–84.2): “propterea tibi hanc epistolam fieri decrevi, ut neque ego nec ullus de heredibus meis aut quicumque hanc convenientia inter nos facta emutare non possit.” The term *epistola* appears once again in the penalty clause (84.6–7): “presens epistola omni tempore firma permaneat.”

epistola adobtionis." *Convenientia* once again refers to the agreement, rather than to the document containing it: "they shall not be able to alter or break this *convenientia* between us, as is contained above."¹¹⁶

E. The *convenientia* as a written agreement

In the two early charters considered in the previous section, *convenientia* referred not only to a preliminary agreement but perhaps also to an oral agreement. Further evidence exists for the *convenientia* as an *unwritten* agreement. In a law of the Visigothic king Chindasuinth (642–53) on the fraudulent use of documents, *convenientia* refers explicitly to the thing agreed upon that is not accurately reflected in the written document; that is, it refers to the agreement rather than the piece of parchment recording the agreement.¹¹⁷ An edict of an early council transmitted in a Carolingian collection reads "The grant, sale, or exchange of ecclesiastical property by bishops without the *convenientia* or *scriptio* of the clergy shall be void." If *scriptio* is read in opposition to (rather than as a synonym for) *convenientia*, the latter would imply oral rather than written permission.¹¹⁸

On the other hand, other texts show that the *convenientia* was recognized as a distinct diplomatic category, a type of *written* agreement. The Angevin formula-book, which preserves documents from the last decades of the sixth century, does not contain documents called *convenientiae*.¹¹⁹ It does, however,

¹¹⁶ *Formulae Salicae Lindenbrogianae* 18 (*Formulae*, 279–80 at 279.33–280.1): "hanc convenientiam inter nos factam immutare vel refragare non possint, sicut superius continetur."

¹¹⁷ *Liber iudiciorum* VII.5.7 (ed. Zeumer, 307.7–13): "quicumque cum alio de negotio speciali definiens generalem scriptis constitutionem subintroduxerit adque ita circumvenierit aliquem, ut, dum de una causa fit convenientia, callide per scripturam intexeat, unde omnem de aliis negotiis alterius vocem extinguat, vel etiam fortasse proveniat, ut non quidem per scripturam, sed sub aliis verbis alii simulans quicumque aliquem dolose aut fraudulenter in quocumque decipiat, huius rei presumor et publica notetur infamia." See King, *Law and Society*, 110–11.

¹¹⁸ Cap I, no. 113, c. 3 (231.10–11): "Inrita erit episcopis donatio vel vinditio vel commutatio rei ecclesiastice absque convenientia vel scriptionem clericorum." The usage patterns of *vel* and *aut* in this text are inconclusive. This appears to be a fragment of a canonical collection, rather than a capitulary. Another possible example may be found in the *Liber iudiciorum* X.1.2 (ed. Zeumer, 383.13–14): "Divisione factam inter fratres, etiam si sine scriptura inter eos *convenierit* . . ." (emphasis added).

¹¹⁹ Although the formula-book preserves documents from the last decades of the sixth century, the sole manuscript dates from the eighth. Its documents (as "lost" charters) form the first and, to date, only section of a new catalog of Merovingian charters: Werner Bergmann, "Verlorene Urkunden des Merowingerreichs nach den *Formulae Andecavenses* (Katalog) (UdM. Katalog I)," *Francia* 9 (1981): 3–56. The new catalog numbers (UdM, I) corresponding to the sections listed in the Zeumer edition as 30, 31, 32, 33, 45, and 59 are UdM, I, 36, 37–38, 39–41, 42, 54, and 69. On the Angevin formula-book itself, see Werner Bergmann,

include the term *convenientia* in extensive lists of types of documents. These lists, from which the scribe using the formula-book would select the relevant term, appear in three protocols for accounting for documents lost in a burglary. The first includes the following types of instruments: "strumenta . . . vindicionis, dotis, conposcionalis, contullicionis, pactis, conmutacionis, convenencias, securitatis, vacuaturias, iudicius et noticias." The second and third are nearly identical to the first, modifying "strumenta" with "cartarum," adding additional documentary types ("caucionis," "cessionis," "donacionis," and "oblecacionis"), and allowing for slight modifications ("convenenciis" and "convenientis").¹²⁰ The proposed new catalog of Merovingian charters will make possible a study of how well these lists correspond as a typology to the surviving evidence; lacking such a study, the distinctions among pact, convention, and composition remain elusive. Nonetheless, the *convenientia* is here singled out as a distinct type of written document.

The law codes, too, offer indirect evidence for the written nature of the *convenientia*. The text of the Lombard law cited above as evidence for the *convenientia* as falling outside recognized forms of contract adds that "those who write such charters shall not be considered guilty of violating the law."¹²¹ Elsewhere in the same code, a law refers to a *cartola convenientiae*.¹²² The *Lex Romana Curiensis* preserves a version of an *interpretatio* of an edict, dated 395, of the eastern emperor Arcadius on the validity of agreements entered into by minors. The text begins "Minoribus etatibus post XXV. annum quaecumque carta aut conveniencia firmaverint. . . ." ¹²³ *Firmare* does not necessarily mean "subscribe" in this case, but the text goes on to discuss the *scriptura* that had been confirmed.¹²⁴

"Die Formulae Andegavenses, eine Formelsammlung auf der Grenze zwischen Antike und Mittelalter," *Archiv für Diplomatik* 24 (1978): 1–53.

¹²⁰ Formulae Andegavenses 31, 32, 33 (*Formulae*, 14.15–17; 14.32–15.1; 15.26–28). In contrast, a list of types of royal precepts included in a diploma of Chilperic II omits mention of the *convenientia*: "confirmationes, vel vindiciones, donationes, cessiones, conmutaciones, pactiones" (*Diplomata regum francorum e stirpe Merowingica*, ed. Pertz, no. 85, p. 75.47–49). There is a similar list in a grant of Lothar I to Farfa (n. 160 below): "traditiones, cessiones, conmutationes, offersiones seu collata populi vel pactiones legaliter factas."

¹²¹ *Leges Langobardorum*, Liutprand 91 (XV.8) (ed. Bluhme, 145.4–5): "et illi qui tales cartolas scribent, culpavelis non inveniuntur esse." See n. 96 above.

¹²² *Leges Langobardorum*, Liutprand 107 (XVII.4) (ed. Bluhme, 151.9).

¹²³ *Lex Romana Raetica Curiensis* II.8 (ed. Zeumer, 316.15–16). Cf. *Lex Romana Visigothorum* II.9 (pp. 44–45), where the original edict reads "pacta vel transactiones" and the *interpretatio* substitutes "pactionem vel definitionem." This is another example of the assimilation of *convenientia* and *pactum* in the mind of the compiler of the *Lex Romana Curiensis*.

¹²⁴ See also the *acta spuria* of the council of Quierzy, which include a list of charters adduced in a dispute, one of which is a "Carta de conventionibus sancti Innocentis et sancti Karilephi . . . ut eorum conventiones nullo modo irritae fierent" (Conc II, app. 9 [844.15–17]).

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* *

Convenientia, then, had a number of distinct technical meanings, all related to the general idea of agreement and apparent to varying degrees in various types of sources. In conciliar and capitulary texts, it often refers to a group or to collective action. In law codes, formulas, and charters, *convenientia* reflects the full range of meanings of the Roman law *pactum*, from the narrow sense of an undertaking not to sue to the broader sense of an agreement between two parties. A *convenientia* could also be a preliminary agreement, or the "meeting of minds" later recorded in a document. One noteworthy pattern in the use of the term spans these texts of varying juridical content. In several of the formulas, including the formula of commendation from Tours, as well as the charter of 626, the term *convenientia* appears in the closing section of the document, in a penalty or guarantee clause. Similarly, although the conciliar texts from Beauvais and Meersen do not share the structure of charters, there too *convenientia* appears in sections of the documents related to guarantees and sanctions. While private charters of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries adopted some of these meanings of *convenientia*, they also continued the use of the term in these specific clauses of documents.

III. *CONVENIENTIA* IN EARLY MEDIEVAL PRIVATE CHARTERS

From the second half of the eighth century on, private charters survive in greater numbers. This was not because more documents were being written, but because more were being preserved, and on more durable material.¹²⁵ This more abundant evidence shows that despite the widely varied meanings of *convenientia* in early medieval sources, scribes of private charters used the term most regularly in two contexts: conditional grants of land and dispute settlements. Documents from the Bavarian dioceses of Freising and Regensburg provide examples of the former, while the latter use of the term was more common in the Rhaetian monasteries of Saint Gall and Reichenau. A reexamination of the Italian evidence that first drew scholars to the study of the *convenientia* confirms these patterns of scribal practice.

A. Bavaria

In the Bavarian lands, *convenientia* was particularly, though not exclusively, associated with dispute settlement. The richest source for the region is the *Traditionsbuch* compiled for the bishopric of Freising in great part by the

¹²⁵ See n. 9 above.

priest Cozroh in the first half of the ninth century.¹²⁶ Although the term *convenientia* appears in it several times meaning "agreement," it is often difficult to discern at what stage of the production and transmission of a document the term was added. Cozroh sometimes transcribed full documents, complete with signatures and dating clauses, but often he merely composed summaries of the content, or copied summary notices that had been prepared earlier, adding rubrics. The term *convenientia* might thus have been in the original document, added to a summary of a document later copied by Cozroh, or added by Cozroh himself in his own process of summarizing and rubrication.¹²⁷

Two quitclaims made in the course of disputes provide examples of these problems. In the first decade of the ninth century, the Mohingara family attempted to seize control of the church of Biberbach from the bishop. A sworn inquest failed to support their claims, and they returned the church. The bishop then granted to one of the members of the family a *beneficium* in the church, where he would serve as a cleric. The episode is recorded in the *Traditionsbuch* with what appears to be a summary, rather than a transcription of a document; although the text of the summary did not characterize the agreement with any particular term, Cozroh labeled it in his rubric a *convenientia*.¹²⁸ A much briefer notice in the *Traditionsbuch* records a quitclaim by a son of rights donated by his father. In this case, the notice characterized the transaction, but only in the opening phrase: "Notitia de conventionem facta inter domno Attone episcopo et Chadolho"; Cozroh followed this closely in composing his rubric: "Convenientia inter Attone episcopo et Chadolcho."¹²⁹ In the first case, *convenientia* appears only in the rubric; in the second case, it appears in the rubric and in the opening phrase of a summary. Although these do not provide direct evidence for the use of the term *convenientia* in private charters, they nevertheless indicate what the term meant to a scribe of the first half of the ninth century.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising [TF]*, ed. Theodor Bitterauf, 2 vols., Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte, n.s., 4–5 (Munich, 1905–9); see also Bernhard Bischoff, *Die süddeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*, vol. 1: *Die bayerischen Diözesen*, 2d ed. (Wiesbaden, 1960), 67–68, 112–13 (no. 73). There is at least one case of the term *convenientia* used with the meaning "permission" in the eighth century (TF 48). In documents of the next century, similar phrases use the terms *conventia* or *conhibentia* (e.g., TF 704, 753, 764, 834, 842, etc.).

¹²⁷ See Joachim Jahn, "Virgil, Ardeo und Cozroh: Verfassungsgeschichtliche Beobachtungen an bairischen Quellen des 8. und 9. Jahrhunderts," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für salzburger Landeskunde* 130 (1990): 201–91, esp. 269–71.

¹²⁸ TF 235: (Rubric) "Convenientia Attonis cum viris qui vocantur Mohingara."

¹²⁹ TF 189.

¹³⁰ Cozroh was the scribe for some of the documents included in the *Traditionsbuch*. See Bischoff, *Die süddeutschen Schreibschulen*, 67–68.

Cozroh labeled as *convenientiae* two other notices of disputes. One is the record of a *placitum* from 807×810 at which two brothers named Patto and Tetti claimed certain lands from the bishop; the bishop settled their claim with a grant of portions of different lands and military equipment. This settlement is referred to in the opening phrase and in the body of the notice as a *convenientia*.¹³¹ The other, a *notitia* from 806×810, relates that Einhard, an *advocatus* of bishop Atto, claimed lands held by a church under episcopal control. The bishop's other *advocati* revealed that Einhard's father had granted the lands to the church, but that there were no charters or known witnesses to prove the grant; the donation, therefore, lacked legal standing. Bishop Atto compensated his official with a grant for life of a different property. The description of the compensation is introduced by the phrase "In hoc enim haec convenientia est firmiter confirmata," and a *iudex* appears among the witnesses.¹³²

A third entry labeled a *convenientia* by Cozroh, the sole evidence for a Bavarian provincial synod at Salzburg in 807, may also be related to the settlement of a dispute. It records an agreement between the abbots and bishops concerning the division of tithes according to the Gelasian formula.¹³³ The entry in the *Traditionsbuch* appears to be based on an original—Cozroh included a dating clause and the name of the original scribe—but the text does not use the term *convenientia*. *Convenientia* may thus refer to a) the gathering itself; b) the agreement concerning the tithes ("tunc consenserunt ibi . . ."); or c) the passage at the end of the document, which may indicate a conflict behind the agreement: "ea ratione, ut ulterius exinde inter illos nulla discordia oriretur, sed concordia deinceps semper maneret." Finally, Cozroh labeled as a *convenientia* a very brief notice of a return of *mancipia* who had been seized "unjustly" from episcopal lands by a neighboring bishop; this, too, may record the conclusion of a conflict.¹³⁴

Two additional entries in the *Traditionsbuch* that describe disputes are not labeled *convenientiae* in the rubrics, but the term is used to characterize the agreements in the text of the entries. The first is the account of a *mallus*

¹³¹ TF 268: (Rubric) "Convenientia Attonis episcopi cum Pattone et Tettini fratribus." (Text) "Convenientia Attonis episcopi cum duobus fratribus quorum nomina Patto et Tetti. . . Convenientia exinde facta donavit Atto. . ."

¹³² TF 240: (Rubric) "Convenientia Attonis episcopi et Einharti." (Text) "Notitia qualem convenientiam Atto episcopus et Einhart advocatus illius fecerunt. . . In hoc enim haec convenientia est firmiter confirmata, ut. . ."

¹³³ TF 248 [=Conc II, no. 32]; Hartmann, *Die Synoden*, 149. This repeats in content a canon of the Bavarian Synod of 800 (Conc II, no. 24 [=Cap I, no. 112], c. 13 [209.12–14]).

¹³⁴ TF 237: "Convenientia inter Attone et Erachro episcopis."

ordered by Charlemagne in 804 at which Bishop Atto and Abbot Liutfrid of Chiemsee arrived at a settlement concerning a certain disputed parish and associated churches; the settlement, in which (according to one of the accounts) the abbot kept four of the seven churches and the bishop received three, is called a *convenientia*; Cozroh labeled the summary a *concordia*.¹³⁵ The other is a *breve commemoratorium* of another dispute involving the bishopric, this one with the monastery of Tegernsee. The parties came to an agreement over the churches in question; a penalty clause warned the abbot of Tegernsee not to generate disputes against the bishop, or to act against canonical decrees or “this *convenientia*,” lest he forfeit the churches gained in the settlement.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ *TF* 193: “Tunc de utraque parte secundum eorum rogitu et deprecatione convenientiam fecerunt. . . .” See Joachim Jahn, *Ducatus Baiuvariorum: Das bairische Herzogtum der Agilolfinger*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 35 (Stuttgart, 1991), 146–47; and Jahn, “Virgil,” 259–60.

¹³⁶ *TF* 197 [=Conc II, no. 30]: “Si vero postea ullam calumniam praesumeret generare ipse abbas et sui et rebelles fieri atque lites excitare superbiendo contra ipsum pontificem vel contra canonicam institutionem vel ipsam convenientiam irritam fieri. . . .” Hartmann (*Die Synode*, 148) thinks that this should not be considered a synod; but see the comments of Michael McCormick, who suggests that this document preserves a record of the Synod of Regensburg in 792 (“Textes, images et iconoclasme dans le cadre des relations entre Byzance et l’Occident carolingien,” in *Testo e immagine nell’alto medioevo*, 2 vols., Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo 41 [Spoleto, 1994], 1:95–162 at 138–41). See also Jahn, “Virgil,” 257–59, and the dispute with Schlehdorf (*TF* 184b). Additional Bavarian evidence: *TF* 28 (dated 768; a conditional grant of a church to the bishopric, to be held on terms for life by the donor: “haec inter eis facta convenientia, ut sub diebus conditorum . . .”); *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Regensburg und des Klosters S. Emmeram* [TR], ed. Josef Widemann, Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen Geschichte, n.s., 8 (Munich, 1943), 17 (dated 820×821; a grant and precarial regrant in *beneficium* of land: “in beneficio concedo in hac conuenientia [sic], ut hoc placitum inter nos conditum stabile permaneat in perpetuum”); *TR* 20 (dated 822; a record of a dispute settlement, containing a reference to an earlier agreement as a *convenientia*: “Igitur hac conuenientia inter nos finita venit Bernhardus in placitum publicum. . . . contra directum de placito iam in caput et conuenientia constituto coram hominibus supra memoratis”); *TF* 267 (dated 807×808; an exchange with Cozroh’s rubric and text: “Concambium Attonis episcopi seu Reginberhti abbatis” and “Notitia de convenientia seu cambio Attonis episcopi et Reginperhti abbatis”); *TR* 108 (dated 883×887; an exchange in which *convenientia* refers to the preliminary agreement preceding the final transaction: “conuenientiam conposuere inter se quamlibet peragere commutationem”); similarly, *TR* 25 (dated 829; “inter se conuentione facta tale concambium fecerunt”). Two diplomas of Charles III from 883 confirm precarial arrangements with the monastery of St. Emmeram; both involve grants of property to the monastery in exchange for which the donor received a life grant of other properties. The *convenientia*, in each case, is the agreement that the life grant revert to the monastery after the death of the holder: “nullo umquam hanc convenientiam irrumpente vel inquietante” (*Karoli III diplomata*, ed. P. Kehr, MGH Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum 2 [Berlin, 1937], nos. 73 and 75, pp. 121.20–21 and 123.32).

B. Saint Gall and Reichenau

In contrast to the evidence from the Bavarian dioceses, in original charters and formulas from the Lake Constance region the term *convenientia* is regularly associated with conditional grants of land. The early medieval charters of Saint Gall form one of the richest collections of originals in Europe.¹³⁷ *Convenientia* and *conventio* appear fairly frequently in the texts of the charters with little apparent difference in meaning; this may be a case of scribal preference, although *conventio* refers more often to an entire transaction than to a conditional clause.¹³⁸ Clauses of the form “sub ea convenientia, ut” or “in ea conventione, ut” establish conditions for exchanges or outright gifts to the monastery;¹³⁹ in other cases they transform a gift into an arrangement by which the donor receives usufruct of the land granted in return for an annual payment.¹⁴⁰ In one charter, a condition that creates the possibility of redeeming a grant is phrased “sed et hanc nobiscum conventionem fecerunt, ut. . . .”¹⁴¹ Documents in which the terms refer to the transaction as a whole, rather than just a condition, describe some of these same situations.¹⁴² *Conventio* might

¹³⁷ *Urkundenbuch der Abtei Sanct Gallen* [SG], ed. Hermann Wartmann, 6 vols. (Zurich, 1863–1917). Dating and other revisions are to be found in Michael Borgolte, “Kommentar zu Ausstellungsdaten, Actum- und Güterorten der älteren St. Galler Urkunden (Wartmann I und II mit Nachträgen in III und IV),” in Michael Borgolte, Dieter Geuenich, and Karl Schmid, *Subsidia Sangallensia I: Materialien und Untersuchungen zu den Verbrüderungsbüchern und zu den älteren Urkunden des Stiftsarchivs St. Gallen*, St. Galler Kultur und Geschichte 16 (Saint Gall, 1986), 323–475.

¹³⁸ From 840 to 870, the six appearances of the term *convenientia* are written by only two scribes, Edilleoz and Theotart. The latter included the term *conventio* in a document (SG 367) from 837(?), but never again. The six appearances of the term *conventio* in the same period come from five different scribes. Later in the ninth century, *convenientia* comes to be used in the sense of “consent” (SG 621 and 716). In one document from 859 (SG 468), the sense is more general: “causa pacis atque conventionis.” A *concordia* (SG 426) settling a land dispute in 854 contains a similar phrase: “ob stabilitatem pacis et firmitatem conventionis.”

¹³⁹ SG 382, 403, and 427. Cf. SG 104 (785×789): “sed sicut nostra fuit convenientia, ita ulterius firmum et inconvulsum permaneat, et annis singulis ad nativitatem Domini quatuor denarios ad ipsam basilicam persolvere faciatis.”

¹⁴⁰ SG 179, 402, 436, 490, 690, and 2A14. This is similar to a precarial grant, though the term is not used in this particular formula. On the variety of *precaria*, see Ian Wood, “Teutsind, Witlaic and the History of Merovingian *precaria*,” in *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge, 1995), 31–52. Cf. nn. 141–42 and 146–48 below.

¹⁴¹ SG 420. Cf. SG 697, a *precaria* of 895, made “post conventionem inter nos . . . confirmatam, . . . ut adhuc notitiam firmitatis cautiorem ex nostra parte ei efficereamus.”

¹⁴² SG 93 [=ChLA 169], a *precaria*; SG 164 and 546, conditional donations; SG 480, a redemption. Cf. SG 81 [=ChLA 87], a *carta donationis* of 775×779: “quantum ad nos pertinet in omnibus convenientiae nostre.”

also indicate not the document itself or a condition, but an anterior agreement.¹⁴³

Even in documents from this collection recording dispute settlements, *convenientia* refers clearly to a condition to the settlement and not to the settlement itself. In a *traditio et convenientia*, by which Isanbard, son of the count Warin, granted to Saint Gall an extensive list of properties, the grants were made on the condition ("in eam vero rationem et convenientiam") that the monastery abandon all claims concerning certain contested properties in the Thurgau.¹⁴⁴ Similarly, in a *convenientia* of 816, Gozpert granted lands to the monastery on the condition ("ea videlicet ratione") that the monastery provide him with a stipend and accept him into the community when he wished to enter it. The *narratio* reveals that Gozpert had just won recognition of these lands from the abbey through a public *inquisitio*.¹⁴⁵

In the formula-book of Reichenau, *convenientia* appears in two formulas for precarial transactions. The first, from an eighth-century portion of the collection, describes a precarial grant. The *narratio* rehearses the *cartula donationis* by which the original grant was made to (in this case) a monastery, and the petition of the donors that they be allowed the usufruct of the donated lands during their lives; the *dispositio* effects the regrant for life against payment of an annual rent. The text implies, fairly clearly, that the document itself is a *precaria*, while the *convenientia* is the unfulfilled condition enshrined in the document: "And no one . . . should in any way be able to destroy this *precaria* that we have issued, but it should remain stable and valid for all time . . . and the *convenientia* described in it should be fulfilled."¹⁴⁶ The second formula de-

¹⁴³ E.g., SG 49: "Et post haec convencione facta. . ."

¹⁴⁴ SG 190, dated 806: "in eam vero rationem et convenientiam, ut querellas, quas contra me habetis per singula loca in Durgauge, ab hodierno die et deinceps de partibus monasterii vestri sancti Gallonis neque contra me neque contra heredes meos nullo umquam tempore non reppetatis, unde nos vobiscum una cum advocato vestro nomine Hrodino bone pacis convenit, quod cum supradicta traditione satisfacti fuissetis." On Isanbard and Warin, see Michael Borgolte, *Die Grafen Alemanniens in merowingischer und karolingischer Zeit. Eine Prosopographie*, Archäologie und Geschichte 2 (Sigmaringen, 1986), 150–56 and 282–87, esp. 151.

¹⁴⁵ SG 221: "Presentibus et futuris notum et conpertum permaneat in aevum, quod me Cozpertum cum rectoribus monasterii sancti Galli, Cozberto nimirum abbate et ceteris confratribus suis, atque cum Lantperto eorum advocato pro rebus subter in locis denominatis sitis habere inquisitionem rectam contingebat . . . cujus inquisitionis vestitura sine aliqua interpellationis molestia recte perpendentes me vestierunt." Other dispute-settlement conventions: SG 367, a *conventionis cartula* from which Formulae Sangallenses misc. 21 was presumably transcribed (*Formulae*, 389); SG 3A7, a *conventio* of 854, in which after a lengthy conflict the bishop of Constance and the monastery of Saint Gall settled a boundary dispute.

¹⁴⁶ Formulae Augienses, Coll. B, 3 (*Formulae*, 349.30–33): "Nullusque . . . hanc precariam, quam nos emisimus, nullatenus valeat destruere, sed perennis temporibus stabilis et firma perduret, prout tempus dicaverit, et convenientia in ea discripta finita fuerit."

scribes a precarial grant extended to the third generation. The *narratio* again details the terms of an original grant—that the heir of the original donor should hold the property from the monastery—and the subsequent petition of the first heir that the grant be extended to *his* heirs as well. In this document, the term *convenientia* refers to the promise to pay an annual rent due to the monastery.¹⁴⁷ As in the first formula, the convention is not the entire arrangement but only a condition.¹⁴⁸

C. Italy

Despite the significant amount of ink spilled by Italian and German legal historians over the *convenientia*, the only author to adduce as evidence substantial amounts of private charter material was Calasso. Even Astuti, who disagreed with Calasso's findings, based his analysis of charters entirely on the material collected by his predecessor.¹⁴⁹ Calasso drew a series of conclusions from this evidence, exclusively Italian, all pointing (for him) to the existence of the *convenientia* as the "consensual element" of a contract, if not a consensual contract *per se*: *convenientia* was, in essence, the *incóntro delle volontà*, the agreement of the two people involved in a transaction; any agreement whatsoever could be concluded by *convenientia*, or sometimes by a combination of *convenientia* and *carta*; a *convenientia* could be the guarantee for an agreement, alone, or along with a *wadium*; an agreement completed *per convenientiam* could take on the name *convenientia*, alone, or in conjunction with another term; *convenientia* could also mean compromise (Ital. *transazione*), in

¹⁴⁷ *Formulae Augienses*, Coll. B, 17 (*Formulae*, 355.24–27): "In ea ratione, ut ipse ill. ipsum censum annis singulis istam convenientiam maiorem fatiat, id est tantum et tantum, friskingas tantum, sive escas . . . fatiat duci ad ill. curtem nostram. . . ." Cf. *Formulae Andecavenses* 30 (*Formulae*, 14; UdM, I, 36), a record of judgment that refers to agreements establishing a holding *ad parciarias* (from the Roman law contract *colonia partiaria*) as *convenenciae*.

¹⁴⁸ The use of *convenientia* to introduce a condition appears elsewhere in the Reichenau formula-book, in a supplementary clause to be added, if necessary, to a charter of donation allowing for the possibility of the future redemption of the property donated (*Formulae Augienses*, Coll. B, 9 [*Formulae*, 353.7]): "Sub ea videlicet convenientia presentem traditionem statuo." The primary charter (no. 6, at p. 351.23–24) contains a conditional clause introduced by the phrase "In ea ratione videlicet, ut"; a similar phrase introduces each of the other four supplementary clauses (nos. 8, 10, 11, and 12; p. 352.33 and p. 353.12, 17, and 23). Cf. a tenth-century formula for a *carta precaria* from Trier (*Formulae extravagantes* I.25 [*Formulae*, 548.31]). A forged confirmation (probably from the twelfth century) for Reichenau in the name of Charles III contains a penal clause that begins "Hac tamen convenientia" (*Karoli III diplomata*, no. 191, pp. 321–24 at 324.13).

¹⁴⁹ Calasso, *La "convenientia,"* 64–86; Guido Astuti, *I contratti obbligatori nella storia del diritto italiano*, Parte generale, 1 (Milan, 1952), 405–10.

a technical sense, within or outside of a judicial context. Calasso also pointed out the occasional equivalence of *convenientia* with a series of other terms (*stantia*, *conventio*, *placitum*, *pactum*). Astuti, insisting on his thesis that the terms *convenientia* and *stantia* possessed only a generic meaning, deprived of special juridical relevance, rejected the significance of Calasso's findings, although their conclusions were perhaps closer than Astuti cared to admit.

Despite the frequent references in this literature to the *alto medioevo*, the overwhelming majority of charter evidence discussed by these scholars is drawn from the eleventh, twelfth, and even thirteenth centuries; this is due perhaps to the original focus of the debate on the Lombard legislative texts. Calasso cites only four documents from before 900, and an additional ten from before 950. Although the early medieval evidence is comparatively thin, it is not that thin: a preliminary search of some of the major collections reveals an additional twenty-seven documents from before 950 that use the term *convenientia* (see Table on pp. 48–49).¹⁵⁰ These merit closer examination. The semantic range of the term in the Italian material corresponds well to the evidence presented above. Within this range, however, three different specific meanings of *convenientia* are most common: conditional grants of land, as at Saint Gall and Reichenau; dispute settlements, as in the Bavarian dioceses; and more generally, promises. In nearly all of the charters, the term appears in the closing clauses of the document, in the context of a statement of guarantee or penalty, or in the subscriptions of the parties or the scribe.

The earliest appearance of the term *convenientia* in a private charter from Italian lands is in a document dated to 735×736, probably from Chiusi. It records an agreement between (“*placuit adque conuinet in[ter]*”) Tasulo *centinari* and Pertulo Baruccio, that the latter should inhabit the house (*casa*) of the former, perform various services, and make various payments in kind. In addition, the charter lays out terms for dissolution of the agreement. The scribe added “Which *convenientia* I, Boniface, asked by the parties, have drawn up in two identical charters.”¹⁵¹ Pertulo's subscription identifies him as *promissuris*.

¹⁵⁰ There are many more, especially in *Codex diplomaticus Cavensis* [CD Cavensis], ed. Michaele Morcaldi et al., 10 vols. to date (Milan, 1873–93, Cava dei Tirreni, 1984–). See (with reference to later documentation) Alessandro Pratesi, “Presentazione dei volumi IX e X del *Codex diplomaticus Cavensis*,” in *Scrittura e produzione documentaria nel Mezzogiorno longobardo: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio* (Badia di Cava, 3–5 ottobre 1990), ed. Giovanni Vitolo and Francesco Mottola, Acta Cavensia 1 ([Cava dei Tirreni], 1991), 29–39.

¹⁵¹ “*Quem uiro [sic] conuenientia ego Bonifatius rogatus a partibus in duabus cartule uno tenore scripsi*” (*Codice diplomatico Longobardo* [CDL], ed. Luigi Schiaparelli et al., 5 vols. in 7 parts, Fonti per la storia d'Italia 62–66 [Rome, 1929–86], no. 57 [Table, Doc. 1]). In the Table and in the following notes CDL texts will be cited by number in the main series of the edition or in the separate Spoletan and Beneventan series in vol. 5.

This, then, is a written lease, presented as a promise from the tenant to the landlord to fulfill his obligations.

This particular construction of a lease is more explicit in two documents from Lucca. In the *narratio* of the first, dated 770, the lessee stipulates the grant of land; the *dispositio* is his promise to fulfill the terms of the grant.¹⁵² The document closes with a counterpromise by the lessor ("promitto me") to pay a composition if he violates the terms of the grant. In the second document, dated 777, a conditional clause in the *narratio* states the basic terms of the grant,¹⁵³ while the substantive portion is once again the promise ("spondemus") to pay a composition if the terms are violated. Each of these documents is labeled a *cartula convenientie* several times in the subscriptions.¹⁵⁴

Two other early documents emphasize the element of promise in the agreement. The first, dated 768, is a grant presented as a mutual undertaking: Aimo of Viterbo and the priest Gumperto agree that the latter should take over the management of the church of S. Salvatore (Toscanello), living there, managing the estates, and performing the offices. Gumperto promises ("promitto") to pay a composition if he fails to carry out his duties; in return, Aimo promises ("spondemus adque promittimus") not to evict Gumperto from the church, or to attempt to replace him with another priest. The scribe labeled the document *convenientia* in the text as in the subscriptions; another scribe, acting solely as a witness to this document, wrote *convenientia et promissione*.¹⁵⁵ The second document, dated 770, from Piacenza, is not a lease but an exchange, and is described as such in the subscriptions (*cartola cummutationis*). The language effecting the exchange is followed, however, by mutual promises to respect the agreement, and the two charters drawn up are called *cartole conuinentiae*; this may simply be formulaic reflex on the part of the scribe, but the reflex may have been triggered by the presence of a mutual promise, or perhaps by the specific promise of the penalty clause.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² "Manifestum est mihi . . . quia per cartulam confirmasti me . . . in casa", "proinde per hanc cartulam repromittere preuideo . . . in ipsa casa uestra resedere" (CDL 238 [Table, Doc. 6]).

¹⁵³ "Manifestum est . . . quia ad residendum posuisti nos tu . . . ad residendum . . . tali tenore ut . . ." (Domenico Bertini, *Dissertazioni sopra la storia ecclesiastica lucchese*, Memorie e documenti per servire all'istoria del ducato di Lucca 4.1, no. 12, Documenti, pp. 17–18 [Table, Doc. 9]).

¹⁵⁴ There are two charters, nearly identical in formula to these promise-conventions, that do not employ the term *convenientia*; the scribe simply refers to them as *carta* or *cartula*: CDL 263 [=ChLA 747] and CDL 264 [=ChLA 748] (both from 772).

¹⁵⁵ CDL 213 (Table, Doc. 5). Cf. CDL 215 (767×768), a fragment with a very similar opening.

¹⁵⁶ CDL 249 (Table, Doc. 7). Cf. *Il regesto di Farfa compilato da Gregorio di Catino* [Reg. Farfa], ed. Ignazio Giorgi and Ugo Balzani, 5 vols. (Rome, 1879–1914), no. 313, 3:16

This association of the term *convenientia* with transactions containing promises continues into the ninth century,¹⁵⁷ but another aspect of the grant from 735 becomes much more common: the establishment of a written lease, or *libellus*. Although these often contain unilateral or mutual promises to fulfill the terms, the focus of the document is not the promise to adhere to the terms of the grant, but rather the grant itself. Thus, for example, in a document from Monte Amiata dated 816, abbot Audualdus of S. Salvatore confirms to the priest Maianu various properties, on condition that ("in talis vero tenore et convenientia . . . ut . . .") he pay various rents and perform various services; there follows the mutual promise of the parties, after which the scribe added "Unde duabus livelli convenientie n(ost)re uno tenore . . . scribere rogavimus."¹⁵⁸ Other *libelli* employ the term *convenientia* in slightly different ways, but with the same effect.¹⁵⁹

Louis the Pious confirmed a *libellus* in the only one of his diplomas encountered so far that contains the term *convenientia*. Dated 17 August 819 and preserved in the capitular archive of Arezzo, it is a confirmation of a *libellus* between a priest named Barbacianus and Hagan, count of Arezzo. The *narratio* suggests that the imperial scribe was working from an earlier charter, the text of which the confirmation appears to follow closely. The phrase "tales inter vos esse convenientias, ut," which introduces the penalty clauses, might represent "tali convenientia, ut" in the original charter. The document con-

(Table, Doc. 25); *Regii Neapolitani archivi monumenta*, 6 vols. (Naples, 1845–61), no. 29, 1:101–5 (Table, Doc. 41: "per chartulas convenientie securitatis"); and the connection of the convention to the *guadia* and guarantees in general (Calasso, *La "convenientia,"* 76–78).

¹⁵⁷ *Codex diplomaticus Amiatinus: Urkundenbuch der Abtei S. Salvatore am Monte Amiata: Von den Anfängen bis zum Regierungsantritt Papst Innozenz III. (736–1198)* [CD *Amiatinus*], ed. Wilhelm Kurze, 3 vols. to date (Tübingen, 1974–), no. 89, 1:179–80 (Table, Doc. 17): a conditional grant to the monastery, with a promise not to violate the agreement. This charter contains interesting orthography: "quam promiss(ionis) v(e)l hobligatzonis me cartula conbenentze scriberem rogabi." See also CD *Amiatinus* 126, 1:267–69 (Table, Doc. 21): "modo vero per nostra convenientja et mea qui supra Giselperto bona voluntate promissio." In this case, however, this is the only use of the term in the text.

¹⁵⁸ CD *Amiatinus* 75, 1:147–50 (Table, Doc. 13). CD *Amiatinus* 86, 1:170–74 (Table, Doc. 15) is nearly identical in formula (though not in content) and was written by the same scribe.

¹⁵⁹ CD *Amiatinus* 45, 1:86–87 (Table, Doc. 10): "convenientja, qual(iter) stetit atque convenit inter nobis. . . in s(upra)s(crip)ta convenientja"; CD *Amiatinus* 127, 1:269–71 (Table, Doc. 22): "quia p(er) nostra v(os)traque convenientja. . . Unde duob(us) liv(e)lli adque convenientje nostre uno tinore facte"; and *Le carte dello Archivio Capitolare di Santa Maria di Novara*, vol. 1: 729–1034, ed. F. Gabotto et al., Biblioteca della Società storica subalpina 78, Corpus chartarum Italiae 55 (Pinerolo, 1913), no. 10, pp. 13–14 (Table, Doc. 23): "quis ex Ipsis aut eorum heredes uel successores eorum se de hanc Conuenencjam remouere quiesierjnt et non compleuerjnt."

tinues: "He has asked that we confirm with a charter (*oraculum*) of our authority your *convenientiae*. . . . Consequently we direct and order that these *convenientiae* made between you remain stable and immutable in our time and in the future." The emperor was asked to confirm not just the penalty clauses but the whole *libellus*, which enshrined an agreement that the scribe chose to call a *convenientia*.¹⁶⁰

Some Italian *convenientiae* from before 950 also recorded different types of conditional grants, a grant of a *beneficium*,¹⁶¹ for example, or a grant *ad restaurandum*.¹⁶² Others detailed land transactions not presented as conditional tenures.¹⁶³ In an example of the latter type, a grant *in vicariam*, the transaction

¹⁶⁰ *Documenti per la storia della città di Arezzo nel medio evo*, vol. 1, *Codice diplomatico* (an. 650?–1180), ed. Ubaldo Pasqui, Documenti di storia italiana 11 (Arezzo, 1899), no. 23, pp. 35–36 (Table, Doc. 14): "Unde nobis eandem libelli conscriptionem ad legendum ostendit, in qua continebatur ut idem Barbacianus praesbiter et nepos eius nomine Pertulus et heredes eius, de supradicta terra singulis annis decimam partem omnium frugum, quae in ea conlaboraverint, tibi vel successoribus tuis solvere deberent; ea c[on]d[i]tione, ut tu et successores tui nihil ab eis requiratis, sed in eo, si illi annis singulis haec persolverint, stabilis et firma de tua et successorum tuorum parte haec constitutio conservetur, et tales inter vos esse convenientias, ut si vel illi de praedicto redditu negligentes fuerint, partem tuae vel successorum tuorum pro hac causa centum solidos componant. Item si tu vel successores tui illis haec solventibus et, de hoc redditu nullam negligentiam habentibus, praedictam terram auferre conati fueritis, ad partem suprascriptae ecclesiae centum solidos componatis. Has vestras convenientias, secundum legem Langobardorum, per duos libellos simili tenore conscriptos et subscriptione testium roboratos petiit, ut nostrae auctoritatis oraculo confirmassemus. . . . Proinde praecipimus atque iubemus, ut haec inter eos facta convenientia, nostris futurisque temporibus firma et stabilis permaneat." Cf. *Reg. Farfa* 282, 2:233–38 (Table, Doc. 20; also edited in *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. diplomata*, ed. Theodor Schieffer, MGH Diplomata Karolinorum 3 [Berlin, 1966], Lothar I, no. 51, pp. 146–53), a confirmation of Lothar I to Farfa in 840, part of which states that "properties of Scaptolfus, his wife Formosa, and his son Johannes, that he granted to that monastery by charters of presentation or donation, as well as records of agreement or *convenientiae* (or 'records of agreement and of *convenientia*' ['breues pactuationis uel conuenientiae']) that were made concerning those properties, shall remain inviolate."

¹⁶¹ *CD Cavensis* 11, 1:11–12 (Table, Doc. 16).

¹⁶² *CD Cavensis* 169, 1:217–18 (Table, Doc. 38); *CD Cavensis* 150, 1:193–94 (Table, Doc. 37) appears to be a sale-convention *ad restaurandum*: "congruum est nobis bindere et in aliquantum restaurare exinde de casis eidem ecclesie, qui ceciderunt."

¹⁶³ The *Chronicle of Farfa* records that abbot Peter (890–919) "suscepit in convenientia" certain lands, granting others in return to Odelprando clericus (*Il "Chronicon farfense" di Gregorio di Catino: Precedono la "Constructio farfensis" e gli scritti di Ugo di Farfa*, ed. Ugo Balzani, 2 vols., Fonti per la storia d'Italia 33–34 [Rome, 1903], 1:233 [Table, Doc. 32]); I have been unable to locate the charter. Two of the conventions mentioned in *Reg. Farfa* are divisions of lands (207, 2:168–70, and 262, 2:215 [Table, Docs. 12 and 18]). Cf. an exchange and division, both made "per bona convenientia" (*CD Cavensis* 133, 1:170–72, and 143, 1:183–85 [Table, Docs. 31 and 34]).

is referred to as a *convenientia*, and the document cites at length the law on guarantees from the Lombard code: "If any Lombard should make a *convenientia* concerning whatever things with bishops, abbots, or guardians of churches, or the heads of guesthouses. . . ." ¹⁶⁴

Like their counterparts in other regions, Italian scribes used the term *convenientia* not only in conditional transactions and promises but also in documents connected with dispute settlement. One of the earliest examples in this sample, a document in the register of Farfa dated to 751, illustrates this usage; like many dispute settlements, it involved a conditional grant of land.¹⁶⁵ After a long-running conflict between the monastery and two priests concerning certain lands, and after a judgment by a royal *missus*, the abbot, "considering . . . how he might bring the dispute with the priests to a close," granted them a *casale* for life, on the condition that they abandon their quarrel with the monastery. The phrase "*sed haec convenientia firma et stabilis permanere debeat*" introduces the penalty clause, and the document is labeled *carta convenientiae* in one of the subscriptions.¹⁶⁶ Another long-term dispute involving Farfa, one that ended up before the papal court, was concluded by a similar agreement in 813; this charter ends with mutual promises and is labeled *cartula convenientiae et repromissionis*.¹⁶⁷ Not all disputes were resolved with conditional grants, however. A dispute ("*magna intentio*") between the abbey of Farfa and the heirs of a benefactor was settled in 745 by a division of lands; the penalty clause states the fine due for acting "against this *convenientia*."¹⁶⁸ In 867(?), Bishop Ramfus of Gaieta, Maurus *clericus*, and Iohannes *vir honestus* came before the *hypatus* Docibilis I to settle a dispute involving *coloni* purchased from the church. The dispute was resolved by an outright division, along with a promise by the bishop to drop his complaints; the process was described as arriving at a

¹⁶⁴ *Leges Langobardorum*, Aistulf 7 (v.16) (ed. Bluhme, 201.20–21): "Si quis langobardus cum pontificibus abbatibus vel custodes heccliesiarum, seu xenodochiorum prepositis, de quibuscumque rebus conbenientiam fecerint. . . ."

¹⁶⁵ On this point generally, see the fascinating analysis by Chris Wickham, "Land Disputes and their Social Framework in Lombard-Carolingian Italy, 700–900," in *Settlement of Disputes*, ed. Davies and Fouracre, 105–24.

¹⁶⁶ *CDL* Spoleto 16; *Reg. Farfa* 31, 2:42–43 (Table, Doc. 3; see also Herbert Zielinski, *Studien zu den spoletinischen "Privaturkunden" des 8. Jahrhunderts und ihrer Überlieferung im Regestum Farfense*, Bibliothek des Deutschen historischen Instituts in Rom 39 [Tübingen, 1972], no. 16, esp. p. 123).

¹⁶⁷ *Reg. Farfa* 199, 2:162–63 (Table, Doc. 11).

¹⁶⁸ *CDL* Spoleto 5; *Reg. Farfa* 1223, 5:211–12 (Table, Doc. 2); see also Zielinski, *Studien*, no. 5 and p. 123: "*contra hanc convenientiam*." Similarly, *CDL* Benevento 7 (Table, Doc. 4): "*presens cartula convenientie*"; ". . . duas cartulas convenientie uno tinore conscribas."

convenientia.¹⁶⁹ In each of these cases, the settlement involved a compromise—a conditional grant or a division—rather than an outright victory for one of the parties. But—as in the private charter of 626 from the Limousin, and in contrast to the situation foreseen in the law of Egica (both discussed on pp. 23–26 above)—a court regularly played a role in the compromise: *convenientia* was here a part of the official process rather than a purely extrajudicial settlement.

Convenientia in these documents, as in some of the other evidence examined, often seems to indicate the agreement rather than the document recording the agreement.¹⁷⁰ The existence of *cartulae convenientiae*, however, show that the *convenientia* was also recognized as a distinct type of document. Important confirmation of this fact is found in a parchment preserved in the episcopal archive in Pisa. It is a list of eighty-eight documents “returned” by Teusperto to Ghittia and her daughters; the reason for the composition of the list, dated to 768×774(?), is unknown. Among the various *cartae*, *breve*, *iudicati*, *epistolae*, and *praecepta* (with subdivisions listed for many, for example, *cartula vinditionis*, *praecepta confirmationis* . . .), there are two *cartulae convenientiae*.¹⁷¹ An account of a dispute held at Spoleto in 807 attests to the existence of two *convenientiae* that were read and handed back and forth during the course of

¹⁶⁹ *Codex diplomaticus Cajetanus* [CD Cajetanus], 3 parts in 4, Tabularium Casinense 1–3 (Monte Cassino, 1887–1960), no. 13, 1:22–23 (Table, Doc. 24): “. . . ante eius presentia venimus inde in bonam convenientiam. . . numquam deinceps querellam aut calumniam sustinebitis vos.” For early tenth-century disputes using the term *convenientia*, see *Codice diplomatico Amalfitano*, ed. Riccardi Filangieri di Candida, 2 vols. (Naples, 1917–51), no. 2, 1:2–4 (Table, Doc. 33); *Regii Neapolitani archivi monumenta* 29, 1:101–5 (Table, Doc. 35); *CD Cavensis* 148, 1:189–91, with Maria Galante, *La datazione dei documenti del “Codex diplomaticus Cavensis”*: *Appendice: Edizione degli inediti*, Collana storica 2 (Salerno, 1980), no. 6, pp. 25–26 (Table, Doc. 36); *Il chartularium del monastero di S. Benedetto di Conversano*, ed. Domenico Morea, 1 vol. only (Monte Cassino, 1892), no. 10, pp. 28–30 (Table, Doc. 39); and *CD Cajetanus* 49, 1:82–83 (Doc. 40). An additional dispute-settlement convention, *CD Cavensis* 112, 1:141, is dated incorrectly to 900; the correct date is April 990 (Galante, *La datazione*, no. 24, pp. 43–44).

¹⁷⁰ Zielinski (*Studien*, 123) observes, “In Nr. 5 und 16 [Table, Docs. 2 and 3] wird die Urkunde *cartula convenientiae*, der Vertrag *convenientia* genannt.” While this is true of Doc. 3, it does not appear to be the case with the other document, which does not contain the phrase *cartula convenientiae*. See also n. 107 above.

¹⁷¹ CDL 295 (Table, Doc. 8). This is a precious document for understanding the contemporary organization and composition of archives. Cf. Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Cancelleria reial, Pergamins, Ramon Berenguer IV, 258, a twelfth-century list of 144 parchments from the comital archive of Barcelona. These seem to have been pawned and then redeemed (Thomas N. Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts of Catalonia under the Early Count-Kings [1151–1213]*, 2 vols. [Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1984], 1:97 and n. 73); perhaps something similar explains the genesis of this Italian document.

the *placitum*; the account distinguishes these from other documents under consideration at the hearing.¹⁷² Similarly, a dispute involving the bishop of Piacenza and a group of dependent tenants of the church in 832—the record of which is itself called a *cartula convenencie*—focussed on an earlier *cartula convenencie* between those tenants and the individual who had donated the land to the church.¹⁷³ Elements in these charters hint at the existence of a formula: in several of the earliest documents in this selection, for example, the *dispositio* begins with the phrase “*placuit atque convenit, ut.*” The frequent appearance of the term in the penalty clause or *rogatio* of these documents likewise suggests the existence of a standard notarial form.¹⁷⁴ In fact, purely “generic” uses of the term *convenientia* are rare before the mid-ninth century. Of the twenty-one documents in the sample before 850, ten either are themselves called *carta convenientia* or make reference to such a document (see Table). The “generic” phrases identified by Astuti and Calasso—“*per convenientia*,” “*per bona convenientia*,” or “*per bona convenientia gadia*”—do not appear until 821, after which they become more common.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² *Reg. Farfa* 207, 2:168–70 (Table, Doc. 12): “*fecimus nobis in primis relegi breue illud traditionis. . . . Deinde fecimus relegi illam conuenientiam obligationis. . . . ecce conuenientia obligationis quam michi fecit iste rumuald ante ipsam quam uos ostenditis. . . . Et relecta conuenientia ipsa. . . .*”

¹⁷³ Raffaello Volpini, “Placiti del ‘Regnum Italiae’ (secc. IX–XI): Primi contributi per un nuovo censimento,” in *Contributi dell’Istituto di storia medioevale* 3, ed. Piero Zerbi, Scienze storiche 12 (Milan, 1975), 245–520 at 447–51, *Compositiones, Investiturae* 1 (Table, Doc. 19): “*sicut in cartula ipsa convenientia legitur . . . sic(ut) in s(upra)s(crip)ta cartula convenientie legitur . . . sicut in cartula ipsa convenientie legitur.*” The reformulation of this earlier agreement is itself referred to as a *convenientia* in the penalty clause and eschatocol: “*quis ex ipsis aut successors vel heredes ipsorum se de hanc convenientia distollere aut remove re quesierit . . . qui hanc conveniencie fieri rogaverunt . . . in hac conveniencia s(ub)s(crip)s(i) . . . in hanc cartula convenencie rogatus s(ub)s(crip)s(i).*” Similarly, *CDL Benevento* 7 (Table, Doc. 4) is a *cartula convenientie* that refers to previous agreements, invalidated after the dispute: “*Similiter et sint amodo cassate vel corrupte, nullum in se habentes roborem, neque manusconscriptas nec per iudicata vel precepta, que Aystulfus rex (!) emisit de suprascripta convenientia. . . .*”

¹⁷⁴ “*Placuit atque convenit, ut . . .*” (Table, Doc. 2; see n. 168 above); similarly, Table, Docs. 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 23, etc.; and the seventh-century document from the Limousin (see n. 89 above). See also the comments of Zielinski at *CDL*, vol. 5, p. 22. On the penalty clause, see Joachim Stuttmann, “Die Pönformel der mittelalterlichen Urkunden,” *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 12 (1932): 251–374, esp. 262–302. The demonstration of the existence of such a notarial formula and the identification of its particular characteristics will require a more thorough investigation of the early medieval Italian evidence than has been presented here.

¹⁷⁵ Table, Docs. 16, 21, 26, 28, 30, etc.

TABLE
Convenientia in Italian charters before 950

- A: the document is itself—or contains a reference to (*)—a *cartula convenientia*
 B: the term *convenientia* appears in penalty or guarantee clauses, or in the subscriptions
 C: the term *convenientia* appears in a “generic” use (see p. 47)

Doc.	Date	Edition (for abbreviations, see nn. 149–72)	ChLA	Calasso reference	A	B	C
1	735	CDL 57	731	64 n. 1, 67–68		x	
2	745	CDL Spoleto 5; Reg. Farfa 1223, 5:211–12		—		x	
3	751	CDL Spoleto 16; Reg. Farfa 31, 2:42–43		—	x	x	
4	766	CDL Benevento 7		—	x	x	
5	768	CDL 213	744	—		x	
6	770	CDL 238	1011	—	x	x	
7	770	CDL 249	826	—	x	x	
8	768× 774	CDL 295	808	—	x*		
9	777	Bertini, <i>Dissertazioni</i> , no. 12, Documenti, pp. 17–18	1061	68 n. 3, 78 n. 3	x	x	
10	794	CD Amiatinus 45, 1:86–87	772	—		x	
11	813	Reg. Farfa 199, 2:162–63		—	x	x	
12	814	Reg. Farfa 207, 2:168–70		—			
13	816	CD Amiatinus 75, 1:147–50		—		x	
14	819	Documenti, ed. Pasqui, no. 23, pp. 35–36		69 n. 1		x	
15	821	CD Amiatinus 86, 1:170–74		—		x	
16	821	CD Cavensis 11, 1:11–12		69 n. 4, 78 n. 3	x	x	x
17	822	CD Amiatinus 89, 1:179–80		—	x	x	
18	827	Reg. Farfa 262, 2:215		—		x	
19	832	Volpini, “Placiti,” <i>Compositio- nes, Investiturae</i> 1, pp. 447–51		—	x	x	
20	840	Reg. Farfa 282, 2:233–38; <i>Lotharii . . . diplomata</i> , Lothar I, no. 51, pp. 146–53		—			

Doc.	Date	Edition (for abbreviations, see nn. 149–72)	ChLA	Calasso reference	A	B	C
21	849	<i>CD Amiatinus</i> 126, 1:267–69		—			x
22	851	<i>CD Amiatinus</i> 127, 1:269–71		—		x	
23	867	<i>Le carte</i> , ed. Gabotto et al., no. 10, pp. 13–14		—		x	
24	867	<i>Codex diplomaticus Cajetanus</i> 13, 1:22–23		—			
25	874	<i>Reg. Farfa</i> 313, 3:16		—		x	
26	884	<i>CD Cavensis</i> 100, 1:128–30		77 n. 3			x
27	882× 87	<i>Le carte</i> , ed. Gabotto et al., no. 14, pp. 18–20		—		x	
28	901	<i>CD Cavensis</i> 113, 1:141–43		73, 77 n. 2		x	x
29	915	<i>Documenti Longobardi i Greci per la storia dell'Italia meridionale nel medioevo</i> , ed. Giambattista Beltrani (Rome, 1877), no. 4, pp. 4–5		—			
30	915	<i>Il chartularium</i> , ed. Morea, no. 6, pp. 15–19		74			x
31	917	<i>CD Cavensis</i> 133, 1:170–72		74, 75 n. 2			x
32	890× 919	<i>Il "Chronicon farfense" di Gregorio di Catino</i> , 1:233		—	x* (?)		
33	922	<i>Codice diplomatico Amalfitano</i> 2, 1:2–4		—			
34	925	<i>CD Cavensis</i> 143, 1:183–85		70			x
35	927	<i>Regii Neapolitani archivi monumenta</i> 29, 1:101–5		84 n. 1	x	x	x
36	928	<i>CD Cavensis</i> 148, 1:189–91 (cf. Galante, <i>La datazione</i> , no. 6, pp. 25–26)		84 n. 1			
37	930	<i>CD Cavensis</i> 150, 1:193–94		75, 97 n. 1			x
38	940	<i>CD Cavensis</i> 169, 1:217–18		76 n. 1			x
39	941	<i>Il chartularium</i> , ed. Morea, no. 10, pp. 28–30		—			
40	946	<i>CD Cajetanus</i> 49, 1:82–83		—			
41	948	<i>Regii Neapolitani archivi monumenta</i> 51, 2:1–2		79 n. 1	x*		

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* *

This study was motivated by a desire to identify the early medieval antecedents for the written agreements known as *convenientiae*, documents especially common in southern France and Catalonia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. To return to the questions asked at the outset: Did a written agreement called a *convenientia* exist in the early Middle Ages? Yes. The early medieval archives provide ample evidence of the existence of a document—a diplomatic form—called the *convenientia*. What was its function? Here we must broaden the question and consider the *convenientia* not simply as a document but as an institution. The scribes of private charters turned to the term in specific contexts, especially promises, conditional grants, and dispute settlement.

This is, however, only part of the story, a part based solely on those instances in which *convenientia* can be shown to have a specific meaning—in which it is used in a technical sense. As noted throughout, *convenientia* exhibits a wide semantic range; the term does not always refer to a written instrument, and scribes often used it in a purely general sense to mean “agreement.” The *convenientia*, in the technical sense, was just one of many types of agreements, formal and informal, oral and written; as seen, it is impossible to isolate the *convenientia* from this context. Thus while documenting the existence of the notarial form in the early Middle Ages, the preceding analysis also serves to elucidate the more general role of agreements in early medieval society. Just as the “conflictual structures” that become vital in a “stateless France” after the millennium have deep roots,¹⁷⁶ so too do structures of agreement. This leads to the final problem: agreements were not new, the term *convenientia* was not new, and an agreement called a *convenientia* was not new. Since the *convenientia* that flourished in the eleventh and twelfth centuries also addressed dispute settlement, promises, and conditional grants, does the evidence prove the continuity of an institution?

It is possible to date the appearance of the term *convenientia* in the documentation of southern France and the north of the Iberian peninsula with a fair degree of precision. After a mention in a diploma of Carloman for the cathedral

¹⁷⁶ I borrow here the phrases of Patrick Geary. For the literature on the central Middle Ages, see his “Living with Conflicts in Stateless France: A Typology of Conflict Management Mechanisms, 1050–1200,” in Patrick J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994), 125–60 (English translation of an article published in *Annales E. S. C.* 41 [1986]: 1107–33), and works cited there. For the early medieval period, see his “Extra-Judicial Means of Conflict Resolution” (cited in n. 4 above) and works cited there.

of Narbonne in 884, the term *convenientia* reappears in Languedocian charters only from the mid-tenth century: a lease by the abbot of La Grasse (940); an exchange of lands in Nîmes (956); an oath by the recipient of a guardianship (*baliza/comanda*) over lands of the monastery of Camon (959); the testament of Raymond II, count of Rouergue (ca. 961); etc.¹⁷⁷ The Catalonian evidence begins somewhat later, though only because scribes there took a while to settle on a standard orthography. *Conventio* appears in the scribal vocabulary as early as 889, *conventus* by 900, *convencia* in the 960s, and *convenientia* in 997.¹⁷⁸ In this last case, the term describes a condition rather than referring to the document or the transaction as a whole; the earliest agreements and documents clearly referred to as *convenientiae* date from 1014 and 1017. The earliest surviving document with the form that would become standard—"hec est *conveniencia*"—is a treaty of ca. 1022 between the counts Berenguer Ramon I of Barcelona and Ermengol II of Urgell.¹⁷⁹ The term, with varying orthography, also appears from the tenth century in texts from Aragón, though it seems to arrive in the kingdoms of Castile and León only from late eleventh century.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ Diploma of Carloman: see n. 74 above; La Grasse: [Alphonse Jacques] Mahul, *Cartulaire et archives des communes de l'ancien diocèse et de l'arrondissement administratif de Carcassonne*, 6 vols. in 7 parts (Paris, 1857–82), 2:221; Nîmes: Paris, Archives Nationales, J. 307 (Toulouse iv, 48) (Alexandre Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des chartes*, 5 vols. [Paris, 1863–1909], no. 12, 1:14–15); Camon: *Gallia christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*, 16 vols. (Paris, 1715–1865), vol. 13, Instrumenta, Mirepoix, app. 2, cols. 226–27; Rouergue: Claude de Vic and J.-J. Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc avec des notes et les pièces justificatives*, n. ed. (Privat), 16 vols. (Toulouse, 1872–1904), no. 111, 5:240–50 ("illa *convenientia* . . . ista *convenientia*").

¹⁷⁸ *Conventio*: Pierre de Marca, *Marca Hispanica, sive limes Hispanicus* . . . , ed. Étienne Baluze (Paris, 1688), app. 49, cols. 821–22; *conventus*: *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Vic*, ed. Eduard Junyent i Subira, 5 fascicles to date (Vic, 1980–), no. 30, pp. 28–29; *convencia*: Barcelona, Arxiu Capítular, "Libri antiquitatum," vol. 2, nos. 477 (fol. 163rb–va) and 479 (fols. 163vb–164ra); *convenientia*: "Libri antiquitatum," vol. 1, no. 412 (fol. 157rb–vb).

¹⁷⁹ Barcelona, Arxiu Capítular, "Libri antiquitatum," vol. 2, no. 537 (fols. 182va–183rb); Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona de Aragó, Ordes religiosos (Monacals), Sant Benet de Bages 134; Cancelleria reial, Pergamins, Berenguer Ramon I, extraintentari, 2001 (1018×1026; *Liber feudorum maior*: *Cartulario real que se conserva en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Francisco Miquel Rosell, 2 vols. [Barcelona, 1945–47], no. 157, 1:158–64). See also Cebrià Baraut, "Els documents, dels anys 1010–1035, de l'Arxiu Capítular de la Seu d'Urgell," *Urgellia* 4 (1981): 7–186, no. 486 (184–85), datable to 1011×1035. For a more detailed discussion of this evidence, see my "Making and Keeping Agreements," 77–132.

¹⁸⁰ *Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña*, ed. Antonio Ubieto Arteta, 2 vols., Textos medievales 6, 9 (Valencia, 1962–63), no. 13, 1:45–46 (905×925; *comenenza/couenienza*); no. 31, 1:91–93 (s. X; *pagina convenientia*); Roger Collins, "Visigothic Law and Regional Custom in Disputes in Early Medieval Spain," in *Settlement of Disputes*, ed. Davies and Fouracre, 85–104 at 98–99, and no. XVIII in the appendix, 255–56 (Jaca, 958; *cominenza*). For León-Castile, see Hilda Grassotti, "Sobre una concesion de Alfonso VII a la iglesia salmantina,"

The appearance of a new term in the scribal vocabulary across this region over the course of a century suggests institutional transformation. If, however, it is possible to demonstrate connections to the early medieval *convenientia*, the nature of that transformation must be redefined.

Linking the early medieval evidence analyzed in this study to these earliest manifestations in Languedoc and Catalonia proves difficult. The law of Egica prohibiting extrajudicial settlement after the start of a procedure before a royal court is the only firm evidence that the concept of the *convenientia* as a type of agreement was known in the Visigothic kingdom.¹⁸¹ The *Liber iudiciorum* continued to be cited in Catalonia and the Midi regularly through the eleventh century, and therefore this text might have directly influenced later scribes in their construction of the *convenientia*. Yet detailed studies of citations of Visigothic law in charters of the ninth through twelfth centuries have not uncovered a single citation of this text, despite references to other laws of Book II, Title 2.¹⁸² Neither the so-called *Formulae Visigothicae* nor a tenth-century formula-book from the Catalanian monastery of Ripoll contain any mention of the term.¹⁸³ The few surviving Visigothic charters—whether preserved on

Cuadernos de historia de España 49–50 (1969): 323–48, esp. 339–46 and works cited there; and “Una ‘convenientia’ prestimonial entre un arzobispo y el emperador,” *Cuadernos de historia de España* 51–52 (1970): 5–23, esp. 15–17.

¹⁸¹ *Liber iudiciorum* II.2.10 (ed. Zeumer, 87–88). The term appears three other times in the *Liber iudiciorum*: 1) it is used adjectivally (“convenientie modus”), meaning “appropriate” in II.1.28 (76.5); 2) “convenientiam” is an alternate reading in one family of manuscripts for “conhibentiam” in XII.3.21 (450.8), which in context clearly means “permission” (other manuscripts read “coniventiam” or add the clarifying gloss “vel licenciam”); and 3) a law of Reccesuinth describing the procedure for validating disputed documentary proof includes the passage “Sicque per talem convenientiam latenti veritate repperta” in II.5.17 (117.5–6). The best translation of this last instance seems to be “by this means of uncovering the hidden truth,” resulting in a definition for *convenientia*—“means,” “device,” “method”—not encountered elsewhere. See also the use of *convenire* in the *Codex Euricianus* (n. 98 above).

¹⁸² Aquilino Iglesia Ferreirós, “La creación del derecho en Cataluña,” *Anuario de historia del derecho español* 47 (1977): 99–423 at 125 ff. and 401; Michel Zimmermann, “L’usage du droit wisigothique en Catalogne du IX^e au XII^e siècle: Approches d’une signification culturelle,” *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 9 (1973): 233–81 at 250 ff.; Walt[h]er Kienast, “La pervivencia del derecho godo en el sur de Francia y Cataluña,” *Boletín de la Real academia de buenas letras de Barcelona* 35 (1973–74): 265–95, esp. 268 and n. 43 on 287–88 (Spanish translation of an article published in the author’s *Studien über die französischen Volkstämme des Frühmittelalters* [Stuttgart, 1968], 151–227).

¹⁸³ *Formulae*, 572–95; Michel Zimmermann, “Un formulaire du X^{ème} siècle conservé à Ripoll,” *Faventia* 4 (1982): 25–86. The edition of the *Formulae Visigothicae* is based on early modern copies of a lost twelfth-century manuscript, but it is widely accepted as evidence of Visigothic practice. See Claus von Schwerin, “Sobre las relaciones entre las fórmulas visigóticas y las Andecavenses,” *Anuario de historia de derecho español* 9 (1931): 177–89.

parchment, papyrus, or slate tablets—offer no confirmation of the *convenientia* in the regions of Visigothic rule in the fifth through eighth centuries.¹⁸⁴

The only possible evidence for the continuity of the *convenientia* is the second constitution *De Hispanis* of Louis the Pious, issued in the form of a diploma in 816 in response to two *querimoniae* of refugees from the Spanish March. The second of these complaints was that *Hispani* were being ejected from lands by those to whom they had commended themselves, after they had improved those lands. Louis ordered that they and their descendants be allowed to keep the lands on the same terms that they had originally accepted.¹⁸⁵ Here, as in the private charters examined above, *convenientia* is used in reference to conditional holdings of lands. This edict was supposed to have been sent to the Catalan counties, but it remains a single ambiguous reference a century and a half before the next appearance of the term in documents from the region. Furthermore, while the text of this document issued in Aachen may have been influenced (if not written) by the petitioning *Hispani*, the surviving copy is too far removed from the original to support any firm conclusions about meridional vocabulary.¹⁸⁶ It is no proof.

There are two possible explanations for the appearance of the *convenientia* in southwestern Europe in the first decades of the eleventh century. First, Catalanian and Languedocian scribes may have invented the *convenientia* independently: they created a similar solution for similar problems. Alternatively, the earlier existence of the *convenientia* in the region may be hidden from the historian's view by a dearth of sources. The striking correspondence in language and form of the documents examined here with the *convenientia* of the eleventh and twelfth centuries supports an argument for continuity. Despite occasional early survivals from more northern regions, the *convenientia* was clearly a phenomenon of southern Europe. Most of the evidence for the *con-*

¹⁸⁴ The most accessible edition of all the material is Angel Canellas Lopez, *Diplomática Hispano-Visigoda*, Publicaciones de la Institución "Fernando el Católico" 730 (Zaragoza, 1979); he catalogues 235 documents, including those in the *Formulae Visigothicae*.

¹⁸⁵ Cap I, no. 133 (264.4–7): "Hi vero qui postea venerunt et se aut comitibus aut vassis nostris aut paribus suis se commendaverunt et ab eis terras ad habitandum acceperunt, sub quali convenientia atque conditione acceperunt, tali eas in futurum et ipsi possideant et suae posteritati derelinquant." The presence in this text of the term *querimonia*, rare in the capitulaires, but common in later Catalanian judicial procedure, is noteworthy. *Convenientia* is used in a similar context in Charles the Bald's monetary edict of 861 (Cap II, no. 271 [302.23]): "unum tantum integrum bannum componat in convenientia, ut cum ministerialibus." To this might be added a preface, known only from early modern capitulary collections, to the treaty of Savonnière in 862 (Cap II, no. 243 [159.19–20]): "sub hac convenientia receperunt eum ad osculum atque conloquium."

¹⁸⁶ The same is true of Carloman's diploma of 884 (n. 74 above), issued in Compiègne.

venientia is found in sources from northern Italy and the adjacent regions of Bavaria and Rhaetia. When the term appears in imperial documents, as in the edict *De Hispanis* or the confirmations of east Frankish rulers, the diplomas deal with southern lands. These Catalanian and Languedocian scribes, as well as the people for whom they composed documents, worked with an institutional vocabulary long in use in the South. To the extent that the *convenientia* was a product of their creativity, it was a creativity in manipulating elements found in a notably persistent early medieval notarial culture. Still, the persistence of these elements in no way means that the eleventh-century *convenientia* was identical to its antecedents; the role and importance of the *convenientia* had changed in the four centuries between Thedetrudis's land division in the Merovingian Limousin and the treaty between Catalanian counts. Whatever the extent of continuity, this scribal creativity was also driven by the imperatives of a new social and institutional situation.

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“QUAE EST ISTA QUAE ASCENDIT
SICUT AURORA CONSURGENS?”:
THE SONG OF SONGS AS THE *HISTORIA*
FOR THE OFFICE OF THE ASSUMPTION*

Rachel Fulton

This book [the Song of Songs] concerns loves, because remaining in the flesh [Mary] had greater love than any other creature living in the flesh, except Christ; and therefore on account of her excellent love, which she had on earth, she merited to ascend above the angels, for to live in the flesh apart from the flesh is not earthly, but heavenly life. And this feast [of the Assumption] is appropriate to the summertime because love ascends through the heat of fire.

William Durandus († 1296), *Rationale divinarum officiorum*¹

THE Assumption of the Virgin Mary (15 August) was one of the most solemn observances of the medieval church, ranking alongside Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and the Dedication of the local sanctuary as one of the five principal celebrations of the liturgical year.² Adopted in Constantinople during the reign of the emperor Maurice (582–602) under the title “Dormition,” the feast entered the Roman calendar sometime in the seventh century, and it had

* Earlier versions of this essay were presented to *Quod Libet* at Cornell University (November 1996) and to the Medieval Studies Committee Lecture Series at Loyola University of Chicago (January 1997). I would like to thank the audiences for their comments and suggestions. Professors Caroline Bynum, Anne Robertson, Michael Allen, and Ann Matter read drafts of the essay, and I am indebted to them for their meticulous criticism and generous encouragement. All errors are of course my own. This essay is dedicated to my husband Jonathan Brown, for his patience with a project long in process, and to my son Thomas Rush Brown, who had to compete with it for his mother’s attention throughout the first year of his life.

¹ William Durandus, *Rationale divinarum officiorum* 7.24 (Antwerp, 1614), 447r–v: “. . . qui liber est de amoribus, quia in carne manens maiorem habuit dilectionem, quam aliqua creatura in carne viuens, excepto Christo: et ideo propter excellentem charitatem, quam habuit in terris, meruit ascendere super Angelos: in carne enim praeter carnem vivere, non terrena, sed coelestis vita est. Et competit hoc festum aestiuo tempori, quia per calorem ignis charitas ascendit.”

² See, for example, Lanfranc of Canterbury, *Decreta*, ed. and trans. David Knowles, *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc* (London, 1951), 55.

spread to the Frankish and Anglo-Saxon churches by the beginning of the ninth.³ Despite its papal endorsement, the Carolingians in particular were somewhat hesitant to adopt the feast because it commemorated events (Mary's death and, some believed, resurrection and bodily assumption into heaven) that were nowhere recorded in Scripture, nor indeed in any other reliable contemporary source. But in the end, practice won out over doctrinal scruples, and during the ninth century the feast gained general observance.

Once the feast was established, one of the most problematic aspects of its observance was the choice of texts to be read and sung during the liturgy for the day. Akin to the principal feast days of other Christian saints, the Assumption marked Mary's *dies natalis*, her death to earthly life and her rebirth into eternal life. Liturgically, the celebration of a saint's "birthday" required a number of different texts, not only lessons for the night office but also responsories for the lessons and antiphons for the psalms. Typically, the texts for these lessons would be drawn, if not from Scripture, then from the saint's life or passion narrative. The same narratives would also supply the texts for the responsories and antiphons, and accordingly these chants were known collectively as *historiae*.⁴ Narratives recounting the details of Mary's death and bod-

³ The feast was one of four Marian observances adopted into the papal liturgy at this time: Purification (2 February), Annunciation (25 March), Assumption (15 August), and Nativity of the Virgin (8 September). On the history of the feast, see Martin Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption de la sainte Vierge: Étude historico-doctrinale*, Studi et testi 114 (Vatican City, 1944), 172–212; Simon Claude Mimouni, *Dormition et assomption de Marie: Histoire des traditions anciennes*, Théologie historique 98 (Paris, 1995), 438–71; Michel van Esbroeck, "Le culte de la Vierge de Jérusalem à Constantinople aux 6^e–7^e siècles," *Revue des études byzantines* 46 (1988): 181–90; G. Frénaud, "Le culte de Notre Dame dans l'ancienne liturgie latine," in *Maria: Études sur la sainte Vierge*, ed. Hubert du Manoir, 8 vols. (Paris, 1949–71), 6:157–211; B. Capelle, "La liturgie mariale en occident," in *Maria*, ed. du Manoir, 1:217–45; G. Frénaud, "Marie et l'Eglise d'après les liturgies latines du VII^e au XI^e siècle," *Études mariales: Marie et l'Eglise I* (Paris, 1951), 39–58; B. Capelle, "La fête de l'Assomption dans l'histoire liturgique," *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses* 3 (1926): 33–45; and Mary Clayton, "Feasts of the Virgin in the Liturgy of the Anglo-Saxon Church," *Anglo-Saxon England* 13 (1984): 209–33.

⁴ On the sources of the chants, see Edward Nowacki, "The Gregorian Office Antiphons and the Comparative Method," *The Journal of Musicology* 4 (1985–6): 243–75, at 252–59; Michel Huglo, *Les livres de chant liturgique*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 52 (Turnhout, 1988), 21–22; and Michel Huglo, "Antiphon," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols. (London, 1980), 1:471–81, at 472. On the chants as *historiae*, see Joachim Knape, "Zur Benennung der Offizien im Mittelalter: Das Wort 'historia' als liturgischer Begriff," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 26 (1984): 305–20; and Ritva Jonsson, *Historia: Études sur la genèse des offices versifiés*, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 15 (Stockholm, 1968), 16. There is potentially some confusion here owing to the polysemy of the word *historia*. As Roger Ray has noted, "In the Middle Ages the word *historia* was applied to parts or all of the Bible, the first or grammatical sense of the biblical text, a section of the Di-

ily assumption had appeared in the East in the mid-fifth century and were known to the West by the sixth century at the latest. In the churches of the East, these stories were read during the liturgy for the feast of Mary's Dormition.⁵ In the West, however, the stories were almost immediately ranked among the apocrypha, that is among those texts of dubious authority that ought not to be read or heard in the churches. It was therefore deemed that they could not supply the texts for the lessons and the chants of the day.

Rather than embrace stories of doubtful authenticity, the Western church turned to a scriptural source: the Song of Songs.⁶ Here is our puzzle. The Song of Songs, also known as the Song of Solomon, is an Old Testament book which is now generally read as a lyric dialogue between a bridegroom (*sponsus*) and a bride (*sponsa*) declaring their love for each other in the most passionate terms. It does not mention God, let alone his son or mother, and certainly not the circumstances of Mary's life or death. Nor, prior to the twelfth century, was there any formal commentary tradition of reading the Song as referring to Mary. Throughout the early Middle Ages, Christian commentators more or less unanimously followed the reading developed by Origen of Alexandria († ca. 253), and they identified the bride of the Song either allegorically as the per-

vine Office, versified offices, statements made in court, proceedings of secular and ecclesiastical councils, and several genres discussed elsewhere in this volume (epic, secular biography, florilegia, encyclopedias, and hagiography), besides the . . . Latin prose narratives that claim or seem to treat real events of primarily nonsaintly experience over some stretch of time" ("Historiography," in *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. F. A. C. Mantello and A. G. Rigg [Washington, D.C., 1996], 639–49, at 639). In the argument to follow, I am concerned with the interplay between two of these senses of *historia* (the *historia* of the Divine Office and the *historia* of hagiography) and its relationship to a third (the *historia* of the biblical text).

⁵ Simon C. Mimouni, "La lecture liturgique et les apocryphes du Nouveau Testament: Le cas de la Dormitio grecque du Pseudo-Jean," *Orientalia christiana periodica* 59 (1993): 403–25. On the origins of the stories, see Mimouni, *Dormition et assomption*; and Michel van Esbroeck, "Les textes littéraires sur l'assomption avant le X^e siècle," in *Les actes apocryphes des apôtres: Christianisme et monde païen*, Publications de la Faculté de Théologie de l'Université de Genève 4 (Geneva, 1981), 265–85.

⁶ See, for example, the *Ordo catholicorum librorum qui in ecclesia romana ponuntur*, which circulated with the tenth-century Romano-Germanic Pontifical: "In Assumptione sanctae Mariae, in ipsa nocte leguntur Cantica canticorum vel omeliae eiusdem diei" (ed. Michel Andrieu, *Les ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, vol. 5, *Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense, Études et documents* 29 [Louvain, 1961], 358–62 [Ordo 50, chap. 49]). On the circulation of the Romano-Germanic Pontifical, see Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. and rev. William Storey and Niels Rasmussen (Washington, D.C., 1986), 237–39; and Dominique Iogna-Prat, "Coutumes et statuts clunisiens comme sources historiques (ca 990–ca 1200)," *Revue Mabillon* 64 (n.s., 3) (1992): 23–48, esp. n. 77. I would like to thank Barbara Rosenwein for this latter reference.

sonified Church or tropologically as the individual Christian soul.⁷ Nevertheless, by the ninth century, this dramatic nuptial song was deemed liturgically appropriate for recitations on a feast commemorating the death and resurrection of the Virgin Mother of God. Why? As historians, we have here a complex exegetical problem: a feast celebrating an event recorded nowhere in Scripture, the details of which event might be found in narratives that were rejected as liturgical sources because they were of dubious authority; and a scriptural text—used apparently in place of these narratives—that, within a long tradition of commentary, would appear to have nothing to do with the event at all and that, if applied literally, would countenance an explicitly incestuous relationship between its principal characters (Mary as bride and her son as bridegroom). Why *was* the Song of Songs chosen as the source for the readings and chants proper to the feast of the Assumption?

Taking their cue from the nuptial relationship explicit in the Song and implicit in its application, modern scholars have tended to read the Marian, liturgical use of the Song of Songs as a special instance of the commentary tradition and, therefore, as a problem of allegory rather than as a problem of narrative.⁸ In other words, they have looked to establish an allegorical or, more precisely, analogical relationship between Mary and the bride most commonly

⁷ On the commentary tradition, see E. Ann Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1990); Ann W. Astell, *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1990); Friedrich Ohly, *Hohelied-Studien: Grundzüge einer Geschichte der Hoheliedauslegung des Abendlandes bis um 1200* (Wiesbaden, 1958); and Helmut Riedlinger, *Die Makellosigkeit der Kirche in den lateinischen Hoheliedkommentaren des Mittelalters*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters 38.3 (Münster, 1958). On the Marian commentaries of the twelfth century, see Rachel Fulton, "Mimetic Devotion, Marian Exegesis, and the Historical Sense of the Song of Songs," *Viator* 27 (1996): 85–116.

⁸ Despite its prominence in the Assumption liturgy, there has been relatively little attention given to the Marian use of the Song of Songs as a liturgical problem. Since the publication of Johannes Beumer's "Die marianische Deutung des Hohen Liedes in der Frühscholastik," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 76 (1954): 411–39, scholars have recognized the importance of the liturgy for the subsequent development of a Marian interpretation of the Song; nevertheless, they have still tended to look to the ecclesiological and tropological readings applied by the majority of medieval exegetes in their formal commentaries on the Song in order to explain this peculiar, liturgical Marian reading. See, for example, George Scheper, "The Spiritual Marriage: The Exegetic History and Literary Impact of the Song of Songs in the Middle Ages" Ph.D. diss. (Princeton University, 1971), 504–10. An important exception is Matter, *Voice of My Beloved*, 151–55. On the use of the Song in the Marian liturgy, see also Mark Infusino, "The Virgin Mary and the Song of Songs in Medieval English Literature" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1988), 63–86; and Ruth Steiner, "Marian Antiphons at Cluny and Lewes," in *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainsong and Medieval Music Society Centennial Essays*, ed. Susan Rankin and David Hiley (Oxford, 1993), 175–204.

identified by the commentators (the personified Church) in order to explain the apparently incongruous identification of the bridegroom's bride as his mother. Consequently, it has become something of a commonplace to cite the "interchangeability of Mary and the Church" as the principal factor in the attribution of the Song to Mary. If the Song of Songs was applied to Mary, it is argued, it must be because she was perceived to bear an analogical similarity to the Church, and not, it is implied, because Mary was literally understood as Christ's bride.⁹ This is not an argument that makes sense *liturgically*, however. By emphasizing allegory over narrative and analogy over history, it suggests that the liturgy for the feast of the Assumption, in contrast to the liturgies for all of the other feasts of the Christian year, did not explicitly commemorate a specific moment in the history of redemption.¹⁰ Admittedly, the chants and prayers of the medieval liturgy drew upon a complex system of symbols according to which the historical figures of the Old and New Testaments might be assimilated not only to each other but also to the multifarious objects and animals, actions, and collectivities enumerated in Scripture. Nevertheless, these symbols were taken not as ends in themselves but as a means to a fuller appreciation of the historical significance of the figures and their role in the economy of salvation.¹¹ Accordingly, the principal function of the liturgy was not so

⁹ See Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral: Christ, Mary, Ecclesia* (Baltimore, 1959), 60 (on the "interchangeability of Mary and the Church"); Marie-Louise Thérél, *A l'origine du décor du portail occidental de Notre-Dame de Senlis: Le triomphe de la Vierge-Église. Sources historiques, littéraires et iconographiques* (Paris, 1984); and Penny Schine Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude, and Experience in Twelfth-Century France* (Chicago, 1985), 56–61. The Mary-Church typology has likewise gained a particular currency in modern Catholic theological writings, owing in great part to its endorsement by Pope Paul VI in 1964. See Michael O'Carroll, *Theotokos: A Theological Encyclopedia of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, rev. ed. (Wilmington, Delaware, 1983), 100. The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church promulgated by Vatican II supported the Mary-Church typology, and subsequent Catholic and academic writings have tended to reinforce this emphasis by referring to the books and articles published in the 1950s at the height of the pre-Vatican II debate. See, for example, Henri Barré, "Marie et l'Église du Vénérable Bède à Saint Albert le Grand," *Études Mariales: Marie et l'Église* (Paris, 1951): 59–143; H. Coathalem, *Le parallélisme entre la Sainte Vierge et l'Église dans la tradition latine jusqu'à la fin du XII^e siècle*, *Analecta Gregoriana* 74 (Rome, 1954); and Henri de Lubac, *The Splendor of the Church*, trans. Michael Mason (London, 1956; rpt. 1979), 268–87.

¹⁰ Theologically, Mary's death and resurrection have no salvific effect, but for medieval authors, they were to become the last act in the drama of Christian history before the Judgment. See, for example, Lynette R. Muir, *The Biblical Drama of Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1995), 146–47.

¹¹ On the historical weight of these symbols, or *figurae*, see Erich Auerbach, "Figura," in his *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature*, trans. Ralph Manheim and Catherine Garvin (New York, 1959), 11–76, at 29: "figura is something real and historical which announces something else that is also real and historical." See also *ibid.*, 34 (on Tertullian's

much symbolic as historical: to preserve the memory of past events and to draw those events into the present so that they might be (re)experienced ritually by the living.¹²

It is my contention that the Song of Songs as read and chanted for the feast of the Assumption was intended primarily to recall not an allegorical relationship but the series of events celebrated by that feast: Mary's death, resurrection, and assumption. Accordingly, if we are to appreciate fully the significance not only of the chants and lessons but also of the feast they embellished and the cult they adorned, then we must look not to allegory, but to history.¹³ This is not to say that the chants and lessons had no allegorical significance, nor that medieval devotion to the Virgin Mary did not partake of the rich symbolic potential of medieval exegesis. Rather, it is to contend that we cannot understand the import of Mary's assimilation not only to the Church, but also to the virgin soul, to the first mother Eve, to the enclosed garden and sealed fountain of Song of Songs 4:12, to all the Old Testament *figurae* of her role as the mother of the Savior, without a proper grounding in that mode of exegesis identified throughout the Middle Ages as the *fundamentum* for the mystical interpretation of Scripture: *historia*.¹⁴ In other words, we must acknowledge that for all of their delight in the interplay of symbolic typologies, medieval liturgists and exegetes were meditating upon and writing history—the history of the creation, fall, and redemption of humankind through the incarnation, passion, and resurrection of the Son of God. The principal mystery of the Christian faith was (and is) historical: God became man and subjected himself to the experience of time, to birth and death in a passible human body. Devotion to the human

exegesis): "Real historical figures are to be interpreted spiritually, but the interpretation points to a carnal, hence historical fulfillment—for the truth has become history or flesh."

¹² See Margot Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge, 1993), 3: "Through the liturgy, religious communities found their pasts drawn into the present. God could be experienced again on earth, as Christians once believed he had been centuries before. Through the sacraments, Christians went into the Jordan at baptism, and ate the Last Supper at communion."

¹³ This argument has been anticipated in reference to the late medieval English liturgy of the Assumption by James Wimsatt, "Chaucer and the Canticle of Canticles," in *Chaucer the Love Poet*, ed. Jerome Mitchell and William Provost (Athens, Ga., 1973), 66–90, at 69–71. On the late medieval use of the Song in the Marian liturgy, see also Rosemary Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968), 298–301. On the Song in the early medieval Marian liturgy, see H. J. Turrin, "'Aureo flore' and the Question of Dating the Tradition of Marian Veneration in the Medieval West," *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch* 14 (1979): 76–88.

¹⁴ Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: Les quatre sens de l'écriture*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1959–64), 2:425–39. See also Fulton, "Mimetic Devotion," 98–101.

mother of this God-man was intricately bound up with her role in the history of salvation. The celebration of her principal feast, the feast of her earthly death and heavenly rebirth, was intended to recall this historical role to the experience of the faithful.

Neither is this admonition to consider first the historical underpinnings of medieval exegesis and liturgy to say that we should simply reduce the meaning of the feast to its narrative foundations, such that once we have told the story we can rest content that we understand the texts and their performance. Rather, we must recognize liturgical use of a scriptural text as a form of exegesis, equally potent as formal commentary for unveiling the meaning latent in the words. We must consider both the way in which the story of the Virgin's death and rebirth was told and how the context inflected the telling. On the one hand, the story informed its performance, but on the other, the performance conditioned the way in which the story was read. We need therefore to discover a way in which to read the liturgy of the Assumption as a narrative performance, that is, a way to read the texts as they would have been experienced within the context of the feast and of the events it commemorated. We need to determine what effect the performance of a particular text would have had on its performers, and what devotional needs this effect would have served.¹⁵ How did singing verses from the Song of Songs affect the medieval understanding and experience of the feast of the Assumption? And how did singing these verses affect the way in which medieval people understood and experienced their relationship to Christ and the Virgin Mary?

In order to answer these questions, we must first establish why the Song of Songs was chosen to honor the Virgin Mary on this, her feast of feasts. In the argument to follow, I turn first to the answers given by the medieval liturgists themselves in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and then to the historical context for the adoption of the feast in the eighth and ninth. I then consider the reasons for the rejection of arguably the most likely sources for the liturgical chants (the narratives from the East) and conclude with a close reading of the two earliest detailed witnesses to the use of the Song in the Latin Assumption liturgy: a sermon for the feast by the Carolingian abbot of Corbie, Paschasius Radbertus (abbot 843–ca.851, † ca. 860), and the office for the Assumption in the ninth-century antiphoner of Compiègne. I argue that it is the dialogic nature

¹⁵ For a model of such an approach to performance, see Stuart H. Blackburn, *Singing of Birth and Death: Texts in Performance* (Philadelphia, 1988). For a reading of the liturgy for the ceremonial entrance of the bishop that takes a similar approach but with specific reference to the architectural setting of the performance, see Margot Fassler, "Liturgy and Sacred History in the Twelfth-Century Tympana at Chartres," *The Art Bulletin* 75 (1993): 499–520.

of the Song of Songs to which we should look in order to understand its appropriation for the feast of the Assumption, rather than the purported similarity between Mary and the Church to which scholars have habitually appealed in order to explain the paradoxical identification of Mary with the bride of Solomon's love song.

MARY AND THE CHURCH

The question that I have posed is not a new one. Towards the beginning of the twelfth century, a number of students confronted their teacher with much the same problem: "Why [is] . . . the Song of Songs . . . read on the feast of Mary, when it does not seem to pertain to her at all?"¹⁶ The students' teacher was a man known as Honorius *Augustodunensis* († ca. 1133). In his reply, a line-by-line commentary on the Song of Songs included in his *Sigillum beatae Mariae*, he answered them in a way that would seem to disprove my argument: "The glorious Virgin Mary bears the type of the Church, which is both virgin and mother. . . . Therefore all that is written of the Church is suitably ascribed to [Mary] as well."¹⁷ Later in the same century, the liturgist Johannes Beleth († after 1165) added further particulars:

On this feast of blessed Mary, namely the Assumption, psalms and other texts, which are sung generally concerning the dedication of the church, are sung specially concerning blessed Mary. . . . Lessons are read from the song of love, namely, *Let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth*, and responsories are likewise taken from the same.¹⁸

His contemporary Sicardus of Cremona († 1215) concurred:

This feast of the Virgin has a vigil and an octave, on which are sung certain things which we use for the dedications of churches. Lessons, antiphons, and responsories are taken from the song of love, because it bears the figure of the

¹⁶ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Sigillum beatae Mariae ubi exponuntur cantica canticorum* (PL 172:495–518, at 495): "cur . . . *Cantica canticorum* de sancta Maria leg[u]ntur, cum nihil penitus ad eam pertinere videantur"; see also the translation by Amelia Carr, *The Seal of Blessed Mary*, Peregrina Translations Series 18 (Toronto, 1991), 47.

¹⁷ Honorius, *Sigillum* (PL 172:499): "Gloriosa virgo Maria typum Ecclesiae gerit, quae virgo et mater exstitit. . . . Ideo cuncta quae de Ecclesia scribuntur, de ipsa etiam satis congrue leguntur."

¹⁸ Johannes Beleth, *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis* 146 (ed. H. Douteil, CCCM 41A [Turnhout, 1976], 284–85): "In hoc festo beate Marie, scilicet in assumptione, psalmi et alia, que generaliter dicuntur de dedicatione ecclesie, specialiter dicuntur de beata Maria. . . . Lectiones autem leguntur de Cantico amoris, scilicet *Osculetur me osculo oris sui*, et responsoria similiter inde sumuntur."

Church: for just as blessed mother Mary is both virgin and bride, so the Church, the mother of the saints, has the name of virginity and of bride.¹⁹

And in the thirteenth century, William Durandus drew upon Beleth and Sicardus to reiterate the same position: This "song of love" was used for Mary's feast, he contended, "because the blessed Virgin bears the figure of the Church."²⁰ As contemporary witnesses to the liturgical practices of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Honorius, Beleth, Sicardus, and Durandus arguably should have the last word: it seemed to them that the Marian use of the "song of love" depended upon an analogous use of the same for the dedications of churches. Their testimony suggests that we should indeed look to the figural correspondence between the historical Virgin and the allegorical Church to appreciate the liturgical use of the Song of Songs for the feast of the Assumption. As noted above, in the early medieval Latin tradition of commentary on the Song of Songs, the Church as bride holds pride of place, not to be complemented by Mary until the twelfth century. Was the case not therefore the same in the liturgical tradition?

Compelling though it is, there are two problems with this apparently straightforward link between liturgy and exegetical tradition, the one pertaining to the exegetical explanation for the Marian use of the Song, the other to the actual texts of the liturgy for the Dedication of a church. On the one hand, the use of the Song for the feast of the Assumption predated Honorius's commentary by more than two centuries, during which time the disjuncture between the formal commentary reading and the liturgical application of the text excited little, if any, comment. On the other, in the Gregorian tradition of chant on which Beleth, Sicardus, and Durandus were commenting, the Song of Songs was *not* used either for the initial dedication ceremony of a church or for the anniversary celebration of that dedication, either as a source for lessons or as a source for the antiphons and responsories proper to the occasion. Let us begin with the exegetical tradition.

This first problem is a more general one than how to account for the use of a particular text in the liturgy. Rather, it touches upon the understanding of the relationship between liturgy and theology, especially theology as defined by patristic tradition. Contending that "liturgy is basically conservative in com-

¹⁹ Sicardus of Cremona, *Mitrale seu De officiis ecclesiasticis summa* 9.40 (PL 213:420): "... haec Virginis festivitas habet jejuniū et octavam, in qua dicuntur quaedam quibus in ecclesiarum dedicationibus utimur. Lectiones quoque de cantico amoris, et antiphonae et responsoria similiter assumuntur, eo quia figuram tenet Ecclesia: sicut enim beata Maria mater est et virgo et sponsa, sic et Ecclesia, mater sanctorum, nomen tenet virginitatis et sponsae. ..."

²⁰ Durandus, *Rationale divinarum officiorum* 7.24 (p. 447): "In hoc festo ... legitur et cantatur de cantico amoris, eo quod B. Virgo figuram tenet Ecclesiae. ..."

parison with theology,"²¹ scholars have frequently expected to be able to find anticipations of a particular doctrine in the theological and exegetical record long before that doctrine makes its appearance in the songs and lessons of the liturgy. Accordingly, there have been numerous attempts to locate the antecedents for the Marian, liturgical use of the Song in the writings of the church fathers, and these antecedents have then been read as corroborating the exegesis offered by the medieval liturgists in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.²² As Margot Fassler has recently demonstrated, however, such arguments tend to presuppose a relatively static liturgy and to preclude explanation or even recognition of liturgical change. On the basis of such arguments, it becomes difficult, if not impossible, to account for liturgical change, since change is taken solely as a reconfiguration of elements previously formulated by the theologians and exegetes, not as an introduction of radically new elements composed by the liturgists.²³ Nevertheless, the history of the Marian liturgy is one of constant innovation, not static reconfiguration. Indeed, liturgical celebration of an event in Mary's life has more often than not preceded attempts to reconcile the liturgical honor with theological norms not by years or even decades, but by centuries. The feast of the Assumption was no exception. The Roman church has celebrated the feast of the Assumption since the seventh century, but it was only in 1950 that the Assumption itself was declared dogma.²⁴ Moreover, the Fathers who lived and wrote prior to the Council of Ephesus (431) and the acceptance of the epithet *Theotokos* could not have foreseen the institution of the Marian feasts, let alone the development of the liturgical texts used for those feasts.²⁵ The fact that they read a text with a par-

²¹ Scheper, "Spiritual Marriage," 812.

²² For efforts to discover the patristic roots of the Marian use of the Song, see Alfonso Rivera, "¿Sentido mariológico del Cantar de los Cantares?" *Ephemerides mariologicae* 1 (1951): 437–68 and 2 (1952): 25–42, at 28–33; Gustave Bardy, "Marie et le Cantique chez les Pères," *Bible et vie chrétienne* 7 (Sept.–Nov. 1954): 32–41; Thomas Livius, *The Blessed Virgin in the Fathers of the First Six Centuries* (London, 1893), 92–102; and Scheper, "Spiritual Marriage," 504–10. John Gorman has commented on this effort ("Introduction," in *William of Newburgh's Explanatio Sacri Epithalamii in Matrem Sponsi: A Commentary on the Canticle of Canticles (12th-C.)*, Spicilegium Friburgense 6 [Fribourg, 1960], 37): "Considering the mass of literature formed by the commentaries on the Canticle written during those [first eleven] centuries, the scarcity of such references [to Mary] is much more striking than the rare allusions and scattered references that can be gathered."

²³ Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 3–7.

²⁴ Pope Pius XII, *Munificentissimus Deus* (1 November 1950). For the text of the Apostolic Constitution, see *Acta Apostolicae Sedis: Commentarium officiale* 42, Ser. II, v. XVII, N. 15 (4 November 1950): 753–73.

²⁵ On the significance of the Council and the epithet for the development of the cult of the Virgin, see Hilda Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion*, 2 vols. (London, 1963, 1965; rpt. in 1 vol., 1985), 1:101–11; and Stephen Benko, *The Virgin Goddess: Studies in the*

ticular emphasis does not explain why later authors saw fit to adopt that text for their own purposes, nor, indeed, did the composers of the liturgy invariably follow the Fathers' lead in their selection of specific passages from Scripture.

This method of accounting for the content of the Marian liturgy is further vexed since the fathers Ambrose († 397) and Jerome († 420) did read select verses of the Song in a Marian sense, but the analogy between Mary and the Church supposedly at the root of the Marian use of the Song plays only a peripheral, oblique role in their exegesis of these verses. For example, Jerome argued that Song 4:12 describes the Virgin Mary:

“My sister, my spouse, is a garden enclosed, a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed up.” In being closed and sealed, it is like the Mother of the Lord, Mother and Virgin. Hence too in the Saviour's new sepulchre which was hewn in the hardest (some read, purest) rock, no one else was laid before or after. And yet this perpetual Virgin is Mother of many virgins.²⁶

Although Jerome alludes here to the fundamental paradox of Mary's maternal virginity, he does not extend the metaphor to the Church. For Jerome, Mary's womb is not the Temple but the tomb of the Lord, likened to a closed garden and a sealed fountain because no other body ever lay in it, and she herself is the mother of many virgins because she gave birth to Christ. Taken, as it were, literally, Jerome's reading of this verse might point to its use for a dominical feast, say Holy Saturday, when Christ's body lay in its sepulchre, rather than a feast celebrating Mary's own death. Nevertheless, in the liturgical tradition, the text serves as an antiphon almost exclusively for the feasts of the Assumption and Mary's Nativity.²⁷ Similarly, Ambrose read Song 3:11—an invitation to the daughters of Sion to come out and see “Solomon the king in the diadem with which his mother has crowned him”—as an invitation to contemplate the mysteries of the Incarnation:

Pagan and Christian Roots of Mariology, Studies in the History of Religions (*Numen* Book-series) 59 (Leiden, 1993), 253–57.

²⁶ Jerome, *Adversus Jovinianum* 1.31 (PL 23:254 [alt. ed. 265]; trans. Livius, *Blessed Virgin*, 97).

²⁷ For the text(s) of the antiphon, see *Corpus antiphonalium officii* [hereafter CAO], ed. René-Jean Hesbert, 6 vols., *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta*, Series maior, Fontes VII–XII (Rome, 1963–79), nos. 3135–38 (unless otherwise indicated, all CAO numbers refer to the antiphons and responsories edited in vols. 3 and 4). A search on *CANTUS: A Data Base for Gregorian Chant* yielded thirty-six hits on “hortus conclusus,” of which only four fell outside these two feasts. In three instances, antiphon no. 3137 is designated for the late medieval feast of Mary's conception: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 15181 (ca. 1300), fol. 375v; Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit 406 (3 J 7) (s. XII with later additions on fols. 136–151), fol. 149v; and Vorau, Stiftsbibliothek 287 (29) (s. XIV), fol. 218v. In one instance, a variant of antiphon no. 3138 is designated for the Common of Virgins: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1090 (s. XII), fol. 276.

Blessed Mother Jerusalem, and blessed womb of Mary which crowned so great a Lord. She crowned him when she formed him; she crowned him when she brought him forth. . . . Hence unwrought was even the flesh of Christ; for that the Virgin might conceive him, he, by the, so to say, strange and new mystery of the Incarnation, through the grace of a divine disposition, himself assumed all his flesh from the Virgin, without any human cooperation, and in her formed the members of the last Adam, the spotless man.²⁸

Ambrose is often cited as the progenitor of the analogy between Mary and the Church,²⁹ but here, in one of his most extended applications of the Song to Mary, he mentions "Mother Jerusalem" only briefly, and concentrates instead on the mystery of Christ's incarnation in the flesh of the Virgin. The regal imagery of the coronation which the daughters are invited to behold in Song 3:11 (admittedly in Ambrose's reading a figure of the Incarnation and not the Assumption) would complement nicely the pomp surrounding the celebration of the feast, especially the procession from S. Hadrian's in the old Forum to S. Maria Maggiore's on the Esquiline hill instituted by Pope Sergius (687–701) in the seventh century.³⁰ Nevertheless, as far as I have been able to determine, this verse of the Song was not adapted for use either in the Assumption liturgy or for that of any other feast.³¹ Of the Latin Fathers, only Ambrose and Jerome read even select verses of the Song in a Marian sense, and of the relatively few verses which they did, only one entered the Marian liturgy as an antiphonal text

²⁸ Ambrose, *De institutione virginis et S. Mariae virginitate perpetua* 16 (PL 16:328–29 [alt. ed. 343–44]; trans. Livius, *Blessed Virgin*, 96). For other passages in which Ambrose refers the Song to Mary, see *De virginitate* 11 (Song 1:2) (PL 16:281–82 [alt. ed. 295–96]); *De institutione* 14–15 (Song 6:1–2, 7:1–2) (PL 16:326–28 [alt. ed. 340–43]; and *Expositio Psalmi CXVIII* 1.16 (Song 1:1) and 2.8 (Song 1:4) (ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 62 [Vienna and Leipzig, 1913], 16 and 24).

²⁹ Ambrose, *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam* 2.7 (ed. M. Adriaen, CCL 14 [Turnhout, 1957], 33): "Bene desponsata, sed uirgo, quia est ecclesiae typus, quae est immaculata, sed nupta. Concepit nos uirgo de spiritu, parit nos uirgo sine gemitu. Et ideo fortasse sancta Maria alii nupta, ab alio repleta, quia et singulae ecclesiae spiritu quidem replentur et gratia, iunguntur tamen ad temporalis speciem sacerdotis." On the significance of this typology for Ambrose, see Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York, 1988), 353–56.

³⁰ For contemporary descriptions of the procession, see the texts in Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago, 1994), 498–502. Bede likewise read Song 3:11 as a reference to Mary's role in the Incarnation (*In Cantica Canticorum libri VI* 2 at Song 3:11 [ed. D. Hurst, CCL 119B (Turnhout, 1988), 242]).

³¹ The only instance of Song 3:11 being adapted for liturgical use of which I am aware is as an antiphon for the *Magnificat* in a fourteenth-century antiphoner from Salzburg (Voraus, Stiftsbibliothek 287 [29], fol. 288v). The antiphon is the fifth in a series of fourteen antiphons *ad Magnificat* taken from the Song of Songs (fols. 288r–290v). I would like to thank Anne Robertson for drawing my attention to this set of antiphons via *CANTUS*.

(Song 4:12). We have therefore not only a disjuncture between the tradition of commentary on the Song of Songs as an epithalamium of Christ and the Church and the use of the Song in the Marian liturgy but also a disjuncture between the patristic tradition of commentary on individual verses of the Song in a Marian sense and their application to Mary for her feasts in the West. As for the analogy between Mary and the Church on which Honorius, Belet, Sicardus, and Durandus based their apologies for the liturgical use of the Song, it is admittedly a beast with a venerable pedigree, but historically an exegetical chimera.

Why did our authors summon it into existence? It is well known that from the late eleventh century, Western theologians, exegetes, lawyers, masters of cathedral schools, clerks in both ecclesiastical and secular bureaucracies, popes, bishops, abbots, monks, canons, and, of course, liturgists embarked upon a grand enterprise of systematization. To borrow a trope from the lawyers, they strove to harmonize the discordant canons of their tradition, to isolate and explain the discrepancies within the tradition, and to reestablish it within a comprehensive structure.³² Honorius himself was one of the first great encyclopedists of the period. His works include a theological summa; a collection of sermons for the whole liturgical year; a history of the world; a geographical and chronological encyclopedia; commentaries on the Hexameron, the Psalter, and the Song of Songs (a later work, not to be confused with the *Sigillum*); and a liturgical summa—to name only the most comprehensive items in an impressively varied oeuvre.³³ Honorius was therefore clearly in a position to be struck by the liturgical oddity to which his students drew his attention: What does the Song of Songs have to do with the Virgin Mary, and why do we read it on her feast? Despite his interest in history, it would not (indeed, could not) have occurred to Honorius to offer what we would recognize as an historical analysis of the development of the liturgy. He turned instead to that most potent of explanatory tools: analogy. If we can read the Song of Songs concerning the Church, he reasoned, and the Church bears an analogical relationship to Mary (as Ambrose had shown), then we can also read the

³² On this "twelfth-century renaissance" generally, see Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

³³ On Honorius's life and works, see Valerie I. J. Flint, "The Chronology of the Works of Honorius Augustodunensis," *Revue Bénédictine* 82 (1972): 215–42; "The Commentaries of Honorius Augustodunensis on the Song of Songs," *Revue Bénédictine* 84 (1974): 196–211; and "The Place and Purpose of the Works of Honorius Augustodunensis," *Revue Bénédictine* 87 (1977): 97–127; all reprinted in *Ideas in the Medieval West: Texts and their Contexts* (London, 1988). The older article by Eva Matthews Sanford, "Honorius, *Presbyter* and *Scholasticus*," *Speculum* 23 (1948): 397–425, is also useful.

Song of Songs concerning her. Q.E.D., and the discordant strains in the tradition are harmonized.

Subsequent authors pointed to a more technical relationship between Mary and the Church. In a commentary on the Gospel of Matthew (but not in his sermon for the Assumption), Paschasius Radbertus had noted that some things in the Song of Songs which are *generaliter* understood to signify the Church may *specialiter* refer to the Virgin, in particular verse 4:12.³⁴ Beleth adapted this argument to the more general instance of the Assumption liturgy: pieces which were *generaliter* sung for the dedication of a church were *specialiter* sung for Mary. Both Paschasius and Beleth appear to have been using these adverbs strictly speaking logically or rhetorically: *generaliter* and *specialiter* refer to the dialectical categories *genus* and *species*, the *genus* being the whole of which the *species* is a part. These Aristotelian categories had been taken up from classical rhetoric by Tyconius as his fourth rule for the interpretation of Scripture (*de specie et genere*). They became standard in Christian exegesis via Augustine of Hippo († 430), who elaborated upon Tyconius's seven rules in his exegetical handbook *De doctrina christiana*. Augustine demonstrated that passages in Scripture which refer to an individual city or nation (the *species* Jerusalem or Judea) may be speaking not only of that city or nation but also of the whole race of men (the *genus* humanity). Those passages which refer to an individual person (the *species* Solomon) may be speaking not only of that man or woman but also of Christ or the Church "of which he [or she] is a part." In other words, what is said of the *species* may also refer to the *genus*.³⁵ According to this rule, Mary could be understood as a *species* of the *genus* Church because she as an individual is a member of that larger body; hence, whatever is said about her may also refer to the whole Christian community.³⁶ With the Marian use of the Song, the liturgical exegetes had a slightly different problem. That which in the commentary tradition the exegetes had been accustomed to refer to the community (the "bride" of the Song) was, in the liturgical tradition, referred to the individual. How were they to account for the reading of the *species* "bride" as the *species* "Mary"? In an effort, as it were, to save the appearances, Beleth simply inverted the argument: that which ap-

³⁴ Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo libri XII* 2 (ed. B. Paulus, 3 vols., CCCM 56, 56A–B [Turnhout, 1984], 1:119–20). Following Jerome, Paschasius read this verse as a reference to the integrity and incorruptness of Mary's womb.

³⁵ Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* 3.34 (ed. J. Martin, CCL 32 [Turnhout, 1962], 106–10; trans. D. W. Robertson, *On Christian Doctrine* [New York, 1958], 108–11 [quotation on 109]).

³⁶ De Lubac, *Splendour of the Church*, 264.

plies to the *genus* may also apply to the *species*, consequently that which refers to the Church may also refer to Mary.³⁷

That this inversion was itself something of an innovation is clear from its use earlier in the century not as an apology, but rather as an accusation of novelty. In 1125, the Benedictine abbot Rupert of Deutz († 1129) had been emboldened by a vision to write a commentary on the Song of Songs in honor of the Incarnation and of the Virgin Mother of God.³⁸ As he soon learned from a brother of another monastery, his work was not immediately received with enthusiasm by all his readers. According to his friend, certain readers contended that in the commentary Rupert had inappropriately ascribed to Mary in particular that which Wisdom had foretold of the Church in general. Rupert's response to his friend demonstrates both how contentious and how arbitrary the use of the categories *genus* and *species* had already become:

Having read your letter, I wonder of what sort these men of yours are, whether they are learned or unlearned, masters or students. For if they profess themselves to be learned masters and with this estimation of themselves they thus subordinate the blessed virgin Mary to the universal church, as though a *species* to a *genus* (which is absurd), they can be judged at once out of their own mouths, because clearly what is predicated of the *genus* also applies to the *species*. What is it to say that what Wisdom has foretold of all the church is wrongly attributed to the particular case of blessed Mary? Is it not as if they say the church is a *genus* and Mary is a *species*? But this is mistaken. More reasonably they should say that she is a part of the whole, and so beyond any doubt. You were able to tell them, most beloved, that that which applies to the whole, namely the Church, applies to this excellent part of the whole.³⁹

³⁷ The question of the relationship between *genus* and *species* likewise played a leading role in the late-eleventh- and early-twelfth-century debates over whether or not universals have real or only nominal existence. See David Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought* (New York, 1962), 110.

³⁸ Rupert of Deutz, *Commentaria in Canticum Canticorum*, ed. Hrabanus Haacke, CCCM 26 (Turnhout, 1974). For the context of the accusation, see John Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1983), 341–42.

³⁹ Lajos Csóka, "Ein unbekannter Brief des Abtes Rupert von Deutz," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 84 (1973): 383–93, at 383: "His ego perlectis miratus sum cuiusmodi homines possent esse uestrates illi, docti ne, an indocti, magistri an dicipuli. Nam si doctos se magistros esse profitentur et cum hac estimatione sui beatam uirginem Mariam sic subiciunt uniuersali ecclesiae, tamquam speciem generi, quod absurdum est, ex ore suo statim possunt iudicari, quia uidelicet quod de genere praedicatur et speciei congruit. Quidnam est dicere, non apte beatae Mariae specialitati ascribi, quod ecclesiae generalitati Sapientia praesagavit? Non ac si dicant ecclesiam genus et beatam Mariam esse speciem. Hoc autem falsum est. Rationabilius dicerent tocius esse partem et hic indubitanter. Illis dicere poteras dilectissime, quia quod congruit huic toti, scilicet ecclesiae, congruit et huic tocius parti eximiae."

For Rupert, it was absurd and unnecessary to use the categories *genus* and *species* to explain Mary's relationship to the Church: Mary is a part of the church, and their relationship should be understood not analogically, but rather synecdochically. Rupert's objection to the identification of Mary as a *species* or type of the Church should therefore give us pause. In the harmonizing climate of the twelfth-century cathedral schools, it made logical sense to read Mary as a *species* of the *genus* church, but not all contemporary exegetes were willing to embrace this reading. Nor is there any evidence to suggest that it had any part in inspiring the composers of the ninth-century Marian offices to take verses from the most sensual book of the Old Testament and adapt them as antiphons and responsories to be sung in remembrance of the death and resurrection of the Virgin Mother of God.

The temptation to aver that the metaphor "Mary is the (type of the) Church" did inspire the ninth-century composers speaks more to its power as a hermeneutical device than it does to its role as an historical agent. As we have seen, Honorius, Beleth, Sicardus, and Durandus used it to answer not a question of causation before the fact ("If we were to choose texts for this new feast of the Assumption, which would we use and why?") but a question of signification after the fact ("What do these texts that we use for this feast mean?"). It is important to distinguish between these two types of questions. The latter implies a fixed symbol, the former an historical artifact. To be sure, some metaphors ("This is my body") have effected ritual performance in Christian worship, but always from within the texts of the liturgy: the priest *says* at the consecration of the host, "This is my body." Others (Christ as *sponsus* of the Church) guided the participants to an appreciation of the symbolic polyvalence of the ritual, without being articulated or explicitly performed in the liturgy itself.⁴⁰ The metaphor "Mary is (the type of) the Church" is performed at the feast of the Assumption only insofar as all Christian gatherings perform the metaphor of the body of Christ. There is no explicit reference to Mary's ecclesial identity in the texts for the feast, nor, as I will show below, any implicit allusion in the selection of chants or psalms. The analogy between Mary and the Church, although visible after the fact, was not the operative mechanism for the institution of the feast, nor did it govern the selection of texts. Almost three centuries passed before anyone noticed that he or she was singing words on Mary's feast day that "ought" to apply, if the commentaries were read aright, to the Church.

Let us turn now to the second problem: the liturgical texts themselves. To reiterate, in the liturgical tradition on which Beleth, Sicardus, and Durandus

⁴⁰ Cf. James W. Fernandez, "The Performance of Ritual Metaphors," in *The Social Use of Metaphor: Essays on the Anthropology of Rhetoric*, ed. J. David Sapir and J. Christopher Crocker (Philadelphia, 1977), 100-131.

were commenting, the Song of Songs does not appear among the texts designated for use at the dedication of a church or for the anniversary of that dedication.⁴¹ This absence is marked both in the oldest surviving books of chant and in the books contemporary with Beleth, Sicardus, and Durandus. Moreover, not only have I been unable to establish any correspondence between the use of the Song for the Assumption and a (hypothetical) use of the Song for the dedication of churches, but I have also found that the office and mass for the Dedication of a church share *no* chants with the office and mass for the Assumption. Indeed, of the chants published by René-Jean Hesbert in his *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii*, the office for the Dedication of a church shares only *one* text with any of the Marian feasts: a versicle which appears in two of the twelve manuscripts for the Purification, and in one for the Dedication. Note that this is one versicle out of a total of 384 texts used in the offices of the Virgin.⁴² Of the chants for the mass published by Hesbert in his *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*, out of a total of twenty-one texts specified for use in the Marian masses, only one (an Alleluia) appears in the mass for the Dedication of a church. Once again, this text is a chant for the Purification, and for the dedication of a church to St. Mary at that.⁴³

⁴¹ On the pontifical *ordines* for the dedication of churches, see Thomas Kozachek, “The Repertory of Chant for Dedicating Churches in the Middle Ages: Music, Liturgy and Ritual” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1995). On the chants for the offices for the Dedication of a church, see CAO, vol. 1 (*Manuscripti “Cursus Romanus”*), 127 (pp. 372–77): C [Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 17436], E [Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare CVI], M [Monza, Basilica S. Giovanni C. 12/75], and V [Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare XCVIII]; and vol. 2 (*Manuscripti “Cursus Monasticus”*) 114⁵ (pp. 584–88): H [St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 390–391]; 120⁴ (pp. 647–51): F [Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 12584], and L [Benevento, Archivio Capitolare 21]; and 127 (pp. 714–19): R [Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Rheinau 28], D [Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 17296], and S [London, British Library Add. 30850]. Two of the manuscripts published in the CAO lack an office for the Dedication: G [Durham, Cathedral Chapter Library B.III.11] and B [Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, lit. 23].

⁴² CAO, no. 8214: “Suscepimus, Deus, misericordiam tuam. R. In medio templi tui.” (48 [Purif.] R and L; 114⁵ [Ded. eccl.] H). Note, however, that the versicle is not used within the same manuscript for both offices. By my count, there are 18 invitatories, 229 antiphons, 113 responsories, and 24 versicles used for the feasts of the Virgin Mary in the twelve manuscripts published in CAO.

⁴³ *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*, ed. René-Jean Hesbert (Rome, 1935), 29 (Purif. S. Mariae), 100 (Dedic. S. Mariae): “Adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum et confitebor nomini tuo.” The alleluia appears for the Purification in the following manuscripts: Zurich, Zentralbibliothek Rheinau 30 (Nivelles, 790s); Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 10127–10144 (abbey of St. Peter on Mont-Blandin, Ghent, s. VIII ex.); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 17436 (abbey of Saint-Médard at Soissons, s. IX^{2/2}); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 12050 (abbey of Corbie, 850s); and Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève 111 (written at the monastery of Saint-Denis for the cathedral of Senlis, 877–82). The Alleluia appears for the dedication of the basilica of St. Mary *ad Martyres* (the Pantheon) in the following manuscripts: Monza,

Beleth noted that psalms sung *generaliter* for the Dedication of a church were sung *specialiter* for Mary “inasmuch as the Church is the mother of all the saints and bears the name of virginity. . . . Similarly blessed Mary is both mother and virgin and most holy of all the female saints.”⁴⁴ The offices for the

Table 1
Psalms^a for the Offices of the Assumption and the Dedication of a Church

<i>Cursus Romanus</i>				<i>Cursus Monasticus</i>			
Assumptio		Dedicatio		Assumptio		Dedicatio	
I ^b	8	I ^c	23	I ^d	8	I ^e	10
	18		45		18		23
	23		47		23		25
II	44	II	83		44		28
	45		86		45		45
	86		87		47		47
III	95	III	90	II	84	II	64
	96		95		86		83
	97		96 ^f		95		86
					96		90
					97		95
					98 ^g		98

^a Vulgate numbering.
^b CBEMV (CAO, vol. 1, 106 [pp. 284–87]).
^c CEM (CAO, vol. 1, 127 [pp. 374–75]). V has different psalmody, including six psalms in the third nocturn—I: 10, 14, 23; II: 28, 45, 47; III: 83, 86, 87, 90, 96, and 97. Note that although the first nocturn includes two psalms not found in the other three manuscripts and the second includes one variant, the other nine psalms follow the order, if not the nocturnal grouping, of the other manuscripts.
^d RSFL (CAO, vol. 2, 106 [pp. 532–33]). H adds 10, 14, and 15 to its first nocturn, moves 44 and 45 into its second, and omits 47, 84, and 98. The psalmody in D is incomplete owing to the loss of two folios.
^e No two manuscripts in this group have the same psalmody for the dedication of a church. The chart gives the psalmody for R (CAO, vol. 2, 127 [pp. 714–17]), as the psalms for this manuscript are most similar to those given in H, the oldest manuscript. I do not take H as the basis for comparison with the Assumption, because its psalms for the two feasts differ most from those in the other five manuscripts (see above).
^f M has 97 and 98 in place of 95 and 97.
^g L has 83 (*Quam amabilia*) in place of 98.

Basilica S. Giovanni CIX (NE France, s. IX ex.); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 17436; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 12050; and Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève 111. The six Mass antiphoners (or graduals) edited by Hesbert are the oldest extant. On their dating and provenance, see David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford, 1993), 298.

⁴⁴ Beleth, *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis* 146 (ed. Douteil, 284–85): “Ecclesia namque mater est omnium sanctorum et nomen tenet uirginitatis. . . . Similiter beata Maria mater est et uirgo et sanctorum sanctissima.”

Assumption and the Dedication of a church do share certain psalms in both the secular and the monastic *cursus* (see Table 1), but none of these shared psalms suggests either a virginal or a maternal theme (Psalms 23, 45, 86, 95, and 96 in the *cursus Romanus*; and Psalms 23, 45, 47, 86, 95, and 98 in the *cursus monasticus*).⁴⁵ Furthermore, all of the psalms unique to the Dedication of a church refer to the temple of the Lord and the blessedness of his dwelling (Psalms 10, 25, 28, 64, 83, 87, and 90).⁴⁶ The church celebrated in these songs is clearly a building, not a metaphorical mother or virgin. Likewise, the antiphons that accompanied these psalms allude to the temple and house of the Lord, its gates and altar, and the precious stones of its walls—to the church as a material structure, not an allegorical personification. This concreteness is further emphasized by the absence of one psalm in particular from the office for the Dedication: Psalm 44 (*Eructavit cor meum*). This absence is remarkable because, like the Song of Songs, Psalm 44 is a marriage hymn, an epithalamium. According to Augustine, Psalm 44 celebrates the union of Christ the bridegroom and his bride the Church in the bridal-chamber of the Virgin's womb.⁴⁷ Once again we have a disjuncture between the exegetical tradition and liturgical usage: exegetically the Church is the bride of Psalm 44, but liturgically the church is a building—and Psalm 44 is sung not for the office of the Dedication, but for the office of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.⁴⁸ If the

⁴⁵ Psalms 23, 45, 47, and 86 speak of the heavenly city, which, in Revelation 21:2 (Douai), comes down out of heaven "made ready as a bride adorned for her husband." These psalms themselves contain no overt nuptial or maternal imagery in their descriptions of the city (cf. Psalms 23:9; 45:5; 47:2 and 10; and 86:1–3), although verse 5 of Psalm 86 ("One and all were born in her, And he who has established her is the Most High Lord") was sung as an antiphon for Christmas and its octave (CAO, no. 3130: 19 [*Nat. Dom.*] HRDL; 23 [*Oct. Nat. Dom.*] CGBEMV, HRDFSL). Psalms 95, 96, and 98 are hymns of praise, appropriate to most occasions worthy of joy and the contemplation of the greatness of the Lord.

⁴⁶ See, for example, Psalms 10:5; 25:6, 8 and 12; 28:9; 64:5–6; 83:2; and 90:1.

⁴⁷ Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos*, Ps 44 (ed. E. Dekkers and I. Fraipont, CCL 38 [Turnhout, 1956], 493–517, at 493–95); see also *De civitate Dei* 17.16. On Psalm 44 as an epithalamium, see Evelyn Wilson, "A Study of the Epithalamium in the Middle Ages: An introduction to the *Epithalamium beate Marie virginis* of John of Garland" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1930).

⁴⁸ Note that Psalm 44 is also used in CEMV and HRDFSL for the Common of Virgins. See CAO, vol. 1, 126 (pp. 368–73); and vol. 2, 126 (pp. 704–11). A brief comment is in order concerning the relationship between the Common of Virgins and the Assumption office. The antiphoners edited by Hesbert contain a total of seventy-six antiphons and forty-six responsories for the Common of Virgins. Of these, nineteen antiphons and ten responsories also appear among the chants for the Assumption, and twelve of these antiphons and five of the responsories contain verses from or allusions to the Song of Songs. Of these twelve Song antiphons, however, only four appear for both offices within the same manuscript, and no one of these four appears in both places in more than one manuscript. More specifically, the ninth-century antiphoner of Compiègne (C) contains seventeen Song antiphons for the Assumption. Only

choice of psalms for the Assumption, as Beleth seems to suggest, depended upon Mary's likeness to the Church as mother, virgin, and bride, why does the Assumption and *not* the Dedication of a church use this epithalamic psalm? Albeit *exegetically*, in commentaries on the Psalms and the Song of Songs, the Church is the Bride, *liturgically*, in the context of its dedication, the church is a building, a sacred space, not the feminine personification of the Christian community. Albeit *exegetically* Mary bears the type of the Church, the liturgy honors her as an individual woman, the Virgin Mother of God, the Queen of Heaven who, to paraphrase Psalm 44:10, stands at the right hand of the king bedecked with gold-woven robes.

Do we then conclude that Beleth, Sicardus, and Durandus misrepresented the liturgy of their own day? Not quite. Both Sicardus and Durandus depended heavily upon Beleth for their accounts of the feast of the Assumption, Sicardus condensing and Durandus expanding; nevertheless, both of them made one significant alteration in their versions of Beleth's entry. Beleth had said that the psalms and other texts sung on the feast of the Assumption were generally sung for the Dedication of the church: *de dedicatione ecclesie*, singular. Sicardus and Durandus supplied the plural: *in ecclesiarum dedicationibus*. Sicardus and Durandus appear to have assumed that Beleth was speaking universally when he referred to the Dedication liturgy, but he may actually have been speaking locally, of a single church with which he was familiar, not of all the churches in Europe. Very little is known of Beleth's life save that he began his education at the Benedictine house at Tiron in the diocese of Chartres, studied before 1142 under Gilbert of Poitiers († 1154), and did most of his writing in Paris. It is no surprise that Beleth was "thoroughly familiar with the ritual at Notre Dame [of Paris]"—and Notre Dame of Paris was dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin.⁴⁹ Perhaps Beleth did not mean to suggest that the choice of texts for the feast of the Assumption originally depended on the texts for the Dedication;

one (no. 4648) of these seventeen also occurs in the same manuscript among the chants for the Common of Virgins. It cannot be shown from this, the oldest of the surviving antiphoners, that the choice of the Song for the Marian feast depended upon its use for the Common of Virgins. Rather, the common denominator of the two offices appears to have been Psalm 44. Two of the seven responsories in the Compiègne office for the Assumption draw upon Psalm 44 (nos. 6446 and 7826), and both of these responsories also appear among the chants for the Common of Virgins in this manuscript. By contrast, the two responsories for the Assumption in the Compiègne manuscript that draw more or less exclusively upon the Song (nos. 7455 and 7878) appear in all of the other manuscripts for the Assumption, but only in one (M) for the Common.

⁴⁹ Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550* (Cambridge, 1989), 166. For Beleth's biography, see "Johannes Beleth, Leben und Werk," in Herbert Douteil's introduction to Beleth, *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*, CCCM 41 (Turnhout, 1976), 29–36. On the dedication of the cathedral, see Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 6 and 74.

rather, he was simply commenting on the feast as celebrated by the canons at Notre Dame, a dual feast, as it were, commemorating *generaliter* the dedication of their cathedral, but *specialiter* the event in Mary's life. Chartres, likewise dedicated to the Virgin, celebrated its dedicatory feast on 17 October, but after the fire of 1194, the canons substituted a Commemoration of the Blessed Virgin for the office of the Dedication of a church. This Commemoration included antiphons and responsories from the feast of the Assumption and nine lessons from the Song of Songs.⁵⁰ It seems that a similar correspondence may have applied at Paris: antiphons, responsories, and lessons taken from the Song were common to the feast of the Assumption and the day of the cathedral's dedication, not because the office for the Dedication had supplied the texts for the Marian feast day, but because the Dedication itself was a Marian feast and the Marian texts had supplanted the usual dedicatory pieces.⁵¹ For Beleth, the analogy between Mary and the Church may have simply explained why, at Notre Dame, the same feast commemorated not one but two events: Mary's resurrection and the dedication of the cathedral to the memory of her resurrection. Accordingly, it is more than likely that Beleth intended to articulate not an exegetical principle applicable universally to the feast of the Assumption, but only a special case contingent upon the dedication of a particular church.

The analogy between Mary and the Church so often cited as the agent of liturgical development was itself historically and geographically conditioned. Predating the institution of the Marian feasts in the West, it figured obliquely in the patristic exegesis of select verses of the Song in a Marian sense, and not at all in the Carolingian use of the Song in the Marian liturgy. It seems to have occurred to Honorius as a way to reconcile the liturgical tradition with the exegetical, and to Beleth as a way to reconcile local observance (the dedication of the cathedral in Paris) with the universal (the commemoration of Mary's Assumption), but in neither of these twelfth-century instances can it be shown to have been instrumental for the development of the Marian liturgy. That it became a prominent metaphor in, for example, twelfth-century Victorine sequences for the Mass, does not obviate the fact that it was not operative in the composition of the original Assumption chants. The twelfth-century Victorine composers were, like Honorius and Beleth, beneficiaries of the contemporary renaissance in theology and exegesis, and they relished the multiple significa-

⁵⁰ Yves Delaporte, *L'ordinaire chartrien du XIII^e siècle* (Chartres, 1953), 183–84. For the antiphons and responsories used at Chartres on the feast of the Assumption, see Delaporte, 170–72. On the substitution of the Commemoration for the Dedication, see Katzenellenbogen, *Sculptural Programs*, 60.

⁵¹ See the texts for the Assumption in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 15182, fols. CCCIII–CCCXIX. According to the CANTUS text files, "About the manuscripts indexed by Project CANTUS," this manuscript, a noted breviary in two volumes, dates ca. 1300.

tions and interrelations of their primary symbols (Christ, the Word, the Trinity, the Mother of God, the Church, the Eucharist, the Cross, the soul) while simultaneously contending that all symbols harmoniously signified one truth. As Godefroy of St. Victor argued in a sermon for the Nativity of Mary,

For in three ways, as we learn from Holy Scripture, is the virgin the bride of the King and mother. The first is the singularly blessed Mary, who is born today, virgin bride of the King and mother. The second is the generally blessed Church, in like manner having its beginning today, virgin bride of the King and mother. The third is the specially blessed faithful soul, which is born every day, virgin bride of the King and mother. Thus the first is defined historically, the second allegorically, and the third tropologically.⁵²

The twelfth-century delight in this symbolic harmony did not mean that the symbols themselves surrendered their historical specificity to their allegorical and tropological significations, nor that these significations had been consistently emphasized throughout the tradition, but only that they sounded a note audible to those attuned to its resonance in particular circumstances. Just as the development of the liturgy depended upon historical conditions, so too did its interpretation. The analogy between Mary and the Church, although an apt and compelling metaphor in the shadow of the Gregorian reform, played a more modest role in the centuries immediately following the institution of the Assumption in the West, and none at all in the Carolingian interpretation of the liturgy for that feast. The metaphorical relationship between Mary and the Church was a hermeneutic epiphenomenon, not the principal agent in the development of the Assumption liturgy nor in the use of the Song of Songs in a Marian sense. The key to the interpretation of the Assumption liturgy prior to the twelfth century is to be found not in analogy but in history—in the history of the introduction of the feast to the Carolingian liturgy and in the history narrated by the feast.

THE EMPTY TOMB

From the sixth century, the churches in Merovingian Gaul had kept a single feast of the Virgin on 18 January, entitled *depositio sanctae Mariae* in the oldest calendars.⁵³ This feast, like the feast days of other saints, simply commemo-

⁵² Trans. by Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 323, from Johannes Beumer, "Die Parallele Maria-Kirche nach einem ungedruckten Sermo des Gottfried von St.-Viktor," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 27 (1960): 248–66, at 255. On the Victorine sequences, see Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 326–28.

⁵³ *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (s. V), ed. Henri Quentin, *AA SS Nov.* II.ii (Brussels, 1931), 45–46. Cf. the *Kalendarium Corbiense* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 14086, fols.

rated Mary's death, without reference to its manner or to its denouement. When in the eighth century, the Carolingians Pippin the Short (751–68) and Charlemagne (768–814) ordered the Gallican liturgy reformed on Roman models, the process of Romanization included not only the substitution of Roman chant for Gallican,⁵⁴ but also the substitution of the August feast of Mary's *adsumptio* for the old January feast of Mary's death. Like the Roman chant, the feast of the Assumption did not necessarily gain immediate acceptance.

There were a number of difficulties with the introduction of the new feast. To begin with, not all churches were willing to abandon the older Gallican feast in favor of the Roman observance.⁵⁵ Some churches kept the old feast on 18 January as a double commemoration, saying first a *Missa sancte Mariae solemnitatem* followed by a *Missa Adsumptione sancte Mariae*.⁵⁶ Others kept both feast days, the January feast to commemorate Mary's death (*depositio*) and the August feast to celebrate her assumption.⁵⁷ As late as 809, the Assumption was still considered a novelty. A capitulary issued from Aachen in that year listed the feasts to be observed by the Frankish church, among them the *purificatio sanctae Mariae*, but warned that "concerning the Assumption of saint Mary it remains for us to inquire."⁵⁸ Although in 813 the Reform Council of Mainz officially promulgated the observance as the feast of the *adsumptio sanctae Mariae*,⁵⁹ Carolingian liturgists remained wary. In the preface to the supplement appended to his expanded version of the Gregorian Sacramentary, Bene-

4–5; s. VII ex./ VIII in.), cited by A. Wilmart, "Corbie (Manuscripts liturgiques de)," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* 3.2 (Paris, 1914), cols. 2913–58, at 2927. Gregory of Tours († 590) noted this observance in his *Liber in gloria martyrum* 8 (ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH Scriptores rerum merovingicarum 1.2 [Hannover, 1885], 493). On the history of the feast in Gaul, see also Frénaud, "Marie et l'Eglise," 46–47; Capelle, "La liturgie mariale," 222; Capelle, "La fête," 35–37; and Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption*, 195 n. 2.

⁵⁴ On the introduction of Roman chant into the Carolingian church, see Susan Rankin, "Carolingian Music," in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, 1994), 274–316; Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 514–23; idem, "Recent Research on the Origins of Western Chant," *Early Music* 16/2 (1988): 202–13; and James McKinnon, "The Emergence of Gregorian Chant in the Carolingian Era," in *Antiquity and the Middle Ages: From Ancient Greece to the 15th Century*, ed. James McKinnon (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1990), 88–119.

⁵⁵ Capelle, "La liturgie mariale," 224–25; and Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption*, 195–202.

⁵⁶ *The Bobbio Missal: A Gallican Mass-Book* (MS. Paris. lat. 13246), ed. E. A. Lowe, Henry Bradshaw Society 58 (London, 1920), 37–41. See also Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption*, 201 n. 2.

⁵⁷ Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption*, 201.

⁵⁸ "Capitula ecclesiastica. 810–813?" § 19, no. 81 (ed. A. Boretius, MGH Legum sectio II: Capitularia regum francorum 1 [Hannover, 1883], 179): "De adsumptione sanctae Mariae interrogandum reliquimus."

⁵⁹ Council of Mainz (813), c. 36: "De festivitibus anni" (ed. Albert Werminghoff, MGH Concilia II: Concilia Aevi Karolini 1.1 [Hannover and Leipzig, 1906], 269–70).

dict of Aniane († 821) cautioned his readers: "Up to this point the present sacramentary is obviously the work of the blessed pope Gregory; the only exceptions are the feasts of the Nativity and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin and the masses for the Thursdays of Lent; readers will find them marked with an *obelus* [to signify their dubious authorship]." ⁶⁰

Modern scholars agree that blessed pope Gregory, that is Gregory the Great (590–604), was no more the author of the body of the sacramentary than he was of the masses for the Lenten Thursdays or the Marian feasts. But it was more than the dubious authorship of the mass for the Assumption that concerned the authors of the ninth-century liturgy. They wondered at celebrating an event—Mary's death and (supposed) bodily assumption into heaven—for which they had no corporeal focus, in other words, no bodily relics. Three ninth-century martyrologists bear witness to this reluctance. According to Ado of Vienne, writing in Lyon around 855, "the whole Church celebrates [Mary's] Dormition on August 15. . . . But where that venerable temple of the Holy Spirit, that is, the body of the most blessed Virgin Mary, has been hidden by God's assent and plan, the Church soberly chooses not to know with piety rather than to teach something frivolous and apocryphal concerning it." ⁶¹ It suffices, Ado concluded, to commend the Virgin Mother's sanctity and life without inquiring further into the mystery of her death. Usuard († ca. 869/77), a monk of St.-Germain-des-Prés in Paris, repeated Ado's reservations: "Although her most holy body is not to be found anywhere on earth, pious mother Church keeps this feast in her venerable memory, since there is no doubt that she has passed over from this fleshly state. But where that venerable temple of the Holy Spirit has been hidden . . ."—that was the question. ⁶² In a martyrology composed towards the end of the century (ca. 896), Notker the

⁶⁰ *Hucusque* (Preface to the *Supplementum Anianense*), trans. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 87 (cited with his comment on the significance of the *obelus*). For the Latin text, see *Le sacramentaire grégorien: Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, vol. 1, ed. Jean Deshusses, *Spicilegium Friburgense* 16 (Fribourg, 1971), 351.

⁶¹ Ado of Vienne, *Libellus de festivitibus sanctorum apostolorum* . . . , c. 54 (ed. Jacques Dubois and Geneviève Renaud, *Le martyrologe d'Adon: Ses deux familles. Ses trois recensions. Texte et commentaire*, [Paris, 1984], 30): "Cuius dormitionem XVIII Kalend. Septembr. omnis celebrat ecclesia. . . . Ubi autem venerabile Spiritus sancti templum illud, id est, caro ipsius beatissimae Virginis Mariae divino nuto et consilio occultatum sit, magis elegit sobrietas Ecclesiae cum pietate nescire, quam aliquid frivolum et apocryphum inde tenendo docere."

⁶² Usuard, *Martyrologium per anni circulum*, XVIII Kl. Sept. (ed. Jacques Dubois, *Le martyrologe d'Usuard. Texte et commentaire*, *Subsidia hagiographica* 40 [Brussels, 1965], 284): "cuius sacratissimum corpus etsi non invenitur super terram, tamen pia mater Ecclesia venerabilem eius memoriam sic festivam agit ut pro conditione carnis eam migrasse non dubitet. Quo autem illud venerabile Spiritus sancti templum. . . . occultatum sit. . . ."

Stammerer, monk of St. Gall (840–912), explained that it was not for him to settle a matter about which the most learned authors differed. This much he believed and confessed was certain: "if that most revered body from which God became incarnate is concealed anywhere on earth, its revelation is reserved for the destruction of the Antichrist."⁶³

Although no one knew where Mary's body had been hidden, there was a physical site on which the pious could concentrate their devotion: a church at Gethsemane in the valley of Josaphat. In the late seventh century, a Gallic bishop named Arculf had gone on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and he had visited this church a number of times. According to the description of his travels composed by Adamnan, abbot of Iona († 704), the church was a two-storied structure,

and the lower-story, which has a stone ceiling, is built with wondrous roundness. In the eastern portion of it is an altar, and at the right-hand side of the altar is the empty stone sepulchre of the holy Mary, where she was once laid to rest. But how, or when, or by what persons her holy remains were removed from this sepulchre, or where she awaits the resurrection, no one, as it is said, can know for certain. . . . So our brother Arculf, a visitor of the holy places, stated to us, who saw the things that we describe here with his own eyes.⁶⁴

Later pilgrims likewise remarked on the absence of Mary's body. In 724/725, the Anglo-Saxon missionary Willibald, sometime monk at Monte Cassino and later Bishop of Eichstätt, was shown Mary's tomb, "not that her body lies at rest there, but as a memorial to her."⁶⁵ Around 870, a Frankish monk named Bernard, along with two companions (Theudemund of Beneventum and Stephen the Spaniard), set off to visit the Holy Places. In the village of Gethsemane, they saw a large church built in honor of Mary, but the "round church of St. Mary which contains her tomb . . . has no roof and suffers from the rain."⁶⁶ Such pilgrimages were relatively frequent throughout the Carolingian

⁶³ Notker the Stammerer, *Martyrologium per anni circulum*, XVII Kal. Septemb. (PL 131:1142): ". . . si reverendissimum illud corpus ex quo Deus incarnatus, adhuc alicubi in terra celatur, revelatio utique ipsius ad destructionem Antichristi reservatur." On these theological reservations generally, see also Leo Scheffczyk, *Das Mariengeheimnis in Frömmigkeit und Lehre der Karolingerzeit* (Leipzig, 1959), 429–96.

⁶⁴ Adamnan, *De locis sanctis* 1.12 (ed. and trans. Denis Meehan, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 3 [Dublin, 1958], 56–58). The same church also housed the rock on which Jesus knelt while he prayed in the garden of Gethsemane, and pilgrims were shown the marks left by his knees.

⁶⁵ Willibald, *Hodoeporicon*, trans. C.H. Talbot, in *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Thomas F.X. Noble and Thomas Head (University Park, Pa., 1995), 156.

⁶⁶ Bernard, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, trans. John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster, Eng., 1977), 144.

period and continued, according to Notker (writing ca. 896), up to the time of the Vikings.⁶⁷ But an empty tomb in itself, as Arculf noted, was not sufficient to prove that Mary had been bodily assumed into heaven, nor, as the inattention to the site which the lack of a roof suggests, did it necessarily compensate for the absent body.

Logically, the absence of a body should have simplified rather than complicated the introduction of a feast celebrating the assumption of that body into heaven, and later authors would argue as much: if Mary's body has been concealed somewhere on earth, it is unthinkable that her relics would not reveal themselves so that they might be accorded proper veneration. No such revelatory miracles have occurred. No miracles, ergo no body; therefore, the body must have been assumed into heaven. By the twelfth century, many Latin Christians were convinced that it was equally unthinkable that Mary's body should have remained behind on earth at all, for if it had, it might have decayed and become food for worms, and that would mean that in some sense Christ's body had decayed and become food for worms, Mary's body being one with Christ's body in its fleshly humanity.⁶⁸ But the Carolingians preferred to believe that Mary's body might still be accessible to earthly veneration, that the Holy Spirit had simply concealed it somewhere on earth and that one day it would be revealed, as Notker explained, "for the destruction of the Antichrist."⁶⁹ It is arguable that, for the Carolingians, the absence of Mary's body was more troublesome than its presence might have been because they feared that Mary, like other saints, might be accessible to the faithful only insofar as her body was accessible to theirs, to their eyes, hands, kisses, and tears. It seems to have been this fear that made them hesitant to celebrate the feast of her Assumption. After all, the cults of most other saints presupposed the *presence*, not the absence, of a saintly body.

Like the feast of the Assumption, the feasts of ordinary saints (the martyrs, confessors, and virgins) marked the day of the saints' death, but in the Carolin-

⁶⁷ Notker, *Martyrologium* (PL 131:1142).

⁶⁸ This argument appears in a sermon attributed to Augustine, *De assumptione beatae Mariae virginis* (PL 40:1141–48, at 1146) as one of six proofs in favor of Mary's bodily assumption. The sermon was regularly cited throughout the twelfth century as one of the principal *auctoritates* in support of the doctrine. Various attributions have been suggested, including Fulbert of Chartres, Ratramnus, and Alcuin. Current opinion is that the sermon should be dated to the beginning of the twelfth century rather than to the Carolingian period. On these attributions, see Henri Barré, "La croyance à l'Assomption corporelle en Occident de 750 à 1150 environs," *Études mariales* 7 (1949): 63–123, at 80–100; Giuseppe Quadrio, *Il trattato "De assumptione Beatae Mariae Virginis" dello pseudo-Agostino e il suo influsso nella teologia assunzionistica latina*, *Analecta Gregoriana* 52 (Rome, 1951); Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption*, 285–91; Scheffczyk, *Das Mariengeheimnis*, 459–61; and Graef, *Mary* 1:222–24.

⁶⁹ See above at n. 63.

gian church these celebrations usually centered around the veneration of the saints' relics (their bodies) either buried in the church or enshrined in reliquaries above the altar.⁷⁰ The bodies were needed to focus and amplify the prayers of the community—supplications and praise which were thereby transmitted heavenward on the beam of the saintly patrons' favor. Even the saints of the universal church (the apostles and evangelists) acted as local, or rather localized, patrons. Their cults were celebrated throughout Christendom, but their bodies had been identified and were revered in established shrines.⁷¹ To venerate a saint was to pray to someone who could be located not only in time, the events in his or her life being recorded in a *vita*, but also in space. It was to pray to someone whose historical existence could be verified materially in a body that could be seen and touched. In effect, "the relics *were* the saint."⁷² Without a body, the pious could not be sure that their prayers would be heard. They could not be sure that the saint was present in their midst. A cult presupposed a body. Of all of the principal actors in evangelical history (other than Christ, of course), only the bodies of John the Evangelist and Mary had eluded pious detection,⁷³ and yet Mary's body had given birth to the Savior. Mary's body had supplied the fleshly stuff for the body of Christ. Her body corroborated not only the fact of her earthly existence, but also the historical certainty of the Incarnation. Without her body, the pious could not be sure either that she had "passed over from this fleshly state" (as Usuard put it), or that she, and by extension Christ, had endured this fleshly state in the first place. Convinced on the one hand that devotion to a saint required a body but on the other unwilling to reject the Roman feast out of hand, the Carolingian martyrologists compromised: they recorded the Assumption with the reservation that Mary's body might have been concealed somewhere on earth.

These then were the difficulties that the Carolingian theologians and liturgists had with the introduction of the feast of the Assumption. The Roman feast supplanted an older Gallican feast that some churches were reluctant to abandon. The masses for the Assumption and the Nativity of the Virgin could not be

⁷⁰ On the Carolingian cult of relics, see Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, rev. ed. (Princeton, 1990). On the importance of relics generally, see Arnold Angenendt, *Heilige und Reliquien: Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1994).

⁷¹ For example, St. Peter the Apostle in Rome and St. Mark the Evangelist in Venice.

⁷² Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 34. See also Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York, 1995), 105–6: "As Victor Saxer has brilliantly explained, the dead were materialized by being divided up and distributed; the more the martyr's parts were spread throughout the Mediterranean world, the more he or she came to be seen as housed within the fragment."

⁷³ On the tradition of John's disappearance from his tomb, see Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption*, 710–26.

attributed to Pope Gregory the Great along with the rest of the Roman sacramentary. Most importantly, the feast commemorated an event that was not susceptible to material proof. Pilgrims to the Holy Land might be shown an empty tomb, but one empty tomb did not mean that Mary's body had not been concealed somewhere else on earth in anticipation of the Last Judgment. In their zeal to supply their churches with powerful patrons, Carolingian bishops and abbots had encouraged the translation (often, theft) of the bodies of numerous saints from their resting places in Rome and elsewhere in Italy. Perhaps a person or persons unknown had removed Mary's body from the sepulchre at Gethsemane, and at the appropriate time her body would be revealed, as other saints' relics had recently been, by a show of miracles.

STORIES FROM THE EAST

With or without bodily relics, there was another problem. The celebration of the feasts of the saints depended not only on the presence of earthly remains, but also on a record of the life and death of the saint (a *vita* or *passio*) that could be read during the night and morning offices and in the refectory on the day of the feast.⁷⁴ The day itself, therefore, became a time not only for prayer but also for imagination. As the people listened to the stories about the saints' character and miracles, they could imagine their patrons present not only in space (embodied in their relics) but also in time, in the action and conversation recorded and rehearsed through their *historiae*. Moreover, these stories were not simply read in a speaking voice. They were also set to music and chanted, the *vitae* and *passiones* providing not only the texts for the *lectiones* but also the texts for the antiphons and responsories of Vespers, Matins, and Lauds. Accordingly, these offices themselves were referred to as *historiae*.⁷⁵ Through their chants, it was possible to imagine that the saints themselves spoke once again to the living. On the day of the Assumption, the people would therefore expect to hear, as it were, from Mary herself how she had died, and where, and when, and who had attended her, and to learn what she had said at the moment of her death and with what assurances she had surrendered her soul to God. By the time that the Carolingian church began to keep the feast of the Assumption, narratives providing these details had been available in the West for over two hundred years. For a number of reasons, including above all the absence of scriptural corroboration, these narratives had been ranked among the apocry-

⁷⁴ On the *lectiones* for the offices and the refectory, see Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800–1200* (Cambridge, 1990), 121–31. See also n. 4 above.

⁷⁵ Jonsson, *Historia*, 9–17.

pha as writings of dubious authenticity, not to be trusted and not to be read or heard in church. Nevertheless, the feast of the Assumption still commemorated a specific event, and whether the faithful heard the apocryphal story in church on the day or not, it structured their understanding of the celebration and the way in which they heard the chants and lessons of the office. To appreciate why the choirs sang verses from the Song of Songs as antiphons and responsories for the office and why the lessons for the day were taken from the same biblical text, it is therefore necessary to understand why they did not sing and read passages from the assumption narratives themselves.

Although it was (more or less) certain that Mary had died, nothing in Scripture indicated when, or where, or how, or in whose presence, let alone what had happened to her body afterwards. There were hints: perhaps the sword that Simeon prophesied (Luke 2:35) had been a material sword, but both Augustine and Ambrose had rejected the hypothesis of a bodily martyrdom.⁷⁶ Generally speaking, the Fathers of the third, fourth, and early fifth centuries concerned themselves with Mary's own biography only insofar as it impinged directly upon her role in the incarnation of the God-man, that is, with the miracle of her maternal virginity. They did not pursue the enigma of her death, it being, in their view, christologically irrelevant.

Following the council of Chalcedon (451), a number of authors began to claim more exact knowledge about Mary's last days on earth.⁷⁷ According to a fifth-century Greek narrative attributed to John the Evangelist, Mary had passed away in the company of the apostles at her house in Jerusalem, and

⁷⁶ On Augustine and Ambrose, see Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1990), 12–13.

⁷⁷ The dating of the apocryphal narratives of Mary's assumption is a matter of continuing scholarly debate, complicated by the fact that narratives detailing the events surrounding Mary's last days on earth are extant in as many as nine different languages (Syriac, Greek, Coptic, Arabic, Ethiopian, Latin, Georgian, Armenian, and Gaelic), and in a bewildering variety of recensions (almost sixty by a recent count), none of which has been (or is likely to be) established as the prototype (Mimouni, *Dormition et assomption*; and van Esbroeck, "Les textes littéraires"). Some would like to date the apocrypha as early as the third century on the basis of a number of fragments in Syriac (for references and critical comments, see Clayton, *Cult of the Virgin Mary*, 8 n. 27; and O'Carroll, *Theotokos*, 59), and one author has argued for a date between the councils of Nicaea (325) and Ephesus (431) on theological grounds (Heinrich Lausberg, "Zur literarischen Gestaltung des Transitus Beatus Mariae," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 72 [1952]: 25–49). Martin Jugie (*La mort et l'assomption*, 108) held a late fifth- or early sixth-century Syriac fragment to be the oldest version. Most recently, Simon Mimouni has argued that the stories can be dated to the period immediately following the council of Chalcedon and that they arose from within the monophysite communities in Jerusalem. See Mimouni, *Dormition et assomption*, 659–74; and " 'Transitus Mariae,' " in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 15 (Paris, 1991), cols. 1160–74, at 1163.

Christ and his angels had attended her death.⁷⁸ The apostles conveyed her body to a new tomb at Gethsemane in the valley of Josaphat, and for three days a sweet odor came forth from the tomb and the voices of invisible angels sang praises to God. "And when the third day was fulfilled the voices were no more heard, and thereafter," the narrator explained, "we all perceived that her spotless and precious body was translated to paradise."⁷⁹ Following the promulgation of the August feast by the emperor Maurice towards the end of the sixth century, Orthodox theologians, including John, archbishop of Thessalonica (610–30), preached a revised narrative. At her death, Christ had entrusted Mary's soul to the archangel Michael. Her body had immediately cried out, "Remember me, king of glory, remember me, because I was made by you! Remember me, because I guarded the treasure commended to me!" Christ had reassured the body: "I will not forsake you, treasury of my pearl. I will not forsake you, having proven yourself a faithful guardian of the deposit entrusted to you. . . ."⁸⁰ Three days after her burial, the apostles opened the tomb and found it empty, whereupon they understood that Mary's body had been translated to its eternal inheritance, that is, assumed into heaven.

Although direct lines of transmission have proven difficult to establish, it seems that a Latin version indirectly related to this later narrative became current in the West during the seventh century, at about the same time that the popes began observing the August feast of the Virgin in Rome.⁸¹ This Latin account of the events surrounding Mary's last days was most likely originally entitled *Transitus beatae semper virginis Mariae*, but is now often referred to as the *Gospel of Pseudo-Melito*.⁸² Other Latin accounts likewise made their appearance at about the same time. In the past century, scholars have identified as many as five different Latin assumption narratives in addition to Pseudo-

⁷⁸ J. K. Elliott, trans., *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford, 1993), 701–8, esp. 707–8. For the Greek text, see Constantin Tischendorf, *Apocalypses apocryphae Mosis, Esdrae, Pauli, Iohannis, item Mariae Dormitio* (Leipzig, 1866), 95–112.

⁷⁹ Trans. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 708.

⁸⁰ See John of Thessalonica, *Κοιμήσις τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρένου Μαρίας* 12 (ed. Martin Jugie, in "Homélies mariales byzantines II," *Patrologia Orientalis* 19 [1926]: 375–438, at 397).

⁸¹ On the dating of this Latin version, see Mimouni, *Dormition et assumption*, 271–72. The oldest extant witness to the Eastern stories in the West is Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum* 4 (ed. Krusch, 489).

⁸² The account survives in two recensions: *Transitus* B1, ed. Tischendorf, *Apocalypses apocryphae*, 124–36 (trans. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 708–14); and *Transitus* B2, ed. Monika Haibach-Reinisch, *Ein neuer "Transitus Mariae" des Pseudo-Melito*, Bibliotheca Assumptionis B. Virginis Mariae 5 (Rome, 1962), 63–87. On the title, see Mimouni, *Dormition et assumption*, 266.

Melito, two of which date to the Carolingian period: *Translatio sacratissime virginis sanctae Marie*,⁸³ and *Adsumptio sancte Mariae*.⁸⁴ A third, *Transitus sive assumptio sancte Marie*,⁸⁵ is a short pastiche, its middle section dependent upon the *Translatio* and its beginning and end upon Pseudo-Melito's *Transitus*.

In the East, the Greek narratives met with general approval and were quickly incorporated into the Byzantine liturgy for the August feast in honor of Mary's assumption. The narrative of Pseudo-John the Evangelist was immensely popular and survives in some fifty to one hundred manuscripts, the oldest of which are three homiliaries dating to the ninth and tenth centuries in which the narrative appears as one of the readings for 15 August.⁸⁶ In a prologue to his redaction of the story, John of Thessalonica explained that he had found it necessary to write an expurgated account of Mary's last days specifically in order to enable his church to observe the feast because all of the available accounts had been corrupted by heretics so that the accounts would be spurned by the catholic churches and the feast would fall into oblivion. This "expurgated" narrative, if not perhaps as popular as Pseudo-John the Evangelist's, was nevertheless widely influential. It survives in some thirty known manuscripts, at least one of which, a *menologium* copied in Constantinople in

⁸³ *Transitus W* [hereafter *Translatio*], ed. André Wilmart, "L'ancien récit latin de l'Assomption," in *Analecta Reginensia*, Studi e Testi 59 (Vatican City, 1933), 325–57. For the title, see Antoine Wenger, *L'assomption de la T.S. Vierge dans la tradition byzantine du VI^e au X^e siècle. Études et documents*, Archives de l'Orient chrétien 5 (Paris, 1955), 257; and Mimouni, *Dormition et assomption*, 282 n. 94. Jugie (*La mort et l'assomption*, 150–54) believed that this account was a direct, albeit abbreviated Latin translation of John of Thessalonica's narrative, but in 1949 Bernard Capelle (see n. 85 below) argued that the two narratives shared a common Greek source, a source already translated into Latin and abridged before it came into the hands of the author of *Transitus W*.

⁸⁴ *Transitus A* [hereafter *Adsumptio*] (not the same as *Transitus A* edited by Tischendorf), ed. Wenger, *L'assomption*, 245–56. According to Wenger, this *Transitus A* is an abridged translation of a Greek *Transitus R* which he discovered in single manuscript (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. gr. 1982, fols. 181–189v; ed. and trans. Wenger, *L'assomption*, 210–41). This *Transitus R* was likewise the source for John of Thessalonica's narrative. For a critique of Wenger's hypothesis on the relationship between these accounts, see Mimouni, *Dormition et assomption*, 127–35 and 277–81.

⁸⁵ *Transitus C* [hereafter *Transitus sive assumptio*], ed. Bernard Capelle, "Vestiges grecs et latins d'un antique 'Transitus' de la Vierge," *Analecta Bollandiana* 67 (1949): 21–48, at 44–48.

⁸⁶ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. gr. 455, fols. 186v–193 (s. IX/X); Vat. gr. 1671, fols. 153–162v (s. X); and Vat. gr. 1633, fols. 294–296 (s. X/XI). On these manuscripts, see Mimouni, "La lecture liturgique," 405–7; and *Dormition et assomption*, 118–19.

the eleventh century, lists it among the readings for 15 August.⁸⁷ A number of communities used an abbreviated version of the same account in their liturgies,⁸⁸ and two of the most prominent iconodules of the eighth century—John of Damascus († ca. 749) and Germanus of Constantinople († 733)—drew upon John of Thessalonica's narrative in their sermons for the feast.⁸⁹

The reception of the Latin narratives in the West was somewhat different. Like John of Thessalonica, Pseudo-Melito argued that he had found it necessary to revise an earlier narrative so that the story might be read and heard in church on the day of the feast. According to "Melito," a certain Leucius had "corrupted with an evil pen the departure of the blessed Mary ever-virgin, the mother of God, so that it is unlawful not only to read but even to hear it in the church of God."⁹⁰ Whether or not "Leucius" was himself an historical figure, the name points to a second- or third-century body of gnostic literature about the voyages and acts of the apostles.⁹¹ In accusing the gnostic "Leucius" of corrupting the original account of Mary's *transitus*, "Melito" hoped to convince his readers that it was only the source, not the story itself of which they should be wary, and that his version, which he reportedly had direct from the apostle John, could be lawfully read and heard in the churches, presumably on the feast of the Assumption.

Pseudo-Melito's version of the story met with relative success, but not in the venue he intended. It survives in two recensions: *Transitus* B1 in at least twenty-six manuscripts, the oldest of which may date to the eighth century; and *Transitus* B2 in at least twenty manuscripts, the oldest of which dates to the

⁸⁷ The manuscript tradition of John's *Κοίμησις* is exceptionally complicated. Jugie published two versions ("Homélies mariales byzantines II," 375–401 and 405–31), each with multiple endings (pp. 401–5 and 431–38). Only the first version includes the prologue in which John explains his reasons for writing the account (John of Thessalonica, *Κοίμησις* 1, ed. Jugie, 375–76). On the *menologium* (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek hist. gr. 45), see Mimouni, "La lecture liturgique," 407. Much more work on the complicated manuscript tradition of John's *Κοίμησις* will be necessary to determine its exact liturgical function.

⁸⁸ François Halkin, "Une légende byzantine de la Dormition: L'épitémè du récit de Jean de Thessalonique," *Revue des études byzantines* 11 (1953): 156–64. This account survives in four manuscripts, including a tenth-century typicon from Patmos (Patmos 266).

⁸⁹ John of Damascus, *Homilia II. In Dormitionem B. V. Mariae* 9–15 (PG 96:722–54, at 735–42; trans. Pierre Voulet, *Homélies sur la nativité et la dormition*, Sources chrétiennes 80 [Paris, 1961], 146–63); and Germanus of Constantinople, *In Dormitionem B. Mariae III* (PG 98:359–72).

⁹⁰ *Transitus* B1, ed. Tischendorf, 124, n. * (trans. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 708). Cf. *Transitus* B2, ed. Haibach-Reinisch, 63–65.

⁹¹ Mimouni, *Dormition et assomption*, 268–70; Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption*, 86 n. 1; and 106–7.

eleventh century.⁹² In the majority of these manuscripts, the *Transitus* appears alongside miscellaneous saints' lives and sermons, often accompanied by narratives of Mary's nativity and sometimes by other pieces of mariological interest—miracle stories, Elisabeth of Schönau's vision on the resurrection of the Virgin,⁹³ and, in one manuscript, Honorius's *Sigillum*. At least one twelfth-century manuscript locates the *Transitus* within a cycle of readings for the liturgical year,⁹⁴ but most of the manuscripts give little indication that the *Transitus* was to be read in church on the day of the feast.⁹⁵ The other Latin versions were no more successful liturgically. Although both the *Translatio* and the *Adsumptio* seem to have been intended for liturgical reading, the *Translatio* survives in only twelve manuscripts and the *Adsumptio* in only one; the *Transitus sive assumptio* appears to be an epitome intended for liturgical use, but, like the *Adsumptio*, it is extant in only one manuscript, dating no earlier than the eleventh century.⁹⁶ In fact, despite its self-professed apostolic provenance, Pseudo-Melito's *Transitus* had practically upon publication been tarred with the brush, if not of heresy, then of doubt, and had been consigned by papal authority to the ranks of the apocrypha. The irony was that the pope credited with this judgment, namely Gelasius I (492–96), could not have read the *Transitus* himself, having lived some hundred or more years prior to its

⁹² Haibach-Reinisch, *Ein neuer "Transitus,"* 31–32, and 55–59.

⁹³ On this vision, see Anne L. Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau: A Twelfth-Century Visionary* (Philadelphia, 1992), 40–41, 108–10.

⁹⁴ Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana E 84 inf. For a description of this manuscript, see *Analecta Bollandiana* 11 (1892): 307–20. *Transitus* B1 is item number 62, “De assumptione B. Mariae virginis,” fols. 180v–183r. I would like to thank Anthony Perron for this reference.

⁹⁵ For example, Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek 114, includes not only the *Sigillum* but also Honorius's commentary on the Hexameron, a book of miracles of the Virgin, a set of offices for the Virgin, two *passiones* of St. Agapitus, homilies on the Gospels, an office of St. Blase, a number of sermons for the Common of Saints, and some hymns. Given their diversity, it is not clear how these readings would be used liturgically. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 2042 (s. XIII), includes the *Transitus* alongside extracts from Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologica*, Bonaventure's *Breviloquium*, Bernard of Clairvaux's *De diligendo Deo* and *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae*, and Richard of St. Victor's *De praeparatione animi ad contemplationem*—in all some forty-two different pieces ranging from tracts on the fruits on contemplation to handbooks on penance.

⁹⁶ Mimouni, *Dormition et assumption*, 282 n. 94, argues that the rubric (“Incipit Translatio . . .”) given in the oldest manuscript of the *Translatio* (Lyons, Bibliothèque de la Ville 788, fol. 34v) indicates that the account was intended as a liturgical reading. He notes further, however, that none of the other manuscripts introduces the passage in this manner. The *Adsumptio* (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek Aug. 229, fols. 184v–190v) and the *Transitus sive Adsumptio* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Colbert lat. 2672, fols. 7v–12r) have similar rubrics which, according to Mimouni (pp. 277 and 287) likewise suggest liturgical readings.

composition.⁹⁷ Nor was Gelasius the author of the *De libris recipiendis et non recipiendis* in which the *Transitus sanctae Mariae* was adjudged *apocryphus*. Nevertheless, from the turn of the seventh century, the so-called Gelasian Decree in which the list of apocryphal books appears “was disseminated with quite astounding speed and efficiency throughout the Frankish realm, even into north Italy. . . . [It] was a vital Frankish contribution to the definition of orthodox knowledge and one that was widely influential in the Carolingian world.”⁹⁸ By the time that the Carolingian theologians and liturgists turned to the explanation of the new Roman feast of the Assumption, they were bound by their respect for canonical authority not to accept the *Transitus* or indeed any of the other accounts as a trustworthy witness to the fate of Mary’s body or as possible sources for their liturgical chants and lessons.

The question therefore remained: How were pious Carolingians to reconcile the absence of Mary’s body from her tomb with the absence of any trustworthy account of her death and resurrection? How were they to celebrate a feast for which they had no material or textual focus? Our best witness both to the understanding of the feast within the first century of its adoption and to the reception of the apocryphal assumption narratives by the Carolingians is a sermon *De adsumptione sanctae Mariae* by Ambrosius Autpertus († 784), a

⁹⁷ In dating the *Transitus*, I have followed Mimouni, *Dormition et assumption*, 271–72, who argues for its composition at the earliest towards the end of the sixth century, if not the beginning of the seventh, but the reader should beware that both the dating of the *Transitus* and that of the *Decretum Gelasianum* have been long been the subject of intense scrutiny and little agreement. Further, the dating of each is inextricably bound up with that of the other, almost to the point of irresolution. If the *Decretum* is taken as authentic, then the *Transitus* may be dated much earlier, to the mid-fifth century. But if the *Transitus* is taken as a later composition, then the list of books in the *Decretum* must be, in modern terms, a forgery. As noted above (n. 81), the earliest witness to the assumption narratives in the West is Gregory of Tours († 590), but only the account of Pseudo-Melito appears under the title *Transitus*. The earliest citation of the *Decretum* appears in the works of Isidore of Seville († 636). On this question, see further Simon Mimouni, “Les *Transitus Mariae* sont-ils vraiment des apocryphes?” in *Studia Patristica 35: Papers presented at the Eleventh International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1991*, ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone (Leuven, 1993), 122–28.

⁹⁸ Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989), 202–4. According to its modern editor Ernst von Dobschütz (*Das Decretum Gelasianum. De libris recipiendis et non recipiendis, in kritischem text, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 38.4 [Leipzig, 1912]), the Gelasian Decree was a private compilation, the work of an anonymous cleric of southern Gaul or northern Italy writing sometime at the beginning of the sixth century. On the other hand, both the oldest manuscripts and the first explicit citations of the Decree date no earlier than the eighth century (Henri Leclercq, “Gélasien [Décret],” in *Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* 6.1 [Paris, 1924], cols. 722–47, at 731–32). Accordingly, McKitterick argues for a north Frankish or north Burgundian provenance at the turn of the seventh century.

native of Provence who became abbot of San Vincenzo al Volturno (near Monte Cassino).⁹⁹ Towards the beginning of the sermon, Ambrosius commented upon the difficulties the pious had encountered in accepting the feast given the simultaneous absence of reliable accounts and corporeal relics:

But how she passed from here to the celestial kingdom, no catholic history recounts. For the church of God is said not only to reject the apocrypha, but even to be unaware of these same events. And indeed there are several anonymous reports of her assumption, which, as I said, are warned against, so they are not permitted to be read to confirm the truth of the matter. Hence some are truly troubled, because neither is her body found on earth, nor is her assumption in the flesh found in catholic history, as it is found in the apocrypha.¹⁰⁰

As Ambrosius attests, in the eighth-century the pseudo-Gelasian prohibition was taken to include not only the *Transitus*, but also all other narratives of Mary's assumption. Consequently, none of the narratives was acceptable either as a source of information about the fate of Mary's body or as a liturgical explication of the matter of the feast. But as the above passage makes clear, it was not only (or even primarily) the pseudo-Gelasian prohibition that stood in the way of more certain information about Mary's last days. Not only had the church of God eschewed the apocryphal accounts, but there was also no "catholic history" to place in their stead. It was not that the apocrypha had been tested against a scriptural or patristic authority and found wanting. It was rather that there was no received authority at all. Ambrosius went on to suggest a reason for this silence: surely, he argued, John the Evangelist, to whom the Lord commended his mother at the Crucifixion, knew how and when Mary had died, and if the Lord had wanted it to be known what had happened to his mother, he would have commanded John to set it down in writing. But as John did not, then we must assume that the Lord preferred to keep the matter hidden, and no man should attempt falsely to elucidate that which God has veiled from history. This much only, Ambrosius concluded, could be proven: although we cannot know whether she has been caught up in the body or out of the body

⁹⁹ Ambrosius Autpertus, *De adsumptione sanctae Mariae*, ed. R. Weber, in *Ambrosii Autperti Opera. Pars III*, CCCM 27B (Turnhout, 1979), 1027–36. The manuscripts of this sermon are, according to Weber (p. 885), "très nombreux," owing largely to the fact that many of them attribute the work not to its original author, but to the better-known fathers Augustine and Jerome.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. 2 (ed. Weber, 1027–28): "Sed quo ordine hinc ad superna transierit regna, nulla catholica narrat historia. Non solum autem respuere apocrypha, uerum etiam ignorare dicitur haec eadem Dei Ecclesia. Et quidem sunt nonnulla sine auctoris nomine de eius adsumptione conscripta, quae, ut dixi, ita cauentur, ut ad confirmandam rei ueritatem legi minime permittantur. Hinc sane pulsantur nonnulli, quia nec corpus eius in terra inuenitur, nec adsumptio eius cum carne, ut in apocrypha legitur, in catholica historia reperitur."

("siue in corpore, siue extra corpus ignorantes"; cf. 2 Corinthians 12:2-3), we should believe that she has been assumed above the angels. If no man knows where Moses, who spoke with God face to face, has been buried (cf. Deuteronomy 34:6), then how, Ambrosius contended, should we expect to know where the body from which God shone forth on earth incarnate has been secluded? It ought to suffice to confess that she is the queen of heaven and has been exalted above the angels to reign with Christ.¹⁰¹

Like the ninth-century martyrologies of Ado and Usuard, Ambrosius's sermon illustrates both how troubling it was for pious Carolingians not to know where Mary's body had been concealed, and how tempting it was to long for more certain knowledge. The Carolingian theologians and liturgists were torn between pious curiosity and the lack of requisite authority. In the absence of miracles locating Mary's body on earth, only Scripture or the Fathers could tell them where the Holy Spirit had hidden that holy vessel of the Incarnation, but none of the Fathers had discovered any indication in Scripture, and the only authors who claimed certain knowledge of Mary's fate were either anonymous or obscure (at least in the West). Nevertheless, as Paschasius Radbertus observed a generation or two after Ambrosius, "many Latins, through love of piety and eagerness to read, have embraced" the apocryphal *Transitus*. In Paschasius's opinion, they had thereby accepted "doubtful things for certainties," when "out of these things nothing can be shown for certain, except that on this glorious day [Mary] departed from her body."¹⁰² He cautioned the nuns of Notre Dame at Soissons, who had asked him to write a sermon that they could read in church on the day of the feast,¹⁰³

I have said these things, because many of us doubt whether [Mary] was assumed together with her body, or departed having left it behind. How or when or by what persons her most holy body was taken thence or where it was transferred, or whether it truly rose again, we do not know, however much some

¹⁰¹ Ibid. 2-3 (ed. Weber, 1028).

¹⁰² Paschasius Radbertus, *Cogitis me* II.7 (ed. Albert Ripberger, *Der Pseudo-Hieronymus-Brief IX "Cogitis me": Ein erster marianischer Traktat des Mittelalters von Paschasius Radbert*, Spicilegium Friburgense 9 [Freiburg, 1962]; rpt. CCCM 56C [Turnhout, 1985], 111-12): "... ne forte si uenerit uestris in manibus illud apocryphum de transitu eiusdem uirginis, dubia pro certis recipiatis, quod multi latinorum pietatis amore, studio legendi, carius amplectuntur, praesertim ex his cum nihil aliud experiri potest pro certo, nisi quod hodierna die gloriosa migravit a corpore."

¹⁰³ Ibid. I.1 (ed. Ripberger, 109): "... more eorum qui declamatorie in ecclesiis solent loqui ad populum. ..." On the importance of preaching in the Carolingian church, see Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895* (London, 1977), 80-114; and Milton McC. Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto and Buffalo, 1977), 27-39.

would like her to have already been restored and to be clothed in blessed immortality with Christ in heaven.¹⁰⁴

In the absence of both miracles and authoritative witnesses, celebrating the August feast at all presented the Latin church with an intractable paradox. The dominical feasts of the Tempore (Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost) were anchored not simply in Scripture but also in history. Their annual observance transformed each year of the present into a reenactment of the evangelical past, a past faithfully recorded in the written record of the Gospels. The feasts of the saints could likewise be situated authoritatively within the historical record since even if their *vitae* might be subject to some skepticism, the miracles performed at the invention and translation of their relics would bear eloquent testimony to the accuracy of the observance. By contrast, the feast of the Assumption celebrated not a demonstrable event but rather the likelihood of that event. Some theologians, Paschasius the most prominent among them, were chary even to admit any more than that Mary had died, never mind that "many Latins" were unwilling to subscribe to such an agnostic remembrance and insisted on more certain knowledge of Mary's bodily fate. The feasts of the saints and of the Tempore enabled the faithful not only to pray to their patrons and Lord but also to recall their role in the history of the church. Through the liturgy, the wax of the Christian present was embossed with the seal of the Christian past. Without a story to inscribe on that seal, the impression would leave no pattern, no image on which the faithful could concentrate their devotions and model their remembrance. Paschasius recognized this need and acquiesced to the nuns' request for a sermon expressly so that they would have something other than the apocryphal *Transitus beatae Mariae* to read for the feast. In the sermon that he wrote at their request (*Cogitis me*), he directed their attention to a more trustworthy *historia*: the Song of Songs, or more precisely, the Song of Songs as sung in the liturgy.

THE *HISTORIA* OF THE SONGS

Paschasius understood the temptation to transform the relatively agnostic commemoration of Mary's death into a celebration of her historical exaltation into heaven, but he was also convinced, as he assured the nuns at the outset,

¹⁰⁴ Paschasius Radbertus, *Cogitis me* II.9 (ed. Ripberger, 112–13): "Haec idcirco dixerim, quia multi nostrorum dubitant, utrum assumpta fuerit simul cum corpore, an abierit relicto corpore. Quomodo autem uel quo tempore, aut a quibus personis sanctissimum corpus eius inde ablatum fuerit uel ubi transpositum, utrum uere surrexerit, nescitur, quamuis nonnulli astruere uelint eam iam resuscitatam et beata cum Christo immortalitate in caelestibus uestiri."

that it was possible to learn everything that one needed to know about the Savior and his Mother from the Gospels ("ex euangelio"). Although he conceded that Mary's body could have returned to life "because nothing is impossible with God,"¹⁰⁵ the only definite information available about Mary's last days on earth was, he cautioned, to be found in Acts (1:14): Following Christ's ascension, the apostles "with one accord devoted themselves to prayer, together with the women and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brothers."¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, having mustered as many arguments as he could against the longing for certainty, Paschasius was in the end compelled not only by the nuns, but also by the matter of the feast to address the possibility of the Virgin's assumption.¹⁰⁷ To do so, he turned for assistance to the one source that he could find comparable in authority to Scripture: the songs of the Divine Office.

By way of introduction, he noted that it was the Holy Spirit who spoke through these songs ("in canticis")—not, therefore, some anonymous author

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. II.12 (ed. Ripberger, 114): "quia Deo nihil est impossibile."

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Ibid. IV.19–21 (ed. Ripberger, 118).

¹⁰⁷ Paschasius's sermon is known by its incipit, "Cogitis me, o Paula et Eustochium." The nuns' request was put to Paschasius by their abbess Theodrada († 846) and her daughter Irma, and Paschasius replied in the somewhat playful pseudonymous style popularized at the Carolingian court by Alcuin by addressing Theodrada and Irma as Jerome's friends Paula and her daughter Eustochium. On Paschasius's relationship with Theodrada and Irma, see E. Ann Matter, "Introduction," in *Paschasii Radberti De partu virginis*, CCCM 56C (Turnhout, 1985), 9–10.

There is a pleasing irony in Paschasius's use of these pet names. Paschasius wrote *Cogitis me* in order that the nuns of Soissons should have a trustworthy account to read in their church, but he did so under an authoritative pseudonym—Jerome. Although his fellow monk of Corbie, Ratramnus († after 868), tried to explain to the enthusiastic Hincmar, bishop of Reims († 882), that it was not the church father Jerome but his abbot who had composed the piece, Hincmar nevertheless commissioned a *de luxe* copy of the sermon for use in his cathedral church at Reims (see C. Lambot, "L'homélie du Pseudo-Jérôme sur l'assomption et l'évangile de la nativité de Marie d'après une lettre inédite d'Hincmar," *Revue Bénédictine* 46 [1934]: 265–82, at 265; and H. Barré, "Le Lettre du Pseudo-Jérôme sur l'assomption est-elle antérieure à Paschase Radbert?" *Revue Bénédictine* 68 [1958]: 203–25). Owing to its defense and adoption by Hincmar, *Cogitis me* was quickly taken up by the churches of the Carolingian empire as an authentic work of Jerome and used, in place of those apocryphal narratives against which Paschasius had explicitly warned the nuns, as the source for the *lectiones* read on the feast of the Assumption. Indeed, the two oldest manuscripts, dating from the fourth quarter of the ninth century, divide the sermon into liturgical lessons (Ripberger, *Der Pseudo-Hieronymus-Brief*, 37, 49–51). In the eleventh century, as both the *Liber tramitis aevi Odilonis abbatis* 100 (ed. P. Dinter, *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum* 10 [Siegburg, 1980], 149–50) and Ulrich of Cluny's *Antiquiores consuetudines Cluniacensis monasterii* 36 (PL 149:683) indicate, the lessons for the nocturns on the feast at Cluny were taken from *Cogitis me*. This practice was apparently so widespread by the twelfth century that Johannes Beleth felt it incumbent upon him to warn his readers that the sermon should not be read in church, but only in chapter (*Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis* 146, ed. Douteil, 285).

who might teach the nuns something frivolous and apocryphal. In this context, "in canticis" could refer either to the biblical Song of Songs or to the songs of the liturgy. For Paschasius, the ambiguity was especially significant, since the songs of the liturgy on that day *were* the biblical Songs.¹⁰⁸ The songs sung by the earthly choirs echoed the songs with which the heavenly choirs had welcomed their queen. Both choirs, as one of the antiphons for the day recalled, "[repeated] the sweet songs of the drama,"¹⁰⁹ the drama, that is, of the Song of Songs (liturgical passages in italics):

This is the feast of the day at hand, on which glorious and happy *she rises to the ethereal bridal chamber*. . . . On this account the Holy Spirit, in accord with the heavenly citizens, wondering at her assumption, says in the songs: *Who is this who ascends through the desert like a column of smoke from the spices* [Song 3:6]. . . . That shoot which once sprung from the root of Jesse ascended *from the desert* of the present world, and the souls of the elect wondered for joy: who was she, who by the virtue of her merits might outstrip even the dignity of the angels.

Of her again the same Holy Spirit says in the same songs: *Who is she who ascends*, he says, *like the rising dawn, beautiful as the moon, chosen as the sun, terrible as a battle line drawn up from the camps* [cf. Song 6:9]. The Holy Spirit marvels—for he causes all to marvel at the ascension of this virgin—that she, like the ruddy dawn of the new daybreak, shimmers in her ascent, supported and walled round by so many ranks of angels. Hence she is called *terrible as a battle line drawn up from the camps*. Indeed, like the perfectly ordered battle line of the camps, she has become awesome in her wondrous deeds, supported on all sides by garrisons of holy angels. *Beautiful as the moon*, or rather more beautiful than the moon, because now she shines without waning, illuminated by celestial splendors. *Chosen as the sun* by the gleam of her

¹⁰⁸ In a sermon incorrectly attributed to Ildefonsus of Toledo, but now thought to be the work of Paschasius, *Hodie dilectissimi fratres* (PL 96:239–50), the songs of liturgy are explicitly identified with the Song of Songs (cols. 239–41; italics added for liturgical passages): ". . . ad hujus cunas infantiae, quas angeli frequentant, invitat nos sanctorum prophetarum chorus, imo et sapientia Dei Patris invitat nos, et Spiritus sanctus: *Ante torum*, inquit, *hujus Virginis frequentate nobis dulcia cantica dramatis* [CAO, no. 1438]. Dramaton enim, charissimae, genus est carminis, quo genere Cantica Canticorum edita leguntur. . . . *Ante cujus torum*, quaeso, rursus ad exsequias non threnos doloris, non lamenta fletus, sed carmina Deo *dulcia* modulate vocibus, quoniam hodie jam laeta pervenit ad regis thalamum. Pervenit itaque puerpera, ubi angelorum melliflua indesinenter sonant organa, ubi hinc inde hymnidici sanctorum vicissim cantica nuptiarum alternant chori, ubi epitalamia sponsi et sponsae suis suavia redduntur melodiis. Ad quas itaque nuptias hodie beata Dei genitrix cum gaudio introivit. . . ." On the attribution of this sermon to Paschasius, see Robert Maloy, "The Sermonary of St. Ildephonsus of Toledo: A Study of the Scholarship and Manuscripts," *Classical Folia* 25 (1971): 137–99, 243–301, at 180 (on FEU IV. 4a-c).

¹⁰⁹ CAO, no. 1438. On Paschasius's use of this antiphon, see n. 108 above.

virtues, because the sun of justice himself chose her, that he might be born from her.¹¹⁰

Both of these Song texts played an important role in the ninth-century liturgy for the feast. In the Compiègne antiphoner (see below), the former (Song 3:6) supplied the verse for the first and fifth responsories at Matins; the latter (Song 6:9) introduced a lengthy series of antiphons *in evangelio* at Lauds.¹¹¹ Moreover, Paschasius's citation of the latter verse is directly dependent upon its liturgical use. The Vulgate reads "*Quae est ista quae progreditur . . .*,"¹¹² whereas Paschasius quotes the form found in the liturgy: "*Quae est ista quae ascendit. . .*"¹¹³ Musically, the responsory verses and the canticle-antiphons

¹¹⁰ Paschasius Radbertus, *Cogitis me* VIII.45–47 (ed. Ripberger, 128–29): "Et haec est eius praesentis diei festiuitas, in qua gloriosa et felix *ad aethereum peruenit thalamum*. . . . Propter quod ex persona supernorum ciuium in eius ascensione admirans Spiritus Sanctus ait in canticis [sic]: *Quae est ista, quae ascendit per desertum, quasi uirgula fumi ex aromatibus*. . . . Ascendebat autem *de deserto* praesentis saeculi uirga de radice lesse olim exorta, sed mirabantur electorum animae prae gaudio, quatenam esset, quae etiam meritorum uirtutibus angelorum uinceret dignitatem.

"De qua rursus idem Spiritus Sanctus in eisdem Canticis: *Quae est ista quae ascendit*, inquit, *quasi aurora consurgens, pulchra ut luna, electa ut sol, terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata*. Admiratur autem Spiritus Sanctus, [qui] omnes de ascensu huius uirginis admirantes facit, quod, quasi noui diluculi aurora rutilans, ascensu suo resplendeat multis freta et uallata sanctorum agminibus. Vnde dicitur *terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata*. Siquidem terribilis suis facta uirtutibus, ut castrorum acies admodum ordinata, hinc inde sanctorum angelorum fulta praesidiis. *Pulchra ut luna*, immo pulchrior quam luna, quia iam sine defectu sui coruscat caelestibus illustrata fulgoribus. *Electa ut sol* fulgore uirtutum, quia ipse eam elegit sol iustitiae, ut nasceretur ex ea."

¹¹¹ All three of these chants were to become standard pieces for the Assumption office. They appear in the manuscripts edited in CAO as follows (for the manuscript sigla, see n. 41 above): responsories *Vidi speciosam* (no. 7878) CBEMVHRFSL and *Quae est ista quae processit* (no. 7455) CBEMVHRFSL; antiphon *Quae est ista quae ascendit* (no. 4425) CBEMVHRDFSL.

¹¹² *Biblia sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem . . . iussu Pii PP. XII*, ed. by the monks of S. Jerome, vol. 11 (Rome, 1957), 192. As Matter notes (*Voice of My Beloved*, xxiv), "there never was just one Vulgate version of the Bible." In referring to the Vulgate text of the Song, I have used Matter's adaptation and translation (ibid., xvi–xxiii) of R. Weber's critical Vulgate edition (*Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, 2 vols. [Stuttgart, 1969, 1983], 2:997–1002), as well as A. Colunga and L. Turrado's *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam*, 4th ed. (Madrid, 1965), 614–18. On the different versions of the Song of Songs in circulation in the Middle Ages, see also Peter Dronke, "The Song of Songs and Medieval Love-Lyric," in *The Bible and Medieval Culture*, ed. W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst, Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, series I/studia VII (Louvain, 1979), 236–62, at 236–39.

¹¹³ This text first appears as an antiphon for the Assumption in the antiphoner of Compiègne, discussed below. The text does not appear to be a *Vetus Latina* variant. According to D. de Bruyne, "Les anciennes versions latines du Cantique des Cantiques," *Revue Bénédictine* 38 (1926): 97–122, at 103, Song 6:9 in one old Latin version reads "*Quae est haec quae prospicit sicut diluculum, speciosa sicut luna, electa sicut sol, mirata sicut ordinata?*" Cf. also

would most likely have been among the more ornate pieces in the repertory, although the fact that the earliest surviving notated antiphoners for the Office date to the tenth century makes it impossible to know how Paschasius and his contemporaries would have sung these pieces.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, we can infer from the prominence accorded both texts in Paschasius's sermon that they were key to his understanding of the feast. Indeed, these texts enabled him to discuss that which hitherto he had scrupulously avoided: the *historia* of Mary's assumption.

On this day, he told the nuns, Mary ascended to her heavenly bridal chamber. The citizens of heaven welcomed her into their midst with songs of wonder, marvelling as she rose, "Who is this?" On this day, dovelike in her simplicity, she rose cleansed and bedewed from the rivers of the earthly paradise and ascended into heaven scented with indescribable fragrances. All of the inhabitants of the celestial Jerusalem ran out to meet her, the rosey souls of the martyrs and the lily-white souls of the virgins embracing her in their joy.¹¹⁵ She rose like a column of smoke because the sword of Christ's passion had pierced her impassible soul (cf. Luke 2:35), making her not a martyr but more than a martyr. The martyrs suffered for Christ only in body, and yet she, whose love was stronger than death (cf. Song 8:6), suffered in mind, "because she made

P. Sabatier, ed., *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae, seu vetus Italica*, 3 vols. (Reims, 1743), 2:385; and A. Vaccari, *Cantici Canticorum: Vetus Latina translatio a S. Hieronymo ad graecum textum Hexaplaem emendata* (Rome, 1959), 28.

Paschasius likewise refers to the respond *Vidi speciosam* as "in Canticis" (*Cogitis me* XIV.88, ed. Ripberger, 149), but this respond is not in fact a direct quotation from the Song of Songs (for its text, see n. 115 below). Rather it is an elegant pastiche of phrases from the Song (vv. 2:13–14, 5:12, 4:11 and 2:1) and Ecclesiasticus (vv. 50:8 and 39:17–19). Ecclesiasticus 24:11–20 had been adopted as the epistle for the mass of the Assumption in the seventh century. On Paschasius's use of the liturgy generally in *Cogitis me*, see Ripberger, *Der Pseudo-Hieronymus Brief*, 26–29.

¹¹⁴ See Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 65 (on the tones for responsory verses), 96 (on the antiphons for the *Magnificat* and *Benedictus*), and 304 (on the earliest notated Office antiphoners). Cf. John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford, 1991), 83: "The canticle-antiphons are musically among the finest in the repertory." Also Peter Wagner, *Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies: A Handbook of Plainsong*, trans. Agnes Orme and E. G. P. Wyatt, 2d ed. (New York, 1986), 128–29: "Twice only in each Office does the Antiphon rise to a greater solemnity, viz. in connexion with the *Benedictus* at Lauds and the *Magnificat* at Vespers. . . . These canticles represent the liturgical zenith of the festival."

¹¹⁵ Paschasius Radbertus, *Cogitis me* XIV.88–89 (ed. Ripberger, 149–50). Cf. *Vidi speciosam*: "R. Vidi speciosam sicut columbam, ascendentem desuper rivos aquarum, cujus inestimabilis odor erat nimis in vestimentis ejus; et sicut dies verni circumdabant eam flores rosarum et lilia convallium."

Christ's death her own."¹¹⁶ In life she had loved her son and Lord more ardently than any other, and on account of this love beyond measure, Paschasius suggested to the nuns, we can imagine that she spent her days after Christ's ascension visiting the sites of his death and resurrection. Burning with longing for Christ, filled with the grace of the Holy Spirit, incandescent with divine love, and impatient to be reunited with her beloved, she wasted her body with pious discipline so that her heart, soul and strength might be given over wholly to the contemplation of the celestial mysteries fulfilled through her.¹¹⁷ At last, on this day, she was able to ascend on the heat of her love from the desert of Christ's absence into the presence of her beloved son. Angels supported and guarded her as she rose resplendent like the dawn to gaze in delight upon the countenance of her Lord and Savior and to reign with him in heaven.

Paschasius's sermon is both the earliest and the most eloquent witness to the way in which the Carolingian liturgists solved the problem of narrating the feast of the Assumption in the absence of a scriptural authority, and yet Paschasius's reading of the verses from the Song of Songs as the heavenly citizens' exclamation of wonder at Mary's ascent suggests that in fact neither he nor the compilers of the liturgy were wholly innocent of the longing for certainty against which Paschasius so persuasively cautioned the nuns of Soissons. Despite the exuberance with which he meditated on the circumstances of Mary's last days on earth, Paschasius did manage not to commit himself one way or the other on the manner of Mary's assumption (whether in body or out of body). Nevertheless, certain details in his cautious account are more than suggestive of the very sources that he and the liturgists sought to avoid. Towards the beginning of the sermon, he remarked that "Paula" herself had seen with her own eyes the empty tomb in the valley of Josaphat, or rather that she had visited the church in the valley and seen the stone on which Mary's body had lain in death.¹¹⁸ Paschasius's description of the church and the stone suggests that he was familiar with Adamnan's account of Arculf's pilgrimage. It may therefore have been Arculf's own longing to touch the monuments of Christ's life that encouraged Paschasius to imagine that Mary had eased the pain of separation from her son by frequenting the same sites hallowed by his memory.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, the image of Mary "dwelling for a time in that place

¹¹⁶ Paschasius Radbertus, *Cogitis me* XIV.90 (ed. Ripberger, 151): "... quia mortem Christi suam fecit."

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* XIII.82–85 (ed. Ripberger, 146–48).

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* II.8 (ed. Ripberger, 112). For the identity of "Paula," see n. 107 above.

¹¹⁹ There are problems with this hypothesis, however. Ripberger (CCCM 56C:112 n. 58) suggests that Paschasius knew Adamnan's *De locis sanctis* directly, but the codex to which he refers (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 13048) is a composite, only a few folios of which (fols. 31–58) can be provenanced to Corbie (Adamnan's account appears on fols. 1–28). An-

where it is said he was buried"¹²⁰ would have signaled for a Greek audience the opening scene in the Pseudo-Johannine narrative: "When the all-holy glorious God-bearer and ever-virgin Mary, according to her custom, went to the holy sepulchre of our Lord to burn incense, and bowed her holy knees, she besought Christ our God who was born of her that she might depart unto him."¹²¹ It is unlikely that Paschasius would have known the Pseudo-Johannine version of the story, but his imaginative interpretation of the liturgical songs echoes narratives closer to home. Paschasius depicts Mary consumed with a burning love for her beloved in his absence. According to Pseudo-Melito, "in the second year after Christ had overcome death and had ascended into heaven, on a certain day, Mary, burning with desire of Christ ["desiderio Christi . . . aestuans"], betook herself alone into the refuge of her dwelling to weep."¹²² Similarly, Paschasius reads the "battle line drawn up from the camps" in Song 6:9 as serried ranks of angels, guarding the Virgin during her ascent. Why should she need guarding? According to Pseudo-Melito, Mary begged a blessing of the angel who had come to announce her death, "that no power of hell may meet me in that hour in which my soul goes out of the body, and that I may not see the prince of darkness."¹²³ When Christ appeared at her deathbed, therefore, he was accompanied by a great multitude of angels, and he reassured his mother, "Come without fear, for the heavenly host awaits you to bring you into the joy of paradise."¹²⁴

Nevertheless, as suggested above, the most telling indication of Paschasius's persistent longing for narrative certainty may in fact be the very device through which he most pointedly avoided reference to the assumption apocrypha: his interpretation of Song of Songs 3:6 and 6:9 as a scriptural record of what the

other possibility is that Paschasius knew Adamnan's description of the tomb not directly, but rather through Bede's paraphrase (ed. I. Fraipont, CCL 175 [Turnhout, 1965], 251–80, at 262). But there are problems here, too. Bede's works were extremely popular at Corbie, but his *De locis sanctis* does not appear in the manuscripts that David Ganz has linked with the ninth-century library at Corbie (*Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, Beihefte der Francia 20 [Sigmaringen, 1990], 134, 137–40, 142, 146, 150, 151, and 157).

¹²⁰ Paschasius Radbertus, *Cogitis me* XIII.84 (ed. Ripberger, 147): "... in loco, quo sepultus dicitur, interdum habitasse eam credimus."

¹²¹ Trans. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 701, modified; cf. Tischendorf, *Apocalypses apocryphae*, 95.

¹²² *Transitus* B1, ed. Tischendorf, 125 (trans. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 709, modified). Cf. *Transitus* B2, ed. Haibach-Reinisch, 66.

¹²³ *Transitus* B1, ed. Tischendorf, 125 (trans. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 709). Cf. *Transitus* B2, ed. Haibach-Reinisch, 67.

¹²⁴ *Transitus* B1, ed. Tischendorf, 129 (trans. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 711). Cf. *Transitus* B2, ed. Haibach-Reinisch, 75: "Veni igitur, ne timeas, pretiosissima margarita mea, veni, proxima mea, intra in receptaculum vitae aeternae, expectant te enim caelestes militiae, ut introducant te in paradisi gaudia."

Holy Spirit in concord with the celestial citizens exclaimed at Mary's ascent. In order to understand why, it is necessary at this point to look more closely at the assumption narratives themselves. What was it in the assumption narratives that suggested to Paschasius and the liturgists the use of the Song of Songs as a scriptural record of the events surrounding Mary's last days on earth? Or (to put the question as it was posed by the twelfth-century commentators on the liturgy and twentieth-century scholars of medieval art and liturgy) how could these Carolingians have read a sensual dialogue between a lover and her beloved as an appropriate source for texts recounting the story of the death and resurrection of the virgin mother of God?

For the most part, the story of Mary's death as recounted in the assumption narratives partakes more of the fantastic than of the sobriety characteristic of Scripture.¹²⁵ For example, in the *Gospel of Pseudo-Melito*, the apostles arrive at Mary's house instantaneously, having been caught up in clouds in the very act of preaching the Gospel. Mary is as startled as they are and asks them to explain how they came there. When the time comes for Mary to surrender her soul to God, everybody in the house falls asleep except for the apostles and three virgins who were attending her (they had all been keeping vigil for three days), and Christ appears with all the companies of angels. Mary rises from her bed to greet her son, and then lies back down and abruptly gives up the ghost. At this moment the apostles can see her soul "of such whiteness that no tongue of mortal men can worthily express it." Similarly, her body stripped for burial shines so brightly that, although it can be touched, it cannot be looked upon "for the exceeding flashing of light." As the apostles carry Mary's body from her house in Jerusalem to the tomb at Gethsemane, one of the priests among the Jews rises up in anger against "the tabernacle of the man who troubled us and all our nation." He attacks the bier and tries to cast the body on the ground. Horribly, his hands wither and stick, so that "part of him was hanging loose and part stuck to the bier, and he was wrung with extreme torment."¹²⁶

¹²⁵ All of the narratives related to that of John of Thessalonica, including the *Gospel of Pseudo-Melito*, the *Translatio* (ed. Wilmart), the *Adsumptio* (ed. Wenger), and the *Transitus sive assumptio* (ed. Capelle), follow roughly the same story-line and include the same principal motifs: the palm branch presented to Mary by the angel who comes to announce her death, her prayer on the Mount of Olives, contests between the apostles for priority, the three-day vigil, the sleeping household, the whiteness of Mary's soul, the three virgins who prepare Mary's body for burial, the psalm (Psalm 113:1) sung during the procession to her tomb, the angelic cloud over the procession, the attack on the bier and the blinding of the people in the city of Jerusalem. They differ principally in the fate they accord to Mary's body—whether simply assumed or resurrected and assumed. See Mimouni, *Dormition et assumption*, on the different endings.

¹²⁶ *Transitus* B1, ed. Tischendorf, 129–32 (trans. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 711–12).

For all of their legendary marvels, the narratives are not wholly removed from their scriptural exemplar, however. Some motifs could be read as conscious parallels of Christ's own life and death, or more accurately, as christological figures akin to the Old Testament typologies of Christ. So, for example, according to Germanus of Constantinople, just as the Lord had once sent an angel to Mary with tidings of Christ's conception, so he now sends an angel with tidings of her death. The angel gives her a palm branch that is to be carried before her bier, just as, on Palm Sunday, the crowds greeted Jesus with palm branches as he rode into Jerusalem. Germanus elaborates further on this christological resemblance. In his account, Christ, speaking through his angelic messenger, tells Mary, "Where I am, there ought you to be. . . . Your body is mine. . . . Entrust your body to me as I myself entrusted my divinity to your womb." Her death is therefore analogous to his incarnation. Christ goes on to encourage Mary to lay down her body faithfully in the garden of Gethsemane, just as he prayed there "according to human custom" before willingly taking up the cross. When the apostle Paul arrives, he rejoices that he has been permitted to see Mary in body, for seeing her, it is as if he had seen Christ himself in the flesh.¹²⁷ The Jewish priest's attack on the bier could therefore be read as an attack on Christ. Just as the priests had sought to destroy Jesus by crucifying his body, so now the priest tries to destroy the source of that body.

Nevertheless, the most telling characteristic of these narratives is arguably neither their christological analogues nor their appeal to the fantastic, but rather their delight in conversation. Although the Latin narratives for the most part tend to abbreviate or omit the more extended prayers and sermons favored by John of Thessalonica, both Pseudo-Melito and the anonymous authors of the *Translatio* and the *Adsumptio* scrupulously recorded every possible conversation: what the angel said to Mary, what she said to him, what Mary said to the members of her household and to the apostles when they arrived, what Peter preached during the vigil,¹²⁸ what Christ said to his mother on her deathbed and how she answered him, how Peter and John debated who should carry the palm branch before the bier, and how the Jew pleaded for help and his confession. John of Thessalonica and the authors of the *Translatio* and *Adsumptio* even recorded what Mary's body said to Christ after he had entrusted her soul to the archangel Michael—"Remember me, king of glory, remember me!" Pseudo-Melito noted the words with which Christ had summoned Mary's body from its tomb: "Rise up, my love and my kinswoman: you who did not suffer

¹²⁷ Germanus of Constantinople, *In Dormitionem B. Mariae III* (PG 98:361–64, 367–68).

¹²⁸ Pseudo-Melito omits her conversation with the household as well as Peter's sermon.

corruption by union of the flesh shall not suffer dissolution of the body in the sepulchre."¹²⁹

This attention to dialogue hearkens back not only to Scripture and to the sayings of Jesus but also to the historiographical tradition of the ancients more generally. For the Greeks, as for their historiographical Roman heirs, the task of the historian was to evoke not only the events of the past but also what was said, for these historians considered the spoken word an indispensable gauge of the political, moral, and for Christian writers, spiritual weight of the characters' actions.¹³⁰ In addition, late antique and early medieval authors had come to favor a rhetorical style so animated by gestural and pictorial detail that the ordinary and the marvellous were subsumed under an almost comic (as opposed to tragic) realism, a realism which necessarily included not only deeds but also words.¹³¹ To describe an event was therefore to capture not only the attitudes and gestures of the actors but also their spoken responses, to illuminate their interior disposition through direct address, rather than through a narrator's intervention. For the authors of the assumption narratives, the story they told was true not so much because they could objectively verify the fate of Mary's body, but because they knew in her own words with what apprehension she had received the angel's message that she was about to die, how she had prayed with the apostles during their vigil, and with what delight she had welcomed her Son to her deathbed.¹³² Arrested in the text, Mary's words became eternally present, audible to the living each time that they read or heard the stories. Hearing her words, the faithful might participate in her joy and celebrate with her her reunion with Christ. In order to represent this moment liturgically, therefore, it was incumbent upon the authors of the office to discover not only an authoritative source, but also one through which Mary and Christ might speak to the faithful directly, one through which the "sweet songs" intoned by the choir might repeat the drama enacted by Christ, Mary, the apostles and angels at her death. As Paschasius's sermon illustrates, they discovered this

¹²⁹ *Transitus* B1, ed. Tischendorf, 135 (trans. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 714): "Exsurge amice mea et proxima mea; quae non sumpsisti corruptionem per coitum, non patiaris resolutionem corporis in sepulchro." Cf. *Transitus* B2, ed. Haibach-Reinisch, 85–86.

¹³⁰ Matthew Innes and Rosamond McKitterick, "The Writing of History," in *Carolingian Culture*, 193–220, at 194–95, with reference to Arnold Momigliano, "Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century A.D.," in *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. A. Momigliano (Oxford, 1963), 79–99.

¹³¹ Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton, 1953), 50–76, esp. 57.

¹³² On medieval rhetorical conventions and their effect on the writing of history, see Ruth Morse, *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages: Rhetoric, Representation, and Reality* (Cambridge, 1991).

source in that consummate scriptural dialogue between a woman and her beloved, that is, in the Song of Songs.

THE SONGS OF THE *HISTORIA*

We have now reached the point in our investigation at which it is possible to propose a more active interpretation of the liturgical texts than has hitherto been attempted in the scholarship. As noted above, my first concern was to demonstrate that the Song as adopted for use in the Assumption liturgy was originally read not so much allegorically (as the twelfth-century liturgists and twentieth-century scholars have contended) as historically, and that its verses as adapted for the Marian office should therefore be read in the light of the assumption narratives rather than as an expression of an analogical correspondence between Mary and the Church. But to have (re)discovered the narrative of the liturgy is not sufficient in itself. We must also consider the devotional effect of the liturgy on its performers. My second concern, therefore, is to demonstrate the way in which this liturgical use of the biblical text was itself a form of exegesis. How would the Song of Songs as sung for the feast of the Assumption have been experienced by its performers?

Apart from Paschasius's *Cogitis me*, the oldest extant detailed evidence for the use of the Song in the Assumption liturgy in the West is an antiphoner for the Office from the abbey of Saint-Corneille at Compiègne (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 17436).¹³³ This manuscript is also known as the Antiphoner of Charles the Bald († 877) because the Maurists believed that the emperor had

¹³³ CAO siglum C (see n. 41 above). See also PL 78:725–80; and Charles Clyde Barber, "Codex Compendiensis. MS 17436 fonds latin of the Bibliothèque nationale. . . . An exact transcription of the text of the Antiphoner (ff. 31v to 107r), with an Introduction and a complete index" (B.D. and D.D. thesis, Oxford University, 1972).

The tonary of Metz seems to be slightly older (compiled between 817 and 840, but copied into the oldest surviving manuscript ca. 869). It, however, gives only the incipits of the antiphons and lists them according to their tones, not according to their distribution in the offices. Walther Lipphardt, *Der Karolingische Tonar von Metz*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 43 (Münster/Westfalen, 1965), 162–63, has reconstructed the Assumption office. Of the nineteen antiphons for this office, twelve are drawn from the Song, as follows: *Ortus conclusus* (Song 4:12); *In odore unguentorum* (Song 1:3); *Pulchra es et decora* (Song 6:3); *Quae est ista quae* (Song 6:9); *Nigra sum* (Song 1:4); *Oculi tui* (Song 7:4); *Surge aquilo* (Song 4:16); *Aquae multae* (Song 8:7); *Revertere revertere* (Song 6:12); *Quam pulchra es amica* (Song 4:1); *Dilecte mi adprehendam* (Song 8:2); and *Vulnerasti cor meum* (Song 4:9). On the close links between Rome, Metz, and Corbie as centers of early Gregorian chant, see David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of Its Development from the Times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council 940–1216*, 2d ed. (Cambridge, 1963), 548–55; and Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 516–17.

presented it as a gift to his new foundation at Compiègne soon before he died. More recently, Jacques Froger has argued that the manuscript was copied at Soissons (or possibly at Saint-Denis) for Saint-Médard de Soissons, likewise an important royal abbey, and only later brought to Compiègne, about fifteen miles distant.¹³⁴ Froger dates the manuscript to either the second half or the fourth quarter of the ninth century, in other words, some decades after Paschasius presented *Cogitis me* to the nuns of Notre Dame at Soissons. The manuscript also contains an antiphoner for the Mass, or gradual, but it is in the antiphoner for the Office that the Song appears as a Marian text. Of the forty-three antiphons and seventeen responsories given for the August feast in this manuscript, seventeen of the antiphons and two of the responsories contain references to or direct quotations from the Song (32% of the total number of chants, 40% of the antiphons).¹³⁵ In *Cogitis me*, Paschasius commented verbatim on about a half dozen of these chants, including both of the responsories and three of the antiphons drawn from the Song of Songs.¹³⁶ Nevertheless, in order to appreciate the texts as performed, we must do more than simply itemize the chants. We must also take account of the particular role of the Song in the Office. Of the antiphons taken from the Song, fifteen appear in a series of twenty-nine antiphons designated for use at Lauds, in *evangelio*. These antiphons would therefore have accompanied the recitation of the Gospel canticle *Benedictus dominus deus* (Luke 1:68–79) at sunrise. It is on this portion of the celebration that we should concentrate in order to come to terms with the per-

¹³⁴ Jacques Froger, "Le lieu de destination et de provenance du 'Compendiensis,'" in *Ut mens concordet voci. Festschrift Eugène Cardine zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Johannes Berchmans Göschl (St. Ottilien, 1980), 338–53. On this antiphoner, see also Barber, "Codex Compendiensis"; and Hesbert, CAO, vol. 1, xvii–xix. According to Hesbert, the manuscript is "un livre de luxe," its title pages richly decorated in purple and gold (fols. 1v, 2r, 31v, and 32r), and its remaining folios liberally sprinkled with gilded headings and initials.

¹³⁵ The Office in the Compiègne antiphoner follows the secular or Roman cursus of psalms: the night office of Matins is divided into three nocturns each containing three psalms with antiphons and three lessons with responsories. For the office of the Assumption, the antiphoner gives eight additional responsories, for a total of seventeen. For the office of the Assumption in the Compiègne manuscript, the responsories are not assigned to nocturns, but listed *supra*. For the other offices they are divided among the nocturns. Of these seventeen responsories, the first and the fifth paraphrase the Song.

¹³⁶ Responsories: *Vidi speciosam* (CAO, no. 7878), in *Cogitis me* XIV.88–89 (ed. Ripberger, 149–50); and *Quae est ista quae processit* (CAO, no. 7455), in *Cogitis me* VIII.46 and XV.95 (ed. Ripberger, 128–29 and 153). Antiphons: *Quae est ista quae ascendit* (CAO, no. 4425), in *Cogitis me* VIII.47 (ed. Ripberger, 129); *Iam hiems transiit* (CAO, no. 3470), in *Cogitis me* IX.57 (ed. Ripberger, 134–35); and *Hortus conclusus* (CAO, no. 3138), in *Cogitis me* IX.59 (ed. Ripberger, 135–36). The parallels between the chants in the Compiègne antiphoner and *Cogitis me* are laid out in detail in Ripberger, *Der Pseudo-Hieronymus-Brief*, 146–50.

formative exegesis of the Song. In the exegesis to follow, I shall argue that it was at this point in the celebration that the choirs of the faithful were intended to recall the *historia* commemorated by the feast. In effect, this series of antiphons, including the verses from the Song, would have been sung and heard as a veritable *vita Mariae*, or rather, as a scriptural rendition of the assumption narratives which recreated for the faithful the conversation between Christ and the Virgin Mary at the moment of her death.

This hypothesis assumes, of course, that the antiphons would have been sung in the order in which they appear in the antiphoner. But would they? Some scholars have viewed the series as a stock from which individual antiphons could be selected, offering a choice of individual antiphons to be used throughout the octave of a feast.¹³⁷ Nevertheless, twenty-nine antiphons seems an excessively large stock even for a principal feast with an octave. Other major feasts in the Compiègne manuscript conclude with similar lists of antiphons, averaging by a rough count between twelve and eighteen per feast, likewise many more than necessary to complete an octave.¹³⁸ Moreover, only the first two antiphons in the Compiègne list for the Assumption make explicit reference to Mary's ascent. Why would the other twenty-seven antiphons have been heard as appropriate to this feast if they were sung in isolation from the first two? To my mind, a more persuasive suggestion for the way in which these long series of antiphons in the Compiègne antiphoner would have been sung is that put forward by Peter Wagner and corroborated more recently by Ritva Jonsson. According to Wagner, the antiphons would have been sung as they appear, in series, intercalated with the verses of the Gospel canticle.¹³⁹ Jonsson has suggested that the Compiègne antiphoner was intended for private use, and that the texts would not have been sung, but read as prayers. She makes this suggestion, however, in order to support her thesis that the antiphons *in evangelio* for Christmas would have been read as a coherent group.¹⁴⁰ In my reading of the Assumption antiphons, I concur with Wagner and Jonsson: whether sung (as seems more likely) or read, the antiphons would have been used not

¹³⁷ See, for example, the discussion of stocks in Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto, 1982), esp. 67–68 and 201.

¹³⁸ The only festal list longer than that of the Assumption is one containing fifty antiphons designated for Easter, but this list is explicitly labeled *ubicumque volueris* (CAO, vol. 1, 82² [p. 200]).

¹³⁹ See Wagner, *Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies*, 132–33. According to Wagner, "This is not to be regarded as the outcome of liturgical license, such as occasionally broke out at the end of the Middle Ages; we have before us here a form which is connected with the original Antiphonal chanting and is certainly one of its oldest features" (132).

¹⁴⁰ Jonsson, *Historia*, 40.

individually, but in series. Moreover, I shall argue, they were intended to tell a story—to recall the *historia* of Mary's death and assumption. Like the assumption narratives, this antiphonal *historia* was intended to provide an authoritative account of Mary's departure from this life. Unlike the narratives adjudged apocryphal by the Gelasian Decree and consequently rejected as untrustworthy both by the theologians Ambrosius and Paschasius and by the authors of the liturgy, the *historia* embedded in the songs of the liturgy appealed not to the authority of the apostle John (after all, a human eyewitness to the events), but to that of the Holy Spirit. Through the songs of the liturgy, themselves drawn from that Song of Songs written by Solomon but inspired by God, Christ spoke to his mother, and she answered him, their dialogue resounding in the churches as once it had sounded in Jerusalem.¹⁴¹

As noted above, the series of antiphons *in evangelio* appears in the antiphoner of Compiègne at Lauds (see Table 2), and would therefore have accompanied the recitation of the *Benedictus dominus deus* at sunrise. Aptly, the first in the series is our adaptation of Song 6:9, substituting *ascendit* for the biblical *progreditur* (antiphons hereafter in italics): "*Who is she who ascends like the rising dawn, beautiful as the moon, chosen as the sun, terrible as a battle line drawn up from the camps?*" The second antiphon answers this question: "*Today the virgin Mary ascends to the heavens; rejoice, because she reigns with Christ in eternity.*" These first two antiphons set the stage, as it were, for the narrative to be enacted in the subsequent verses. As the sun rose, the monks and nuns meditated on the wonder of Mary's ascent. The sun became for the moment a figure of Mary's soul, on which the apostles had found it impossible to gaze, "for," according to Pseudo-Melito, "it excelled all whiteness of snow and of all metal and silver that shines with great brightness of light."¹⁴² As Paschasius explained, Mary was more beautiful than the moon because now she shone without waning, forever exempt from the transience and corruption of earthly glory; she was chosen as the sun because she was chosen by the sun and bore the sun of justice within her womb, and terrible as

¹⁴¹ Given the absence of a contemporary exegesis of the majority of these antiphons, the following reading must necessarily remain somewhat speculative, a work of imagination akin to the construction of the Assumption office itself. If no ninth-century exegete read the chants with precisely the emphasis that I have, later authors, including above all Jacobus de Voragine, were to appropriate the texts of the liturgy as scripts for their retelling of the stories of the Assumption (*Legenda aurea, vulgo Historia lombardica dicta*, c. CXIX [114], ed. Th. Graesse [Dresden and Leipzig, 1846], 504–27; trans. William Granger Ryan, as *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, 2 vols. [Princeton, 1993], 2:77–97).

¹⁴² *Transitus* B1, ed. Tischendorf, 129 (trans. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 711). Cf. *Transitus* B2, ed. Haibach-Reinisch, 76.

Table 2
The Narrative of the Compiègne Antiphons in *evangelio*

<i>Speaker</i>	<i>Antiphon^a</i>	<i>Source^b</i>	<i>Narrative</i>
PREFACE			
Holy Spirit/ celestial powers:	Quae est ista quae <i>ascendit sicut</i> aurora consurgens pulchra ut luna electa ut sol terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata. Hodie maria uirgo coelos ascendit gaudete quia cum christo regnat in aeternum.	Song 6:9	Who is this who ascends today? Mary ascends today.
THE ANGELIC MESSENGER			
Angels:	Maria uirgo semper laetare quae meruisti christum portare coeli et terrae conditorem quia de tuo utero protulisti mundi saluatorem. O quam pulchra es casta generatio cum claritate. <i>Haec est</i> quae nesciuit thorum in delicto habebit fructum in respectione animarum sanctorum. Bonorum enim laborum gloriosus est fructus. Speciosa facta es <i>et suavis</i> in deliciis tuis <i>sancta dei genitrix</i> .	Wisdom 4:1 Wisdom 3:13 Wisdom 3:15 Song 7:6 [Vetus Latina]	The angels exclaim at the wonder of her virginal maternity.
Christ through the angelic messenger:	Reuertere reuertere sunamitis reuertere reuertere ut intueamur te.	Song 6:12	An angelic messenger tells Mary that she will die in three days.
^a Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 17436, fols. 74v–75r; see also the editions in Barber, "Codex Compendiensis", CAO, vol. 1, 106c (p. 286); and PL 78:799–800. ^b Italics indicate non-scriptural emendations to antiphons otherwise drawn from the indicated scriptural sources.			

<i>Speaker</i>	<i>Antiphon</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Narrative</i>
THE VIGIL			
Apostles:	Ante thorum huius uirginis frequentate nobis dulcia capita dragmis [cantica dramatis].	Ps.-Augustine, <i>Thalamos Mariae</i>	The apostles arrive at Mary's house on clouds, and they keep vigil with her at her deathbed for three days.
Peter:	Optimam partem elegit sibi maria quae non auferetur ab ea in aeternum.	Luke 10:42	Peter preaches a sermon.
Apostles:	Ungentum effusum est nomen tuum <i>dei genetrix</i> et recte diligunt te.	Song 1:2 and 1:3	The apostles praise Mary's virtues.
	Oculi tui <i>sancta dei genetrix</i> sicut piscina in esebon quae sunt in porta filiae multitudinis in aeternum.	Song 7:4	
Mary:	Nigra sum sed formosa filiae hierusalem <i>ideo dilexit me rex et introduxit me in cubicula sua.</i>	Song 1:4 and 1:3	Mary explains her privilege.
Apostles:	<i>Sicut myrrha electa odorem dedisti suauitatem sancta dei genetrix.</i>	Ecclesiasticus 24:20	The apostles praise Mary and pray for her protection.
	Ortus conclusus est <i>dei genetrix</i> ortus conclusus fons signatus.	Song 4:12	
	Sub tua protectione confugimus ubi infirmi acceperunt uirtutem et propter hoc tibi psallimus <i>dei genetrix uirgo.</i>		
	Paradisi porta per eua cunctis clausa est et per mariam uirginem iterum patefacta est alleluia.		
	Beata mater et innupta uirgo gloriosa regina mundi.		
Apostles:	In flore mater in partum uirgo		

<i>Speaker</i>	<i>Antiphon</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Narrative</i>
	gaude et lactare uirgo mater domini. Sub tuum praesidium confugimus dei genetrix nostras deprecationes ne despicias in necessitatibus sed a periculis libera nos semper uirgo benedicta.		The apostles praise Mary and pray for her protection.
MARY'S DEATH			
Narrator:	Surge aquilo et veni auster perfla ortum meum et fluant aromata illius.	Song 4:16	On the third day, at the third hour of the day, everybody in the house except for Mary, the apostles, and three virgins falls asleep, and Christ arrives with his angels.
Angels:	Viderunt <i>illam</i> filiae et beatissimam praedicauerunt et reginae et concubinae et laudauerunt eam <i>in aeternum</i> .	Song 6:8	The angels sing praises to Mary.
Mary:	<i>Dilecte mi</i> apprehendam te et ducam in domum matris meae et in cubiculum genetricis meae ibi me docebis <i>praecepta domini</i> . Trahe me post te in odorem curremus ungentorum tuorum oleum effusum nomen tuum.	Song 8:2 and 3:4 Song 1:3 and 1:2	Mary worships Christ and begs him to accept her soul.
Christ:	Iam hiemps transiit imber abiit et recessit surge amica mea et ueni.	Song 2:11 and 2:13	Christ promises Mary that the time has come for her to depart her body and summons her soul to come with him.
	Aquae multae non potuerunt extinguere caritatem.	Song 8:7	

<i>Speaker</i>	<i>Antiphon</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Narrative</i>
Mary:	Leua eius sub capite meo et dextera illius amplexabitur me.	Song 2:6 and 8:3	Mary rejoices that she is about to depart with her Son.
	Adiuuro uos filiae hierusalem si inueneritis dilectum meum ut annuntietis ei quia amore languo.	Song 5:8	Mary explains her privilege to the apostles and virgins.
	Maria exultauit in spiritu et dixit benedico te qui dominaris super omnem benedictionem benedico habitaculum gloriae tuae benedico te cui factum est habitaculum in utero meo et benedico omnia opera manuum tuarum quae obediunt tibi in omni subiectione benedico dilectionem tuam qua nos dilexisti. benedico omnia uerba quae exierunt de ore tuo quae data sunt nobis In ueritate enim credam quia sicut dixisti sic fiet alleluia.		Mary blesses Christ and surrenders her soul.

a battle line drawn up from the camps because the angels surrounded and supported her in her ascent. These words were spoken, according to Paschasius, by the Holy Spirit at the moment of Mary's arrival in heaven.¹⁴³ As the earthly choirs intoned the antiphon on 15 August, their voices harmonized with this celestial greeting, and the monks and nuns momentarily embodied their angelic counterparts, welcoming Mary into their midst as once the heavenly citizens marvelled at her arrival.

Having first identified themselves with the heavenly citizens, the human choirs proceeded to intone an encomium of Mary's life and virtues, beginning, in the antiphon *Maria virgo semper laetare*, with her virginal motherhood. The next four antiphons rehearsed the preconditions for Mary's privileged exemption from the corruption of the grave, for, as Christ explained in Pseudo-

¹⁴³ See the passage quoted at n. 110 above.

Melito's account, "You who did not suffer corruption by union of the flesh shall not suffer dissolution of the body in the sepulchre."¹⁴⁴ Accordingly, the choirs exclaimed: "*O how beautiful you are, a chaste generation in splendour*" (cf. Wisdom 4:1); "*This is she who did not know the couch in sin; she will have fruit in the sight of the holy souls*" (Wisdom 3:13); "*For glorious is the fruit of good labors*" (Wisdom 3:15); "*You have become splendid and sweet in your charms, holy mother of God*" (cf. Song 7:6, *Vetus Latina*).¹⁴⁵ Beautiful and chaste in her virginity, ignorant of sin in the conception of her son, Mary remained incorrupt in her maternity, and therefore splendid and sweet throughout her life. Here the choirs impersonated the angel sent to announce Mary's death, in John of Thessalonica's account identified as Jesus himself, who, according to Germanus of Constantinople, advised his mother, "Entrust your body to me as I myself entrusted my divinity to your womb." Through his messenger, Jesus summoned his mother to return to him ("Where I am, there ought you to be") and promised her that he would return for her soul with all the companies of angels. Therefore, the choirs sang: "*Return, return, Sunamite, return, return, that we may behold you*" (Song 6:12). The angel also promised Mary that all of the apostles would be gathered together at her deathbed that they might watch with her along with her household during her vigil.¹⁴⁶

When the apostles arrived, Mary explained that she was about to die. Albeit dismayed by the news of her imminent departure from their company, they "sat about comforting her, and for three days gave themselves to the praises of God."¹⁴⁷ Thus the choirs, now in the character of the apostles, intoned: "*Before the couch of this Virgin let us repeat the sweet songs of the drama.*"¹⁴⁸ During the vigil, Peter preached a sermon on the kingdom of heaven, reminding his auditors of the wise and foolish virgins (Matthew 25:1–13) and enjoining them to guard their virginity well.¹⁴⁹ In *Cogitis me*, Paschasius encouraged the nuns

¹⁴⁴ See n. 129 above.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. de Bruyne, "Les anciennes versions latines," 103: "quam speciosus factus es et quam potens. Caritas in deliciis tuis . . ."; and Vaccari, *Cantici Canticorum*, 29 (at 7:7): "Quam speciosa facta es et quam suavis caritas in deliciis tuis." The Vulgate of Song 7:6 reads "quam pulchra es et quam decora carissima in deliciis."

¹⁴⁶ Germanus, *In Dormitionem B. Mariae III* (PG 98.361–62AB); John of Thessalonica, *Κοίμησις* 3 (ed. Jugie, 378–80).

¹⁴⁷ *Transitus* B1, ed. Tischendorf, 128 (trans. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 710–11). Cf. *Transitus* B2, ed. Haibach-Reinisch, 73–74.

¹⁴⁸ According to Henri Barré, "Antiennes et répons de la Vierge," *Marianum* 29 (1967): 153–254, at 214, this antiphon is taken from a pseudo-Augustinian sermon *Thalamos Mariae* (ed. in *Marianum* 25 [1963]: 64–70, at 69 [lines 105–6]).

¹⁴⁹ John of Thessalonica, *Κοίμησις* 10 (ed. Jugie, 391–94); *Adsumptio*, ed. Wenger, 251–52.

of Soissons to model themselves on Mary in their virginity, who through her virtue laid the foundation for all who strove to imitate her.¹⁵⁰ Carolingian preachers often touched on a similar theme, taking as their text Luke's story of the sisters Mary, who sat at Christ's feet listening to his words, and Martha, who busied herself with much serving (Luke 10:38–42). This passage was read as the Gospel pericope for the mass of the Assumption throughout the Middle Ages and was regularly glossed as an allegory of the relationship between the active and contemplative lives (Martha and Mary respectively).¹⁵¹ Like Martha's sister, the Virgin Mary was understood to have chosen the *optima pars*, either by giving herself over wholly to the contemplative life or by exercising both lives in appropriate balance.¹⁵² In the next antiphon, therefore, the choirs intoned the conclusion of Peter's sermon: "*Mary has chosen for herself the best portion, which shall not be taken away from her in eternity*" (cf. Luke 10:42).

The following ten antiphons, four with clear allusions to the Song of Songs, constitute an extended rumination on the glories of Mary's maternal virginity and her role in the history of salvation. The apostles begin by praising her name ("*Your name is as oil poured out, mother of God, and rightly they love you*" [cf. Song 1:2 and 1:3]) just as once the angel greeted her, "Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with you, blessed are you among women" (Luke 1:28).¹⁵³ The apostles likewise praise her eyes: "*Your eyes, holy mother of God, like pools in Hesbon, which are in the gate of the daughter of the multitudes in eternity*" (cf. Song 7:4); to which accolade Mary responds, "*I am black, but beautiful, daughters of Jerusalem; therefore, the King loved me and introduced me into his bedchamber*" (cf. Song 1:4 and 1:3), as if to say, "My soul magnifies the Lord, and my spirit rejoices in God my Savior, for he has regarded the low estate of his handmaiden. . . . for he who is mighty has done great things for me" (Luke 1:46–49). Mary was black in her humility, but beautiful in her virginity; therefore, God loved her and became incarnate in the bedchamber of her womb. From her womb came forth a marvellous fragrance, namely, the Savior, the Son of God ("*Just as the chosen myrrh you gave forth*

¹⁵⁰ Paschasius Radbertus, *Cogitis me* XVI.101–2 (ed. Ripberger, 155–56).

¹⁵¹ See, for example, Paul the Deacon, *Homilia II. In Evangelium* . . . (PL 95:1569–74). See also Giles Constable, "The Interpretation of Mary and Martha," in *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge, 1995), 1–141, at 8–9. Constable indicates that the variation among interpretations of this story was relatively great, but that these two themes remained uppermost.

¹⁵² Cf. Belet, *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis* 146 (ed. Doutel, 283): "*Ipsa fuit Maria, ipsa fuit Martha, quia nulla melior illa in activa uita, nulla melior in contemplativa.*"

¹⁵³ Cf. Paschasius on the *Ave Maria*: *Cogitis me* V.26–33 (ed. Ripberger, 120–24).

a sweet fragrance, holy mother of God" [cf. Ecclesiasticus 24:20]).¹⁵⁴ Accordingly, the apostles continued: "The mother of God is a garden enclosed, a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed" (cf. Song 4:12). In *Cogitis me*, Paschasius elaborated on this verse:

... it is sung about her in those same [Song of] Songs, *A garden enclosed, a fountain sealed, your shoots a paradise* [Song of Songs 4:12–13]. Truly a garden of delights, in which are planted all kinds of flowers, and the good scents of virtues; and so enclosed that it cannot be violated or corrupted by any trick of deceit. Therefore, a *fountain sealed* with the seal of the whole Trinity, out of which flows the fountain of life, "in whose light we all see light" [Psalm 35:10, Vulgate], since according to John, "He is the one who sheds light on every man coming into this world" [John 1:9]. In the *shoot* springing forth from her womb is the *paradise* of the heavenly citizen.¹⁵⁵

In this antiphon, Mary, the garden and fountain, is hailed as the source of life, her body sealed both in the conception of her son and in his birth. The apostles conclude their praise in the last five antiphons of this episode with prayers for Mary's protection: she is the source of salvation, under whom all humanity takes refuge; the new Eve, who has opened the gates of salvation closed by her foremother; the queen of creation who gave birth to the Lord while remaining a virgin throughout. Accordingly, they exclaim: "We fly to your protection, holy mother of God; despise not our petitions in our necessities but deliver us from all danger, blessed virgin."¹⁵⁶

Up to this point, the antiphonal narrative has made only sporadic, albeit pivotal, use of the Song: to introduce the story (Song 6:9); to praise Mary's incorrupt motherhood (Song 7:6); to invite her, through the angelic messenger, to return to her son (Song 6:12); and to laud her humility, her maternity and vir-

¹⁵⁴ Ecclesiasticus 24:11–20 was read as the Old Testament Epistle for the mass of the Assumption.

¹⁵⁵ Paschasius Radbertus, *Cogitis me* IX.59 (ed. Ripberger, 135–36; trans. Matter, *Voice of my Beloved*, 154 [modified]). Cf. Paschasius, *De partu virginis* I, ed. E. Ann Matter, CCCM 56C (Turnhout, 1985), 57.320–27: "Hic est itaque hortus ille conclusus in Canticis, fons signatus. Hortus siquidem conclusus, quia quando Deus ingressus est et eam incorruptam inuenit; sed fons signatus permansit quando Deus et homo natus est ex ea, nec tamen fontem pudoris aut sanguinis integritatem uiolauit. Nam sanguis et fons pudoris, qui corruptus non fuit in conceptione proles ex coitu uiri, non credo quod corrumpi debuerit in natiuitate, quod cruciationem matris et contaminationem honestatis habuerit."

¹⁵⁶ Trans. O'Carroll, *Theotokos*, 336 (modified); cf. Steiner, "Marian Antiphons," 177. This last text (*Sub tuum praesidium*) has within the past sixty years been identified as the oldest known Marian prayer. In 1939, Dom F. Mercenier argued that a papyrus fragment dating to the third century could be read as a Greek version of the text. See O'Carroll, *Theotokos*, 336; also Chrysogonus Waddell, "The Oldest Marian Antiphon Text," *Liturgy* 20 (1986): 41–60 (cited by Steiner, "Marian Antiphons," 183–86).

ginity, and her role in the history of salvation (Song 1:2–4, 4:12, and 7:4). Of the remaining nine antiphons in the series, all but the last contain direct quotations from the Song. It is in this concluding sequence of eight Song antiphons that we hear the choirs singing the conversation between Mary and her son at her death. According to John of Damascus, Christ called forth his mother's soul with an invocation from the Song, saying, "Rise, come, my beloved, most beautiful of women. For behold winter has passed, the time of pruning is at hand: you are all beautiful my beloved, and there is no spot in you: the odor of your ointments surpasses all fragrances" (cf. Song 2:10–13, 4:7, and 4:10).¹⁵⁷ The same verses, in a slightly different pastiche, appear in the following sequence as the text of the fifth antiphon. If, at this moment, we understand that it is Christ who speaks, then the other antiphons slip easily into place in the story, and the Song becomes the transcript of that historic conversation enacted at Mary's deathbed. As above, we must turn once again to the assumption narratives for the context of that conversation.

The apostles and three virgins kept watch with Mary for three days, all the while singing praises to God and glorifying Mary's role as his mother. Suddenly, according to Pseudo-Melito, "on the third day, about the third hour of the day," everyone in the house except for the apostles and the virgins fell asleep. At once, "the Lord Jesus Christ came with a great multitude of angels, and a great light came down upon that place, and the angels were singing hymns and praising the Lord."¹⁵⁸ John of Thessalonica added the further detail that the house was filled with a fragrant odor.¹⁵⁹ Accordingly, the human choirs intoned: "*Arise, north wind and come, south wind, blow through my garden and let its fragrances flow*" (Song 4:16). The angels stood about the house singing for joy, and the human choirs exclaimed: "*The daughters saw her and proclaimed her most blessed, and the queens and concubines praised her in eternity*" (Song 6:8). Christ and the archangel Michael entered into the house, and Mary rose from her bed and fell upon her face, worshipping God. According to Pseudo-Melito, she cried: "Blessed be the name of your glory, O Lord my God, who have vouchsafed to choose me, your handmaid, and to commit to me your secret mystery. Remember me, therefore, O king of glory; for you know that with all my heart I have loved you and have kept the treasure committed to me. Receive me, your servant, and deliver me from the power of

¹⁵⁷ John of Damascus, *Homilia II. In Dormitionem B.V. Mariae* 10 (PG 96.735–36; cf. French trans. Voulet, *Homélies*, 149).

¹⁵⁸ *Transitus* B1, ed. Tischendorf, 128 (trans. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 711). Cf. *Transitus* B2, ed. Haibach-Reinisch, 74; *Adsumptio*, ed. Wenger, 252–53; *Translatio*, ed. Wilmart, 342–43, and 253; *Transitus sive assumptio*, ed. Capelle, 46; and John of Thessalonica, *Κοίμησις* 12 (ed. Jugie, 395–96).

¹⁵⁹ John of Thessalonica, *Κοίμησις* 12 (ed. Jugie, 395).

darkness, and let not any assault of Satan meet me, neither let me see ugly spirits coming to meet me."¹⁶⁰ In the words of the antiphons, she implored: "My beloved, I will seize you and lead you into the house of my mother, and into the chamber of her who bore me; there you will teach me the commandments of the Lord" (cf. Song 8:2 and 3:4); "Draw me after you, we will run in the odor of your ointments. Your name [is as] oil poured out" (cf. Song 1:3 and 1:2). In the antiphons, as in Pseudo-Melito, Mary praises Christ's name and reminds him that he vouchsafed to her the treasure of his incarnation, that she became the house and chamber of his humanity. She therefore enjoins him to remember her and draw her after him, to receive her and deliver her from the power of darkness. And, once again in the words of Pseudo-Melito, he promised her: "When I was sent by the Father and for the salvation of the world was hung on the cross, the prince of darkness came to me; but as he was not able to find in me any sign of his work he departed vanquished and trodden down. When you see him, you shall see him according to the law of mankind whereby the end, even death, is allotted to you; but he cannot hurt you, for I am with you to help you. Come without fear, for the heavenly host awaits you to bring you into the joy of paradise."¹⁶¹ According to the antiphonal paraphrase, Christ answered her: "Now the winter has passed, the rain has gone and departed; rise, my beloved, and come!" (cf. Song 2:11 and 2:13); "Many waters cannot extinguish love!" (Song 8:7).¹⁶² The winter during which the prince of darkness held sway over humankind has passed; the rains of sin have been washed away by the blood from the cross. Although it is necessary for Mary to die, she does so with the assistance of her son, who urges her, "Rise, my beloved, and come, come into the joy of paradise, because many waters, that is, even death on the cross, cannot extinguish love." True love, according to Paschasius, lacks judgment and reason. It does not know, it is not able to think about anything except its object. It is not solaced by the thought that it is impossible to satisfy, nor cured by the difficulty of its resolution. Mary loved Christ with such a love. Unable to see him in the flesh after he had ascended into heaven, she could only embrace him in her mind, and yet her love was not extinguished by the waters of their separation. Throughout her life, she loved her son with all

¹⁶⁰ *Transitus* B1, ed. Tischendorf, 129 (trans. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 711). Cf. *Transitus* B2, ed. Haibach-Reinisch, 74.

¹⁶¹ *Transitus* B1, ed. Tischendorf, 129 (trans. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 711). Cf. *Transitus* B2, ed. Haibach-Reinisch, 75.

¹⁶² Cf. Ambrosius Autpertus, *De adsumptione* 1 (ed. Weber, 1027): "In hac siquidem die competenter sponso illi caelesti proclamat Virgo Maria: *Tenuisti manum dexteram meam, et in uoluntate tua deduxisti me, et cum gloria adsumpsisti me* [cf. Psalm 72:24]. Hodie, inquam, et ipsa ab sponso et Domino congrue audit: *Iam hiemps transiit, imber abiit et recessit, surge proxima mea, sponsa mea, columba mea et ueni* [cf. Song 2:11 and 2:10]."

her heart, all her soul and all her strength (cf. Luke 10:27).¹⁶³ Now, in recognition of her love, he calls her to join him.

The antiphonal narrative concludes with the moment of Mary's death. Having received Christ's invitation, she exclaims in joy: "*His left arm under my head, his right arm will embrace me*" (Song 2:6 and 8:3). Now she is reassured that when she dies, Christ will receive her soul from her body with his own hands, as he had promised her through his angel.¹⁶⁴ She then explains her privilege to the apostles and virgins: "*I adjure you, O daughters of Jerusalem, if you find my beloved, tell him that I languish for love*" (Song 5:8). She loved Christ, as William Durandus would later explain, more than "any other creature living in the flesh . . . ; and therefore on account of her excellent love, which she had on earth, she merited to ascend above the angels." She languished for love of Christ on earth; therefore, she adjures the daughters of Jerusalem, now she no longer will languish, but will "live in the flesh apart from the flesh," rejoicing in the presence of her beloved.¹⁶⁵ She therefore surrenders her soul to Christ with a blessing:

Mary exulted in her spirit, and said: "I bless you, who has dominion over all blessing. I bless the little dwelling of your glory; I bless you, for whom the little dwelling was made in my womb; and I bless all the works of your hands, which obey you in all subjection. I bless your love by which you loved us. I bless all the words that proceeded from your mouth, which have been given to us. For I shall believe in the truth, because just as you have spoken, thus it has come to pass, alleluia."

Although not a quotation from the Song of Songs, this concluding antiphon offers not simply analogous but rather verbatim support for our reading of the Compiègne antiphons *in evangelio* as the narrative of Mary's death. According to Bernard Capelle, this antiphon appears to be a direct translation of a Greek antiphon, a Greek antiphon borrowed moreover from John of Thessalonica's narrative of the Assumption.¹⁶⁶ Although it is difficult to demonstrate that the

¹⁶³ Paschasius Radbertus, *Cogitis me* XIII.82–85 (ed. Ripberger, 146–48).

¹⁶⁴ *Adsumptio*, ed. Wenger, 253: "Benedico te, domine deus meus, quia que promisisti fecisti mecum, quia non solum apostolos mittebas ad me sed et angelos, sed et archangelos, et non solum archangelos sed et te ipsum venturum super animam meam. Que sum ego que digna habita sum tanta gloria!" Cf. *Translatio*, ed. Wilmar, 343–44; *Transitus sive assumptio*, ed. Capelle, 46; and John of Thessalonica, *Κοίμησις* 12 (ed. Jugie, 396).

¹⁶⁵ See n. 1 above.

¹⁶⁶ Capelle, "Vestiges grecs et latins," 42–43. On the correspondence between this antiphon and John's *Κοίμησις*, see Louis Brou, "Restes de l'Homélie sur la Dormition de l'archevêque Jean de Thessalonique dans le plus ancien antiphonaire connu, et le dernier Magnificat de la Vierge," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 2 (1952): 84–93, at 86–89; and idem, "Les chants en langue grecque dans les liturgies latines: Premier Supplément," *Sacris*

compilers of the Compiègne office knew John's narrative, there were sources available closer to home, including Latin translations based, if not directly on John, then on his source.¹⁶⁷ Both the *Adsumptio* and the *Translatio* record that Mary offered the following blessing when the apostles had explained how they had come to her house. For the sake of comparison, I give also the text of the antiphon and Jugie's translation of the blessing as recorded by John of Thessalonica:

Tunc maria exultavit spiritu suo et dixit: "Benedico te, qui dominaris super omnem benedictionem; benedico habitaculum glorie tue; benedico te qui sedes super magnam cherubim, quia factum est tibi habitaculum in utero meo. Quia sicut dixisti factum est . . ." (*Adsumptio*, ed. Wenger, 250);

Tunc Maria exultavit in spiritu suo et dixit: "Benedico te qui dominaris super omnem benedictionem. Benedico habitaculum gloriae tuae. Benedico omnem repromissionem tuam quam mihi pollicitus es, ut ad meam uocationem omnes apostolos tuos ad me sepeliendam destinares. Benedico nomem tuum sanctum quod est et permanet in saecula saeculorum" (*Translatio*, ed. Wilmart, 337);

Maria vero spiritu exsultavit, et dixit: "Benedico tibi, qui omnibus tribuis benedictiones. Benedico habitaculo gloriae tuae. Benedico tibi, lucis largitori, qui incola factus es in ventre meo. Benedico omnibus operibus manuum tuarum, quae in omni submissione obediunt tibi. Benedico tibi, qui benedixisti nobis. Benedico verbis vitae ex ore tuo egressis et nobis in veritate datis. Credo enim mihi fieri quae dixisti . . ." (John of Thessalonica, *Κοίμησις* 8, ed. and trans. Jugie, 389).¹⁶⁸

Exulting in the presence of her beloved son, Mary lay back down upon her bed, and "giving thanks to God she gave up the ghost."¹⁶⁹ The antiphonal narrative concludes, therefore, with the moment at which it began. Mary's soul ascends from this life like the rising dawn, and the apostles and angels exclaim in wonder at the whiteness of her soul. It is fitting, moreover, that it ends with Mary's benediction, since, as noted above, the antiphons would have accompanied the recitation of the *Benedictus dominus deus*, that is, the canticle sung, according to Luke, by Zacharias as a prophecy at the naming of his son John the Baptist (Luke 1:68–79). The *Benedictus* begins as the antiphonal narrative ends, with a benediction on the Lord for visiting his people: "Blessed be the Lord God of

Erudiri 4 (1952): 226–38, at 234–36. Brou considered it more likely that the antiphon was a translation of a Greek chant contemporary with John than that the compilers of the Compiègne antiphoner drew directly upon the narrative in Greek.

¹⁶⁷ *Transitus* R, ed. and trans. Wenger, *L'assomption*, 210–41.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. John of Thessalonica, *Κοίμησις* 7 (ed. and trans. Jugie, 417).

¹⁶⁹ *Transitus* B1, ed. Tischendorf, 129 (trans. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 711).

Israel: for he has visited and redeemed his people.” It concludes as the antiphonal narrative had begun, with the coming of the dawn: “when the day shall dawn upon us from on high to give light to those who sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace.” If, following Wagner, we understand that the series of antiphons would have, in effect, glossed the verses of the *Benedictus*, then the *Benedictus* itself becomes an account of the events commemorated by the feast, interpenetrated as it were with the whole narrative of the Assumption.¹⁷⁰ It is therefore highly significant that, for the text of Mary’s final benediction, the compilers of the Compiègne antiphoner turned either to a translation of the Greek liturgy for the Dormition (possibly as transmitted through the Roman office), or, as the verbal parallels between this final antiphon and the above-cited benedictions suggest, to the very source the antiphonal *historia* had supplanted: the assumption narratives themselves.

CONCLUSION

We are now in a position to answer more fully the questions that I posed at the beginning of this investigation: Why was the Song of Songs chosen as the source for the readings and chants proper to the feast of the Assumption, and how did its use for the feast affect the clergy and people’s understanding both of the text and of the feast which it embellished? To answer the former question, modern scholars have often appealed to the Mary-Church parallel, but, as I have shown, the analogical resemblance between Mary and the Church put forward in the twelfth century answered not a question of liturgical origins, about which the liturgical exegetes had little interest, but a question of local practice: how, if the church itself were dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, could the texts sung for the Assumption likewise refer to the dedication? In this case, use of the Song of Songs in praise of the Virgin Mary provoked an appeal to an older reading of the text which identified the bride of the Song with the ecclesial bride of Christ. This reading had been articulated in the formal commentary tradition as early as the third century, but, prior to the twelfth century, it elicited little comment in a liturgical context. One consequence, therefore, of the use of the Song as a source for the As-

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Wagner, *Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies*, 132–33, on an eleventh-century series of twelve Easter antiphons for the *Magnificat*. These antiphons, he argues, would have been sung in alternation with the verses of the *Magnificat*, “thus penetrated with the whole narrative of the Resurrection.” He notes (133 n. 1): “This manner of performance may be assumed everywhere where several Antiphons are indicated for one Canticle as e.g. in the *Responsoriale Gregorianum* of the ninth century [i.e., the Compiègne antiphoner].”

sumption texts was to foreground an analogy admittedly ancient (Ambrose of Milan being the first to elaborate it), but little remarked prior to the twelfth-century reforms of ecclesiastical ideology and practice. The analogy highlighted by Honorius and his contemporaries ("Mary bears the type of the Church") harmonized two hitherto discordant traditions (the ecclesial-exegetical and the Marian-liturgical) and arguably elicited a third, that of the triple bride (Mary-Ecclesia-Anima), celebrated, for example, by the Victorines in their Marian sequences.

In their appeal to this analogy, twelfth-century liturgists and composers recalled not only the image of the virginal mother but also that of the incarnate body. The Church was seen not only as the bride of Christ but also as his body (cf. Ephesians 5:23; and Colossians 1:18), that is, the community of the faithful. Mary, who bore the body of Christ, was seen as a figure of the Church, whose body she bore as both mother and virgin. On the basis of this analogy, the feast of the Assumption could be read as a feast not only of the death and resurrection of the Mother of God but also of the death and resurrection of the people of God. The Church, embodied in the faithful who assembled to celebrate Mary's *dies natalis*, rehearsed its own rebirth as the bride of Christ, singing, "Who is she who ascends like the rising dawn?" as the body that gave birth to Christ rose once again to life in Christ. Furthermore, the nuptial valence formerly latent in the Song now came into force, and the Virgin Mary was celebrated not only as the Queen of Heaven but also as the Bride of Christ. The feast, transformed into a bridal occasion, celebrated the Incarnation of the bridegroom both in the womb of his mother-bride and in the heart of the faithful soul. This luxurient ambiguity would be made manifest in the construction of the Gothic palaces of the Virgin—cathedrals like Notre Dame of Paris dedicated to Mary and therefore all the more intimately identified with her, both visually in their cycles of sculpture and glass, and aurally in the songs sung to her glory in their choirs. Nevertheless, at the core of this multivalent imagery stood not an allegorical personification of virginal maternity nor of collective embodiment, but a woman, a woman who had lived and died in history, and to whom both the people and clergy prayed in their necessity. It was to recall the singular, historical death of this woman that the liturgists had turned to that nuptial song, the Song of Songs.

As our reading of texts closer to the origins of the Assumption liturgy suggests (Ambrosius Autpert's *De adsumptione*, Paschasius Radbertus's *Cogitis me*, and the antiphons sung in *evangelio* at Lauds), the authors of the Gregorian office for the Assumption did not look to the Song of Songs simply as a source of arresting epithets ("enclosed garden," "sealed fountain," "lily of the valley," "black but beautiful," "tower of David") akin to the traditional Old

Testament prophecies of the Virgin Mother (the ark, the burning bush, Aaron's rod, Gideon's fleece, Ezechiel's closed portal, the woman whom Jeremiah saw encompassing a man, the virgin foreseen by Isaiah, the rod of Jesse, Daniel's mountain cut without hands, and, of course, the second Eve—to name only the most familiar).¹⁷¹ Rather, they heard in the Song an authoritative, scriptural *narrative* (or, if one prefers, drama) of the Virgin's death and assumption, through which the Virgin herself spoke to her beloved Christ and he, his angels and apostles assisted her in her heavenly rebirth. This scriptural narrative, like the apocryphal accounts for which it substituted, centered on the dialogue between its principal characters. It is for this reason, I would argue, that the Song of Songs was deemed appropriate as a source for the antiphons, responsories, and lessons proper to the Assumption: it was the one book in Scripture constructed around the conversation between a woman and a man, and therefore the one book through which the faithful imagined that they could hear Mary speak to her son and hear his reply. In the twelfth century, commentators including Honorius Augustodunensis and Rupert of Deutz would come to argue that the Song *historically* prophesied the life and death of the Virgin and her relationship with her son.¹⁷² But it was the eighth- and ninth-century composers of the liturgy who, through their use of the Song in the office for the Assumption, were the first to suggest this biographical reading of Solomon's love song. In the antiphons and responsories of the office, the Song became in effect Mary's *historia*, a *vita Mariae* analogous to the *vitae* and *passiones* of the martyrs, confessors, and virgins recited throughout the liturgical year. It became a *vita Mariae* authenticated, moreover, not by the presence of bodily relics and the performance of miracles but by the authority of its author—the Holy Spirit.

Through the Song, Carolingian theologians and liturgists were able to reconcile their longing for certainty with their need for an authoritative witness. Nevertheless, for Paschasius, as for the authors of the Compiègne antiphonal narrative, the end of the story remained shrouded in heavenly glory, the fate of Mary's body a mystery concealed from the faithful by the counsel of God. Although for the Greeks, including John of Damascus, the empty tomb in the valley of Josaphat bore eloquent testimony to the historicity of the story re-

¹⁷¹ On these Marian typologies, see F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1927), 365–75; Yrjö Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine: A Study in the Poetry and Art of the Catholic Church*, 2d ed. revised by C. H. Talbot (London, 1958), 303–26; Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Dora Nussey (New York, 1958), 146–51; and Anselm Salzer, *Die Simbilder und Beiworte Mariens in der deutschen Literatur und lateinischen Hymnenpoesie des Mittelalters* (Darmstadt, 1967).

¹⁷² See Fulton, "Mimetic Devotion."

counted in the apocryphal narratives,¹⁷³ Latin pilgrims recorded simply that Mary's body was not there. Twelfth- and thirteenth-century preachers including Peter Abelard, Peter Comestor, Nicholas of Clairvaux, Absalon of Springiersbach, Amadeus of Lausanne, and Caesarius of Heisterbach, not to mention St. Bonaventure, would read in Song of Songs 3:6 and 6:9 definitive proof of Mary's bodily assumption,¹⁷⁴ but Paschasius and his contemporaries heard only angelic exclamations of wonder at the ascent of her soul. The twelfth-century reinterpretation of these verses, like the original importation of the feast itself, may reflect Byzantine rhetoric and ceremonial, newly accessible to the West from the tenth century, but these developments are beyond the scope of the present paper.¹⁷⁵ Suffice it to say that, just as the use of the Song of Songs for the liturgy of the Assumption was instrumental for that feast's acceptance in the West, so its continuing presence in the liturgy would stimulate both the discovery of new exegetical categories (the "historical") and new doctrinal convictions (Mary's bodily assumption).

Thus far we have concerned ourselves primarily with questions of a more or less technical nature: How did the authors of the liturgy use a particular book of the Bible? What effect did their use of this text have on their understanding of the events commemorated by the feast? What effect did their understanding of the events have on their use of the text? I would like in conclusion to touch upon some of the broader implications of my answers to these questions, in particular for our appreciation of the liturgy both as text and performance, and for our understanding of medieval devotion to the Virgin and Christ. We may begin with the liturgy. Despite the fact that it was through the liturgy that the vast majority of medieval Christians encountered the texts of the Bible, through

¹⁷³ See, for example, John's apostrophe to the empty tomb, in *Homelia II. In Dormitionem B.V. Mariae* 17 and 19 (PG 96:745–46 and 751–54; cf. French trans. Voulet, *Homélies*, 164–69 and 174–77).

¹⁷⁴ Peter Abelard, *Sermo XXVI. In assumptione beatae Mariae* (PL 178:539–47); Peter Comestor, *Sermo LIX. In festo assumptionis beatae Mariae, et de laudibus eius. Sermo primus* (PL 171:627–31); Nicholas of Clairvaux, *Sermo XL. In assumptione beatissimae Mariae virginis (XV Aug.)* (PL 144:717–22); Absalon of Springiersbach, *Sermo XLIII. In assumptione gloriosae virginis Mariae* (PL 211:245–50); Amadeus of Lausanne, *De Mariae virginea matre. Homiliae octo* (PL 188:1303–46); Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Sermo de omnibus solemnitatibus gloriose virginis Marie matris domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Canticorum sexto* (Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Theol. lat. quart. 368, fols. 19v–29r); and Bonaventure, *De assumptione b. virginis Mariae (15 Augusti). I–VI*, in *S. Bonaventurae Opera omnia*, ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae, vol. 9 (Quarrachi, 1901), 687–706, at 690 and 692.

¹⁷⁵ Graef, *Mary* 1:202–3; Wenger, *L'assomption*, 140–84; Henry Maguire, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium* (Princeton, 1981), 59–68; Sandro Sticca, *The "Planctus Mariae" in the Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages*, trans. Joseph R. Berrigan (Athens and London, 1988), 31–49; and Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottoman Book Illumination: An Historical Study*, 2 vols. (New York, 1991), 1:139–55. I would like to thank Sean Gilsdorf for this last reference.

the liturgy that they would have read or heard and interpreted the Bible,¹⁷⁶ modern scholars have tended to assume that the liturgy simply reflected the exegesis of the Bible as practiced by the commentators. They have looked therefore to the formal exegesis of the cloister and the schoolroom to explain the musical exegesis of the choir. To be sure, the authors of the liturgy were frequently the same men and women who turned to the *lectio divina* outside of the choir, and in some cases, it is possible to draw precise parallels between their private meditations on Scripture and their compositions for public choral performance. Nevertheless, as our study of the Marian use of the Song of Songs has shown, the liturgical reading of a text might differ markedly from the interpretation of that same text current in the commentary tradition and might, in the long run, force a reexamination of that text in the light of its performance. Use therefore might become a precondition for formal interpretation. Moreover, just as students of the liturgy have tended to concern themselves with "the stability of tradition, and the ways in which liturgical uses resembled those which came before them, or led up to those which came after them,"¹⁷⁷ so students of scriptural exegesis have tended to assume that the categories and models of interpretation remained fixed after the Fathers, subject only to unremarkable variation by subsequent authors.¹⁷⁸ But the Fathers did not foresee the reading of the Song of Songs as an *historia* of the life of the Virgin, nor did they suggest its use for her feast. Liturgical necessity, rather than patristic example, called the Marian mode of interpretation into existence, and performance itself became a mode of exegesis.

The disjuncture between the Marian, liturgical reading of the Song and the formal, patristic commentary tradition on the Song suggests further a re-examination of our understanding of medieval allegory and its relationship to worship. Given the delight of medieval authors and artists in the polysemy not only of texts but of human experience and nature itself, modern students of medieval spirituality have often been tempted to leap first to the enumeration of

¹⁷⁶ On lay access to liturgical books in the Carolingian period, see McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*, 246–49 and 262–65. See also M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record, England 1066–1307*, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1993), 110: "Liturgical manuscripts are the prime form in which the habit of using and possessing books reached the laity from the thirteenth century onwards."

¹⁷⁷ Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 6.

¹⁷⁸ See, for example, the discussions in M. D. Chenu, "The Symbolist Mentality," in *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, selected, ed. and trans. by Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago, 1968), 99–145; and D. W. Robertson, Jr., *A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives* (Princeton, 1963), 286–317. For an important corrective to this approach, see Denys Turner, *Eros and Allegory: Medieval Exegesis of the Song of Songs*, Cistercian Studies Series 156 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1995), 91.

as many different senses of a text, event, or object as possible, leaving behind the devotional reality underpinning that very polysemy. In the context of the development with which we are concerned here, they have often attempted to explain the importance of the Virgin Mary in the devotional life of medieval men and women by recourse to a multiplicity of symbolic referents (the Church, the soul, the bride of Christ, the Throne of Wisdom, the second Eve, and so forth) before considering that first mode of interpretation, the foundation, as the twelfth-century commentators themselves averred, for all spiritual or allegorical readings: the historical. When medieval people dedicated churches to their patron saints, they dedicated their churches not to ideals or allegories but to historical persons, persons whose bodies resided in those churches and whose lives were remembered annually through the recitation of their biographies from the choir and pulpit. The churches dedicated to Notre Dame were dedicated to her as to any other individual saint—to Mary, the Mother of God, not to a composite Maria-Ecclesia. Likewise, the verses from the Song of Songs sung in the churches on the day of her feast recalled first and foremost her biography, her *vita*, her history, and only secondarily (if at all) any likeness she might bear to the Church. For all their delight in allegory as authors and artists, medieval Christians were profoundly historical and personal in their devotions to the saints and to God. They offered their prayers not to abstractions but to individuals: "We fly to your protection, holy mother of God; despise not our petitions in our necessities but deliver us from all danger, blessed virgin." The liturgy—the formal, solemn expression of the community's faith in God and his saints—was first and foremost a rehearsal of the past, each year a recapitulation of the principal events in salvation history and a remembrance of its principal characters. This is not to say that the liturgy itself did not change, that it was forever fixed in the past, but to say rather that even as it changed (for example, through the introduction of the feast of the Assumption), it looked to recreate the past in the imagination of the faithful. As they chanted the antiphons and responsories of the office, the choirs could imagine themselves in the presence of Mary and her son, speaking words once more audible to the ears of the living. It was this desire to *hear*, to (re)experience the past through the bodily senses of the present that inspired the authors of the Gregorian office to turn to the Song of Songs and to its dialogue between the *sponsa* and *sponsus* as a substitute for (or perhaps, prophecy of) the words spoken by Christ and Mary at her death.

How then did this dialogic use of the Song affect (or reflect) devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary? I have noted throughout the present study an enduring longing for physical access to the persons and events commemorated by Christian history—through the institution of feast days in honor of the saints'

deaths, through pilgrimage to the Holy Land, through translation and theft of bodily relics, and through the recitation of stories about the saints, their lives, conversation, and deaths. For medieval Christians, both in the Carolingian period and later, devotion to a saint was most commonly manifested in an effort to achieve sensible contact with that person, for example, visually in a vision or crafted image, or tangibly via relics or the site of a tomb or a house. The liturgy itself was above all an attempt to stimulate experience of the divine through the analogy of the body's experience of sight (the sculpture, painting, tapestry, and metallwork embellishing the architecture, as well as the vestments of the participants), of smell (the incense and candles), of touch and taste (the bread and wine of the Eucharist), and of hearing (the bells, the organ, and, of course, the chant of the choir and of the priest). Although visual and tangible cues might transport the participants imaginatively in space, it was the words of the liturgy, transitory and yet eternal in their cyclical performance, that enabled them to transcend time.¹⁷⁹ And it was the body's experience of time, of death and decay, from which, above all, medieval Christians sought release.¹⁸⁰ As they listened each year to the dialogue between their Savior and his mother enacted at her death, they heard the Word who had become flesh promising his mother that her flesh would no longer be subject to time. They heard the words with which Christ had released her from time ("Now the winter has passed, the rain has gone and departed; rise, my beloved, and come! Many waters cannot extinguish love!") and were therefore themselves released, for the moment, from the mortal restrictions of their own lives, from the intractable temporal distance which separated them from the historical life of the Virgin and Christ and from her and her son's eternal presence in heaven. For a moment, their lives intersected with the lives of the Virgin and Christ, and they could imagine that the time of the past and the future had dissolved into the eternal present of the divine. In this present, their hearts were arrested by that heat of love with which Mary loved Christ, "greater," according to William Durandus, "than any other creature living in the flesh, except Christ." At the same time their bodies languished in the August heat, "this feast" being, after all, "appropriate to the summertime because love ascends through the heat of fire."

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¹⁷⁹ On the Carolingian experience of music, see Karl F. Morrison, " 'Know Thyself': Music in the Carolingian Renaissance," in *Committenti e produzione artistico-letteraria nell'alto medioevo occidentale, 4-10 aprile 1991*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 39 (Spoleto, 1992), 369-479.

¹⁸⁰ See Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*, passim.

THE PRIORITY OF SIGHT ACCORDING TO PETER THE VENERABLE*

David F. Appleby

AMONG the proverbial comparisons of sight and hearing available to Latin authors of the twelfth century, none was more familiar than Horace's remark in *Ars poetica* 180 ff., where he considered whether dramatic action should be shown on stage or reported from off stage: "What enters through the ears stirs the mind more feebly than what is placed before the trustworthy eyes and hence conveyed direct to the watcher."¹ These lines appeared most often in statements about sight as the sense best able to perceive events in an accurate and memorable way.² They were also adapted in discussions of whether the written or the spoken word was the more effective means of instruction and

* Glenn W. Olsen offered valuable comments on a draft of this study, and I am also grateful for the insights of Richard Abels, David Peeler, Thomas Brennan, and the other members of the History Faculty Seminar of the United States Naval Academy.

¹ Horace, *Ars poetica* 180–82: "Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem, quam quae sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus et quae ipse sibi tradit spectator." The translation is based on that of E. H. Gombrich, "'Icones Symbolicae': Philosophies of Symbolism and their Bearing on Art," in his *Symbolic Images* (New York, 1972), 144. C. O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry*, vol. 2: *The "Ars poetica"* (Cambridge, 1971), 244–47, offers helpful comments on the passage. For references to other proverbial expressions comparing eye and ear or seeing and hearing, see Gudrun Schleusener-Eichholz, *Das Auge im Mittelalter*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1985), 1:230–37 (*Ars poetica* 180 ff. is not included). Hans Walther, *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi: Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters*, 5 vols. (Göttingen, 1963–67), 4:772, no. 27865, lists some of the main examples of the Horatian passage. The most famous medieval reference to these lines is from the thirteenth century and beyond the scope of the present study: Bonaventure, *Commentaria in quatuor libros Sententiarum magistri Petri Lombardi*, d.9 a.1 q. 2 (*S. Bonaventurae Opera omnia* 3 [Quarachi, 1887], 203).

² In addition to the references to the Horatian lines in Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, and William of Tyre, *Chronicon* (mentioned by Benoît Lacroix, *L'historien au moyen âge* [Paris, 1971], 48), we note their presence in a letter to John of Salisbury from an unknown author (printed among the letters of Thomas of Canterbury as *Ep.* 398 in PL 190:734D–735A), and in a clear allusion in Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibernica*, *Distinctio* 2, Preface (ed. James F. Dimock, *Rolls Series* 21.5 [London, 1867], 74–75). For discussion of the importance of eyewitness accounts in twelfth-century historical literature, see Janet Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past* (Cambridge, 1992), 280–84, who refers to the passage of William of Tyre's *Chronicon* in which the Horatian reference appears.

learning.³ In these cases the interest manifested in human sensory experience and cognition, and the optimistic assumptions about Man's ability to know, correspond in several ways to the received understanding of medieval humanism. By contrast Abbot Peter the Venerable of Cluny (1122–56) quoted *Ars poetica* 180–81 in a discussion of the Eucharist that evinced his interest in sight as a means of arousing love and gratitude rather than in sight's contribution to the process of acquiring cognitive knowledge. His use of the passage reveals the abbot's attention to the descent from heaven and the human suffering of Christ, as well as an awareness of Man's affective response to Christ's *κένωσις/exinanitio*.⁴ His high appraisal of the value of seeing the visible form of the Eucharist owed much to contemporary sacramental handbooks, especially that of Alger of Liège, as amplified with the language of viewer response to religious art. An inner tension lingered, however, between the abbot's optimistic approach to sight, and to a lesser extent taste and touch, as means of spiritual progress and an older ascetic tradition that regarded the body and sensory perception in more cautious, even diffident, terms. At the risk of simplifying to the point of distortion, we may describe his position as either an uneasy Christian materialism or a not altogether consistent Christian idealism.

MEMORY AND SIGHT

In 1139 or 1140 the abbot of Cluny quoted *Ars poetica* 180–81 in a treatise denouncing the heterodox views of Peter of Bruys, a priest active in the alpine dioceses of Die, Gap, and Embrun, south of Grenoble, who had attacked infant baptism, the construction of church buildings, the veneration of the cross, the Mass and Eucharist, and the practice of making prayers of intercession on behalf of the dead.⁵ In the *Contra Petrobrusianos* (CP), the passage from Horace

³ Gerald of Wales quoted *Ars poetica* 180–81 in this context in *Gemma ecclesiastica*, Pars 1, Proemium ante rem (ed. J. S. Brewer, Rolls Series 21.2 [London, 1862], 4), and, though taking the opposite side, so did Matthew of Vendôme, *Ars versificatoria* 4.41 (ed. Franco Munari, *Mathei Vindocinensis Opera*, 3 vols., Storia e letteratura, Raccolta di Studi e Testi 144, 152, 171 [Rome, 1977–88], 3:212).

⁴ For this manner of framing the problem, see Glenn W. Olsen, "Twelfth-Century Humanism Reconsidered: The Case of St. Bernard," *Studi medievali*, 3d ser., 31 (1990): 27–53. In his *Sermo IV: In Epiphania Domini I* (PL 212:517A), the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Cistercian author Helinand of Froidmont quoted *Ars poetica* 180–81 in a context that shows some similarities to Peter the Venerable's use of the passage, but a comparison of the two would be beyond the scope of the present discussion.

⁵ Peter the Venerable, *Contra Petrobrusianos hereticos* [henceforth CP] (ed. James Fearn, CCCM 10 [Turnhout, 1968]). On the date of CP, see *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. Giles Constable, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), Appendix G, 2:285–88 [letters will be cited by number and pages in volume 1 of this edition]. On the character of the heresy,

appears in paragraph 198, where the author reflected on the commemorative function of the Eucharist in relation to the interior condition of the communicant. In addition to questioning the efficacy of the sacrament, it appears that the heterodox Peter had challenged the need for a repeated ritual representation of the Lord's sacrifice.

In response Peter the Venerable asserted that because those who hope to be saved must love and prize the Incarnation and Passion, the Lord instituted the Eucharist to commemorate those events and to arouse the affection of the faithful. As an appropriate visible sign, the sacrament of bread and wine helps compensate for the weakness of human memory, which the author described as "fading" and "fleeting." This visible sign acts as a strong cord, binding the memory of the Incarnation and Passion so tightly to the heart that the communicant is encouraged to reflect on the price of his redemption, and is led to a deeper faith and more intense experience of love and gratitude. The abbot admitted that the iteration of a visible sign was not the only means of imprinting the memory of a thing in the human mind; the written or spoken word, for example, could rescue information from oblivion. But because, "as someone says, 'What enters through the ears stirs the mind more feebly than what is placed before the trustworthy eyes,' and because the matter was so great that human souls should be moved toward thinking of it, loving it, embracing it not feebly but remarkably, it was fitting and right that the memory of the humanity and death of Christ should be instilled not only by sound through the ears but indeed by sight through the eyes."⁶

see Jean Châtillon, "Pierre le Vénérable et les Pétrobrusiens," in *Pierre Abélard—Pierre le Vénérable. Les courants philosophiques, littéraires et artistiques en occident au milieu du XII^e siècle*, Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 546 (Paris, 1975), 165–76, with discussion on 177–79; and James Fearn, "Peter von Bruis und die religiöse Bewegung des 12. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 48 (1966): 311–35.

⁶ CP 198 (ed. Fearn, 117.23–118.51): "Sciebat hoc se opere saluatorum hominem, sed absque huius operis dilectione nullum saluari posse hominem. Sciebat quia humanitatis et mortis sue opus, sicut super omnia opera sua summe celebratum, sic mortalibus pro quibus fiebat, summe erat commendandum. . . . Hoc certe sollempniter commendandum erat, ut Christus diligeretur, dilectus haberetur, habitus nunquam perderetur. Sed hec eius dilectio ab hominibus seruari non poterat, memoria pereunte, nec fugax memoria diu retineri ualebat, nisi signo congruo apparente. Ne igitur a corde fugeret, quod maxime cordi inesse oportebat, signo rei congruente ueluti fune insolubili colligata est cordi memoria, quo fortiter uinciente semper redemptus redemptionis precium cogitaret, indeque redemptori agens gratias, fide que per dilectionem operatur nequaquam se ingratum tante gratie demonstraret. Et posset quidem mentibus humanis huius rei utcumque absque signo uisibili inesse memoria, sicut multarum rerum tam diuinarum quam humanarum recordatio, fama, lectione, doctrina in eis aut gignitur aut conseruatur. Sed quia, iuxta quendam: *Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem / Quam que sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus*, et res tanta erat, ut ad eam cogitandam, amandam, am-

At first this passage may seem to do nothing more than underline the importance of sight as the most immediate form of perception and the one most likely to shape an accurate memory of an event. Certainly Peter the Venerable was well acquainted with such ideas, and more than once expressed a preference for ocular testimony, for instance when a person who had actually seen a reported miracle presented himself: "Hearing this we were much more excited, now having not the retailer of the words of others but a sure witness of the thing itself."⁷ But in *CP* 198 the author quoted Horace to show that sight and immediate perception may help shape a sort of memory that was quite distinct from the record of historical fact and sequence of events that concerned many twelfth-century historians and historiographers. He read Horace's comparison of sight and hearing in light of his own understanding of the place of memory in an affective spirituality.

Although scholars have observed that the abbot's writings reveal a spirituality in which the emotions, especially love and desire, play a central role in the soul's quest for unification with God,⁸ the information on his approach to memory and sensory perception contained in *CP* 198 has not been appreciated.⁹ Cluny's dual emphasis on conventual celebration of the Office and individual

plectandam non segniter sed insigniter humani animi mouendi essent, dignum et iustum fuit, ut humanitatis et mortis Christi memoria non tantum auditu per aures, sed etiam uisu per oculos inuaretur."

⁷ Peter the Venerable, *De miraculis libri duo* [henceforth *De miraculis*] 1.28 (ed. D. Bouthillier, CCCM 83 [Turnhout, 1988], 88.33–89.35): "Quo audito, multo magis exhilarati sumus, habentes iam non alienorum uerborum relatorem, set rei ipsius certissimum inspectorem"; see also his Letter 81 (ed. Constable, 217): "certius est uidisse quam audisse." For other examples, see Denise Bouthillier and Jean-Pierre Torrell, "'Miraculum': Une catégorie fondamentale chez Pierre le Vénérable," *Revue Thomiste* 80 (1980): 357–86 and 549–66, at 549–53; and idem, "De la légende à l'histoire: Le traitement du miraculum chez Pierre le Vénérable et chez son biographe Raoul de Sully," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 25 (1982): 81–99, at 83.

⁸ Robert Folz, "Pierre le Vénérable et la liturgie," in *Pierre Abélard—Pierre le Vénérable*, 143–61, with discussion on 162–63, at 148 and 150–51; Jean Leclercq, *Pierre le Vénérable* (Abbaye S. Wandrille, 1946); idem, *Témoins de la spiritualité occidentale* (Paris, 1965), 236–62.

⁹ Those who have mentioned the passage include Leclercq, *Pierre le Vénérable*, 263, who remarked that the abbot was willing to quote the poet even in a discussion of the most serious matters of faith; M.-Claude Bodard, "Le mystère du corps du Seigneur: Quelques aspects de la Christologie de Pierre le Vénérable," *Collectanea ordinis cisterciensium reformatorem* 18 (1956): 100–31, at 125–26; P. Séjourné, "Pierre le Vénérable," *Dictionary de Théologie Catholique* 12.2 (Paris, 1935), cols. 2065–81, at 2073; and Gerard G. Grant, "The Elevation of the Host: A Reaction to Twelfth Century Heresy," *Theological Studies* 1 (1940): 228–50, at 248, who remarked, "Peter the Venerable, in his *Tractatus contra Petrobrusianos*, states that the sight of the Host is an effective aid in recalling the passion and death of Christ."

prayer and devotion gave his piety its characteristic stamp.¹⁰ A similar bipolarity appears in his approach to the Eucharist, which has been described as alternating between the recognition of the sacrament's objective, salvific effect, and an awareness of the sacrament as the occasion for the most intimate union between the individual and God.¹¹ Alongside the conventual Mass, which retained its traditional place at the center of communal worship, the private Mass became a means of expressing personal, subjective piety and furnished a point of departure for meditation on the humanity of Christ.¹² To be sure the sense of sight has been taken into account in studies of the sculptural and graphic iconography at Cluny during the abbacy of Peter the Venerable,¹³ and there is a general awareness that the aesthetics of liturgical objects and architectural setting was an important part of the religious life at Cluny, where it was considered legitimate to "address the eyes" of the body as well as those of the spirit.¹⁴ But the passage that furnishes the subject of the present inquiry has not been considered in these contexts because it concentrates on the Eucharist rather than a work of art, and because it emphasizes memory and love rather than a response that was aesthetic in the ordinary sense of the term.

The abbot's assumptions about the basic characteristics of memory were so widely shared that it did not occur to him to explain or defend them. Western authors since the time of St. Augustine had considered memory to be both a key faculty in the Christian reform of the individual human being, and in a more basic way the fundamental matrix of the human soul as it exists prior to the differentiation of its faculties and their functions.¹⁵ The contemporaries of

¹⁰ Guy de Valous, *Le monachisme clunisien des origines au XV^e siècle*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Paris, 1970), 1:329.

¹¹ Servan Simonin, "Le culte eucharistique à Cluny de saint Odon à Pierre le Vénérable," *Bulletin trimestriel du Centre International d'Études Romanes* (March 1961), 3–13, at 10 ff.

¹² *Ibid.*, 10–11

¹³ Marie-Louise Thérél, "Pierre le Vénérable et la création iconographique au XII^e siècle," in *Pierre Abélard—Pierre le Vénérable*, 733–43, with discussion on 744.

¹⁴ See Jean Leclercq, "Spiritualité et culture à Cluny," in *Spiritualità Cluniacense*, Convegno del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale 2 (Todi, 1960), 101–51, at 136–37 (citing Etienne Gilson, "Le message de Cluny," in *A Cluny: Congrès scientifique. Fêtes et cérémonies liturgiques en l'honneur des saints Abbés Odon et Odilon* [Dijon, 1950], 27–36, at 29–30, where the phrase "parle aux yeux" occurs). See also Jean Leclercq, *Témoins de la spiritualité occidentale*, 236–62; *idem*, *Aux sources de la spiritualité occidentale. Étapes et constantes* (Paris, 1964), 91–173, at 126–27. To the extent that this view of the centrality of aesthetics at Cluny depends on the *Apologia* of St. Bernard, it should be tempered in light of the recent synthesis of Conrad Rudolph, *The "Things of Greater Importance": Bernard of Clairvaux's "Apologia" and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art* (Philadelphia, 1990).

¹⁵ Gerhart B. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 200–203, Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), and Patrick J. Geary,

Peter the Venerable were aware of St. Augustine's understanding of the human soul as a psychological trinity comprising memory, intellect, and will, with memory corresponding to the Father, intellect to the Son, and will to the Holy Spirit. As the part of the soul that is conscious of the outside world, the self, and of the traces of God in the soul, memory is oriented toward the present and future as well as the past, for it is the mind's presence to itself. Even in Man's fallen condition, in which the likeness of God is effaced, memory is aware of the image of God that remains at the core of the soul. Augustine held that Man gains his first knowledge of God and God's presence in him thanks to the interior teaching or divine illumination of Christ the Word which arouses belief and equips him with the memory of who God is. Only when this prior knowledge is present can the words of Scripture stimulate the memory to recognize the things of creation as traces of divine activity, and to remember where the highest human good and true happiness lie.¹⁶ The quest for a more familiar experience of God leads to self-knowledge, in which reflection on the history of the accidents, multiplicity, and shifting course of one's life reveals the moral quality of the will as it has responded one way or another to opportunities to turn away from sin and toward God.¹⁷ Those not fully satisfied by this indirect experience strive to encounter God above the self, thus moving beyond the memory of events and experiences and beyond the soul's presence to itself. By forgetting physical sensation, one's personal history, and the particularity of the world, the contemplative seeks to project his awareness into the future realm of eternity, unity, and changelessness. This radical effort to know God by forgetting the world is the province of a spiritual elite and should be distinguished from the duty of ordinary believers to orient their lives around a memory of God and the scriptural and ecclesial record of his works on mankind's behalf. As Peter the Venerable put it in a sermon on the Holy Sepulcher, the main focus of this more general remembrance should be the fundamentals of the economy of human redemption: motivated by love, God humiliated himself by assuming human form to liberate human beings from sin, Satan, and death. Christ's sacrifice in the garden of Gethsemane restored what Man had lost in the garden of Eden, and his resurrection offered Man something even more valuable, the hope of his own resurrection and eternal life.¹⁸

Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millenium (Princeton, 1994) provide an outstanding introduction to the general topic of memory in the central and high Middle Ages.

¹⁶ Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories*, 83, 90, 96.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 107.

¹⁸ For the text, see Giles Constable, "Petri Venerabilis sermones tres," *Revue Bénédictine* 64 (1954): 224–72, at 253–54, quoted and discussed in Bodard, "Le mystère du corps du Seigneur," 111–12.

Peter the Venerable affirmed that “what is placed before the trustworthy eyes” takes priority over “what enters through the ears,” not only because it helps the viewer remember more clearly or more accurately what has happened, but because it triggers reflection on the qualitative importance of the events being remembered, in this case the Incarnation and the Passion. These, the greatest of Christ’s works, the faithful should hold in high esteem, for through them the redemption of mankind was achieved. Proper estimation of Christ’s achievement will fill the communicant with wonder that it could have been accomplished and love for the one who accomplished it.¹⁹ The memory awakened by the rite leads the viewer to consider the price of his redemption, and makes him eager always to display gratitude for such a gift.²⁰ A unitive impulse appears when the author asserted that the sight of the sacrament helps us not only to think of the humanity and death of Christ, but to love them and embrace them, not feebly but remarkably. By loving Christ in this intense way we come to possess him; by possessing Christ we strive never to lose him. These affective themes appear not only in *CP* 198 but recur throughout the author’s works, sometimes in striking imagery. In his sermon on the Holy Sepulcher, which had fallen to the crusaders in 1099, he discussed the love and gratitude that the sight of this holy place should arouse. He urged the audience to become like the Holy Sepulcher, so that the memory of the Lord remains in each person not only for three days but forever, and so that just as the body of Christ had been concealed in the tomb, firm faith and perfect love are actually, though invisibly, present in the soul.²¹

Although the faithful experience them in subjective consciousness, love, gratitude, and desire for union fueled by the sight of the Eucharist are instrumental in salvation. According to the author, without this love a person will not be saved, for each of us receives divine indulgence and the remission of sins insofar as we love Christ.²² To support this point, he cited Luke 7:47 concerning Mary Magdalen (“her sins, which were many, have been forgiven; hence she has shown great love”) and 1 Peter 4:8 (referring to Proverbs 10:12, “love covers a multitude of sins”) and speculated that if love of neighbor covers so many sins, the love of Christ must cover even more. The “more vigorously” the sacrament of the body and blood stimulates the memory, the “more fervently

¹⁹ *CP* 201 (ed. Fearn, 119.32 and 39); on the most excellent works of Christ, see also Peter the Venerable’s *Sermo de transfiguratione Domini* (PL 189:958D).

²⁰ *CP* 198 (ed. Fearn, 117.36–40).

²¹ Constable, “Petri Venerabilis sermones tres,” 242 ff. (for becoming like the Holy Sepulcher) and 246–47 (on the “affectus” of those who actually visit the place).

²² *CP* 198 and 201 (ed. Fearn, 117.23–24 and 119.39–40).

love is called forth, the more fully the remission of sins is conferred.”²³ Beyond the remission of sins, the love of Christ is also fundamental in the individual’s moral development. Love aroused by sight of the Eucharist helps in the daily effort to empty the soul of vice and refill it with virtue.²⁴ “Because through assiduous representation it renews memory, augments faith, strengthens hope, confirms love, this sacrament of the church is not superfluous but highly necessary.”²⁵ Again memory is not simply the recollection of the events of Christ’s life, death, and resurrection; it is the realization of the full importance of those events for the individual and for all mankind, an encounter with the facts of the human situation so compelling that it manifests itself in the action of moral improvement and desire for unitive encounter with Christ.

Just as memory has a special meaning in *CP* 198, forgetting entails much more than failure to recall particular information. Fleeting or perishing memory signifies the tendency to lose track of the most important thing for Man, with the consequent experience of a lowering of esteem for the Incarnation and Passion, and a cooling of one’s love of Christ. Memory the sentinel often appears too weak to prevent its active, aggressive rival, oblivion, from tearing or plucking away the contents of the heart.²⁶ As to the cause of human forgetfulness, the condensed statement that earthly worries and the passage of time obscure memory, at *CP* 201,²⁷ should be understood in relation to the historical struggle between God and Satan which the abbot mentioned in various other places. From Man’s days in paradise to the end of time, the objective of the common enemy has been to prevent mortals from recognizing and worshiping

²³ *CP* 201 (ed. Fearn, 120.42–49): “. . . de peccatrice Maria sic ait: *Dimissa sunt ei peccata multa, quoniam dilexit multum*. Et cum rursus scriptum sit: *Caritas operit multitudinem peccatorum*, quantam multitudinem peccatorum operit caritas in Christum, si tantam operit caritas in proximum? Non est ergo, ut dictum est, superfluum Christi corporis et sanguinis sacramentum, quo uiuacior memoria excitatur, quo feruentior dilectio prouocatur, quo plenior peccatorum remissio comparatur.” Translations of Scripture here and throughout follow the *New Revised Standard Version* except as otherwise noted and in the case of the Psalms, for which the Vulgate has been consulted.

²⁴ *CP* 201 (ed. Fearn, 119.19–22).

²⁵ *Ibid.* (ed. Fearn, 119.11–14): “Hoc igitur ecclesie sacramentum, quoniam sic assidua sui representatione memoriam innouat, fidem auget, spem roborat, caritatem confirmat, non superfluum sed summe necessarium est.” A parallel case appears in *De miraculis* 1, Prologue (ed. Bouthillier, 3.6–7), where the sight of miracles is said to augment faith, increase hope, and strengthen love.

²⁶ *CP* 201 (ed. Fearn, 119.14–19). Parallel cases appear in Letter 19 (ed. Constable, 27): “. . . ut uestri memoriam in pectoris mei archano altissime recondam, nec eam quolibet casu ab intimis meis auelli permittam”; and Letter 30 (ed. Constable, 105): “. . . haec est quae magnis spaciis, multis temporibus a me seiunctum, nunquam ab animo meo auelli passa est.

²⁷ *CP* 201 (ed. Fearn, 119.17–19).

the true God, and although divine permission strictly limits his success, Satan's error has at times nearly eclipsed the splendor of truth. Whether acting through the serpent, the persecutors of the prophets and apostles, Saracens, or heretics and schismatics, ancient or modern, Satan spreads a spiritual darkness that blinds human beings.²⁸ As if the active hostility of such a powerful foe were not enough, Man's immersion in a world of temporal and spatial extension imposes certain limitations upon all human faculties, including memory. Physical absence and the passage of time make it difficult to remember and care for friends, and even the members of a monastic community may waver in their ascetic resolve because of the mutable and transient circumstances in which all human associations exist.²⁹ While the alternations of nature and the accidents of history threaten the continuity of human memory from outside, an internal source of uncertainty and change is the mortal body itself, which can be sustained only through constant engagement in practical affairs. Mankind's unhappy legacy from Adam, earthly toil followed by death, introduced distress and suffering that even a holy person could not escape; though filled with grace and without personal sin, Jesus' mother experienced want, fear, sorrow, and the discomforts of the mortal body.³⁰ Cares of this sort may easily distract the memory and concentrate human attention on the effort to insure immediate security and mere survival. In this way forgetfulness is related to the punishment for Adam's sin, but because after the fall distraction is almost natural to Man, the friction it causes the faculty of memory may be deplorable but is not sinful. The impermanence of memory reflects the labile character of the mind itself.³¹ Specific culpability attaches instead to the failure to resist earthly distraction, thus allowing ordinary friction to divert the memory altogether. Oblivion appears in an openly vicious form when the desire for gold and silver causes monks to forget their vows.³² Disdain for recent events or mere sloth may become other causes of oblivion when competent writers fail to record the mir-

²⁸ Peter the Venerable, *Epistola ad Petrum de Joanne* (PL 189:487–508, esp. 488D–490C); see also CP 11 (ed. Fearn, 13.6–12). Essential for the abbot's demonology is Jean-Pierre Torrell and Denise Bouthillier, *Pierre le Vénérable et sa vision du monde: Sa vie—Son oeuvre—L'homme et le démon* (Leuven, 1986), 229–436, providing further references to the primary sources.

²⁹ On friends, see Letters 19, 24 and 30 (ed. Constable, 27, 46, and 105); on an entire monastic community, see Letter 1 (ed. Constable, 5).

³⁰ Letter 94 (ed. Constable, 248–49).

³¹ Letter 20 (ed. Constable, 29), for "animi mobilitas," which is comparable to the abbot's *Adversus Iudeorum inveteratam duritiem* 2 (ed. Yvonne Friedman, CCCM 58 [Turnhout, 1985], 39.802–3): "donec finiatur humana mutabilitas, et succedat beatae pacis aeternitas."

³² Letter 38 (ed. Constable, 128), where some monks "propositi sui oblit[i]" pant for things left behind, such as gold and silver.

acles worked through the saints in modern times.³³ And cultivating the habitual inquisitiveness and argumentative spirit of philosophy may cause us to forget to approach theology in a devout and respectful way.³⁴ In short, possessing a weak or fleeting memory is a characteristic feature of human beings as they are now. Although baptismal rebirth frees them of guilt for Adam's sin, the tendency to forget may become the occasion of personal sin, and the faithful are responsible for the vice or neglect that prevents them from remembering the most important truths of religion.

According to Peter the Venerable the visible character of the Eucharist is meant to help communicants overcome fleeting memory and experience a fitting subjective response to the Lord. The overwhelming importance of the Incarnation and Passion privileges them among historical events and make them worthy of a singular form of commemoration, the sacrament of bread and wine. But, as the abbot acknowledged at *CP* 198,³⁵ many other things both divine and human are also memorable, and various suitable means of commemoration exist for them. His normal usage, as evident in his various works, coupled the written or spoken word with the ear, and non-verbal modes of remembrance with the eye, but he certainly acknowledged that a reader sees letters written on a page.³⁶ While they hardly compare in importance and majesty to the Incarnation and Passion, the miracles that God has performed in modern times deserve to be recorded in writing because of their utility to readers. Eyewitnesses should recount the wonders they have seen, and competent writers should insure that a permanent record of the works of the Lord survives into the future.³⁷ Another way to commemorate something or someone is to erect a physical sign or monument. Peter the Venerable mentioned a smashed gateway left permanently impassable as witness to a particularly brutal demonic infestation that

³³ *De miraculis* 2, Prologue (ed. Bouthillier, 93–94), on the laziness of the many people who have failed to secure the memory of modern miracles by making a written record of them. Parallel comments appear in *De miraculis* 1, Prologue, and *ibid.* 2.3 (ed. Bouthillier, 3.7–16 and pp. 102–3).

³⁴ See Letter 94 (ed. Constable, 250); and *Adversus Iudeorum inveteratam duritiem* 4 (ed. Friedman, 112.1595–113.1601).

³⁵ *CP* 198 (ed. Fearn, 117.40–43).

³⁶ For example, see *Adversus Iudeorum inveteratam duritiem* 5 (ed. Friedman, 166.1431–32): “Longa fabula lecta est et quae uel per oculos legentium uel per aures audientium. . . .”

³⁷ *De miraculis* 2, Prologue (ed. Bouthillier, 93–94). Parallel comments, though much briefer, occur in *De miraculis* 1, Prologue, and *ibid.* 2.3 (ed. Bouthillier, 3 and 102–3). The distinction between these miraculous works of God and his greatest works commemorated in the Eucharist explains why the Incarnation and Passion need to be in our memory in a way that even the recent miracles of the Lord do not.

had occurred there.³⁸ In similar fashion, the tomb reminds those who see it of the virtues of its occupant as well as the necessary end of all mortal life.³⁹ As he explained in the preface of his collection of monastic statutes, it is always useful to commend to memory noteworthy deeds, especially but not exclusively those concerning religion. A written record of the monastic statutes mediates (“scriptura mediante”) between past and future and commends the things recorded in a useful and lasting way.⁴⁰

But when it came to the greatest works of the Lord, the abbot rejected these other modes of remembrance as not in keeping with the importance of the thing to be remembered. Instead he pointed to the sacrament’s visible, sensory character as a means of fixing it firmly in memory and quoted *Ars poetica* 180–81 to express sight’s powerful mnemonic and emotive force. Sight, but also taste and touch, stir or excite us, arousing admiration and love, at times even teaching us.⁴¹ In all cases, the author rated sight, taste and touch above hearing as stimulus to the memory and affection, but also as a means of learning. While the Eucharist proclaims the Lord’s death, and also represents the Passion, it is not simply a sign of something else, nor is it merely shadow or figure; it is what it signifies.⁴² The presence of the body and blood of the Lord in the visible species of bread and wine lends the sacrament force and immediacy for the communicant. The “mind is much more vehemently roused by the reception of the body of the Lord than it could be by [hearing] the admonition of his word to the love of him whom the communicant not merely hears but indeed sees and receives. The communicant burns inside and, seeing the Word made flesh so that it might dwell in us, . . . by no means could he forget the one he believes in faith, embraces in love, grasps by hand, receives by mouth.”⁴³

These ideas about the importance of the senses and of immediacy in shaping human memory and sentiments are not confined to *CP*. In his *De miraculis*, for

³⁸ *De miraculis* 2.1 (ed. Bouthillier, 99); see Torrell and Bouthillier, *Pierre le Vénérable et sa vision du monde*, 379.

³⁹ Letter 53 (ed. Constable, 172).

⁴⁰ Preface to *Statuta Petri Venerabilis abbatis Cluniacensis IX* (ed. Giles Constable, *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum* 6 [Siegburg, 1975], 19–106, at 39). For a parallel use of the verb “commendare,” see *CP* 198 (ed. Fearn, 117.27).

⁴¹ For this vocabulary of sensory immediacy, see *CP* 198 (ed. Fearn, 118.48–51), *CP* 201 (ed. Fearn, 119.1–4, 19–20, 26–27, 30–41, and 120.47–49), and *CP* 207 (ed. Fearn, 123.23–24 and 34–35).

⁴² *CP* 200 (ed. Fearn, 118.21–119.25).

⁴³ *CP* 201 (ed. Fearn, 119.1–7): “Quod cum fit, ad hoc utique fit, ut mens longe uehementius excitata corporis Domini suceptione quam posset excitari uerbi Domini admonitione in amorem eius, quem non tantum audit, sed etiam uidet et suscipit, inardescat, et uidens Verbum carnem factum, ut habitaret in nobis, . . . obliuisci iam nullatenus possit quem fide credit, amore amplectitur, manu contrahat, ore suscipit.”

example, the abbot pointed out that miracles supplement the faith, increase the hope, and strengthen the love of those who see them.⁴⁴ Again, in a sermon on the Transfiguration he described Christ as a teacher instructing the apostles about human resurrection better through the visible example of his deified flesh than through words.⁴⁵ In the sermon on the Holy Sepulcher, he contrasted the wonders recorded in Scripture with the annual miraculous illumination of the Lord's burial place. While not disparaging the former as a way of knowing God, the author drew attention to the powerful impact upon human beings of the miracles they themselves see. "But now I should not say listen, but look and see, approach and behold, because he did not present to your ears this admirable sign to the glory of his sepulcher in this time but he impressed it upon your eyes. He impressed it, rather he impresses heavenly fire upon your eyes and with it honors his sepulcher not once but each year. . . ." The Holy Sepulcher itself shows that the Lord taught human beings "better through things than through words."⁴⁶

The author also emphasized the teaching power of consuming the sacrament. Eating the bread and drinking the wine teach us much more clearly than words can that Christ's body and blood are the spiritual food of eternal life.⁴⁷ Peter acknowledged that we may also learn this by hearing the words of John 14:6 (" 'I am the way, and the truth, and the life' ") and John 17:3 (" 'this is eternal life, that they may know you, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom you have sent' "), but he also pointed out that John 6:54 (" 'unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you have no life in you' ") and 6:52 (" 'the bread that I will give for the life of the world is my flesh' ") show that we may learn the same thing by consuming; because of the similarity between mortal food and the spiritual food of the Eucharist, the author concluded that we learn that Christ is the path to eternal life better through consuming than through hearing.⁴⁸ How serious was this idea of a gustatory pedagogy? It is not

⁴⁴ *De miraculis* 1, Prologue (ed. Bouthillier, 3.1–7).

⁴⁵ Peter the Venerable, *Sermo de transfiguratione Domini* (PL 189:953–72, at 955A).

⁴⁶ Constable, "Petri Venerabilis sermones tres," 248: "Sed iam non dicam audite, sed dicam attendite et uidete, accedite et considerate, quia signum hoc admirabile ad gloriam sepulchri sui in tempore isto non auribus uestris optulit, sed oculis uestris ingressit. Ingressit, immo ingerit oculis uestris ignem caelestem eoque sepulchrum suum non semel, sed annuatim honorat." See *ibid.*, 253, for the remark ". . . hoc melius rebus quam uerbis ignorantes homines docuisti." This last is a close parallel of CP 207 (ed. Fearn, 123.23–27).

⁴⁷ CP 207 (ed. Fearn, 123.23–27). The guarded approach Lawrence G. Duggan ("Was Art Really the 'Book of the Illiterate'?" *Word and Image* 5 1989: 227–51) takes to the familiar assertion that illiterate medieval viewers learned from pictures what they could not read in books informs my appraisal of the idea of gustatory pedagogy formulated by Peter the Venerable.

⁴⁸ CP 207 (ed. Fearn, 123.27–43).

clear whether Peter the Venerable meant that assimilation of the sacrament in the absence of hearing or reading the words of Scripture could teach this truth. The references to John 6:52 and 54 suggest attention as much to participatory eucharistic categories as to pedagogic. Perhaps his presentation was hyperbolic, and in fact he meant that assimilating the sacrament is an effective way of rendering vivid and making immediate a teaching already known to the communicant from the words of Scripture or a priest. His own references to biblical proof texts in this passage may tend to confirm this speculation that word and action were complementary, but the author's own language is less than optimally clear.

A common underlying theme of *CP* 198 ff. is the providential accommodation of the creature's limited capacity to perceive the Creator, and in particular the way it takes into account the sensory and physical needs of human beings. The Eucharist is the most striking instance of this adequation of sacramental sign both to the mystery signified and to the capacities of the intended human recipients. It has an immediacy that its Old Testament counterparts lacked, namely, the presence of the Lord. The new sign is what it signifies, and unlike the sacrifices of the Old Testament, which the abbot characterized as shadow, figure, and involving animals, the Eucharist is body, truth, and involving the Son of God. In effect, the real presence itself excites the human mind more than mere words or some other form of sacrifice could.⁴⁹ Until the fully satisfying revelation of the divine glory of the Lord, the human Christ remains present with mankind in the sacrament, thus sustaining mankind by the same body that redeemed it.⁵⁰ Not restricted to sensation, immediacy may also be presented in chronological terms. The abbot observed that saying that Christ is now present in the sacrament is more compelling than saying that Christ once appeared among human beings. However powerful the news of his former presence, Christ's evident presence now is more compelling.⁵¹ The same providential disposition of the medium in accordance with the limitations of the human audience accounts for the appearance of bread and wine. Conforming to Man's need of physical nourishment, the bread and wine signify that the body and blood of the Lord confer eternal life just as ordinary food and drink sustain mortal life.⁵² On the other side, the truth of the body and blood remains hidden to the senses as a concession to dietary custom and the natural aversion to the consumption of human flesh and blood.⁵³ The parallel or likeness (*similitudo*)

⁴⁹ *CP* 199–201 (ed. Fearn, 118.1–119.7).

⁵⁰ *CP* 201 (ed. Fearn, 120.49–55).

⁵¹ *Ibid.* (ed. Fearn, 119.23–40).

⁵² *CP* 202 (ed. Fearn, 120.1–8).

⁵³ *Ibid.* (ed. Fearn, 120.23–25).

between mortal food and drink and spiritual food and drink is the best and most open way of communicating the importance of Christ's sacrifice.⁵⁴

SPIRITUAL SENSES AND ANTHROPOLOGY

The use of commemorative signs and actions instead of words alone, the use of familiar things, namely, bread and wine, the emphasis upon the present rather than the past, and the respect shown for human custom—all these things Peter the Venerable considered concessions meant to accommodate human limitations. The positive contribution that sight and, to some extent, touch and taste make to the process of spiritual restoration of the individual in *CP* 198 ff. is all the more remarkable in view of the abbot's tendency elsewhere to characterize these human limitations, in particular the dependence upon sensory perception, as reflections of Man's status not only as creature but as fallen creature. The distant background of this idea was the spiritualization that informed so much of patristic thought, especially that of the Alexandrians. This applies not only to Origen's heterodox understanding of the preexistence of souls and belief that the material world exists as a punishment for sin, but to a widespread and less openly objectionable outlook in which "the incarnation must appear as something provisional and transitional," and almost "as a 'distortion' of the purely spiritual into its opposite pole, matter, a distortion that was necessary for pedagogical and salvation-historical reasons in order to apprehend the distance of the material world from God and gradually lead it back to the realm of the spiritual and divine by a reverse movement."⁵⁵ In an immediate way, the monastic culture that shaped Peter the Venerable's anthropology and understanding of spiritual perception offered a reserved even diffident approach to the soul's embodiment in which the body, while not itself evil, was likely to furnish the occasion for temptation and sin, and in which the human reliance upon sensory perception appeared in rather gloomy terms as a feature of the postlapsarian condition. In this tradition discipline of the body and strict custody of the senses mark the path to spiritual growth.

An example of this tendency to picture spiritual development as a function of discipline of the body and strict custody of the senses appears in *De miraculis* 1.25, the story of a corrupt secular priest who was visited on his deathbed with

⁵⁴ *CP* 207 (ed. Fearn, 123.4–23).

⁵⁵ Hans Urs von Balthasar, "The Fathers, the Scholastics, and Ourselves," trans. Edward T. Oakes, *Communio: International Catholic Review* 24 (1997): 347–96, at 375. For a sketch of the reception of these ideas in the pre-scholastic medieval West, see Bernard McGinn, *The Golden Chain: A Study in the Theological Anthropology of Isaac of Stella* (Washington, D.C., 1972), 51–56.

infernal visions of threatening lions, a flaming river, and a fiery cauldron. Once again the author described how the manifestation of divine power is conformed to the limited comprehension of human beings, but this time with an implication that human nature in its pristine form would not have required such accommodation. Knowing that the "inner eye of the human mind is blinded by the screen of corporeal things," divine mercy uses visible appearances recognizable to human beings to foster love of unseen truth and fear of transcendent punishment. "Because human beings still living in the body could not be shown the terror of future punishment except through everyday words or through images of things commonly experienced, it pleased God to use these likenesses of bodies to show what the bodies of wicked deceased persons are by their own merits compelled to suffer."⁵⁶ While acknowledging that the same truth had been shown in ancient miracles, the abbot remarked that seeing or hearing of modern wonders confirms the teaching and "rouse[s] with new promptings those who, sluggish with the sleep of negligence, neglect the old ones."⁵⁷ As the work's modern editor has noted, the passage recalls the first chapters of book 4 of the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, where the Fall is said to entail the passage from spiritual vision and direct perception of the joys of heaven to spiritual blindness and the deprivation of the light of the mind that afforded that experience. The blindness of the present exile induces Adam's offspring to confuse less important visible things with more important invisible ones. While they may be told about the celestial homeland and its angelic citizens, carnal human beings doubt the truth of whatever cannot be seen with corporeal eyes. Just as a child who was born in prison would scarcely credit reports about the world outside his cell, human beings who lack a personal memory of what their progenitor once experienced will be likely to accept the visible, material world of their own experience as most real and most important.⁵⁸ Echoing an idea that

⁵⁶ *De miraculis* 1.25 (ed. Bouthillier, 78.121–79.139): "Facit hoc pia Conditoris miseratione, qui cernens corporalium rerum obiectu interiorem mentis humane oculum excecatum, quedam de spiritualibus rebus etiam per carnem quibusdam innotescere prestat, ut ad amanda siue timenda inuisibilia hoc saltem remedio, uel ammoneat, uel compellat. . . . Set quia terror supplicii futuri, non nisi per uerba usitata, uel per expertarum rerum imagines, hominibus adhuc in carne uiuentibus potest ostendi, placuit Deo per tales corporum similitudines ostendere, quid exute anime corporibus prauis exigentibus meritis cogantur tolerare."

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* (ed. Bouthillier, 79.139–43): "Que licet antiquioribus miraculis patrum temporibus demonstrata sint, uoluit tamen etiam diuina miseratione nouis reuelationibus priora confirmare, et eos qui uetera despiciunt, uelut negligentie somno torpentes, recentibus impulsionebus excitare." For discussion, see Torrell and Bouthillier, *Pierre le Vénérable et sa vision du monde*, 385–92.

⁵⁸ Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* 4.1 (ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, *Grégoire le Grand: Dialogues*, vol. 3, Sources Chrétiennes 265 [Paris, 1980], 18–22). Bouthillier (*De miraculis*, p. 78) notes this passage as well as the useful discussion of Claude Dagens, *Saint Grégoire le*

had become common in Christian ascetic discourse since Origen made use of it, Gregory the Great provided the abbot an image of the human predicament in which the spiritual eye's loss coincided with the physical eye's gain, and in which restoration depends upon disregarding our sensory experience of the visible and cultivating faith in the invisible.⁵⁹

This inverse relationship between physical and spiritual perception figures in *De miraculis* 1.8, where the author praised the acuity of the spiritual vision exhibited by the contemporary monk-priest Gerard. While his simplicity, obedience, and assiduous attention to the Cluniac liturgy were remarkable, Gerard's crowning virtue was an intense love of the Eucharist. Upon this sacrament he focused all his hope, and his tears of devotion showed that he offered himself along with the Son to the Father when he celebrated it. In Peter the Venerable's vivid description we find him "standing at the altar, deeply shaken by profuse weeping, his words broken by convulsive breathing, his chest weighed down with sighs"; he seemed "quite removed from human things and raised up to divine ones," dwelling in heaven "not only in mind but practically in body."⁶⁰ Unlike the viewer's affective response to the sight of the Eucharist as Peter the Venerable described it in *CP* 198, however, Gerard's response is provoked not by the physical appearance of bread and wine but by his keen perception of their invisible sacramental referent. "Who can easily relate how, with clear eye of faith, he did not admire the Lord Jesus concealed under the veil of the sacraments but contemplated him revealed? Outward appearance did not obscure his understanding, but as if with the apostles, the blessed virgin and Mary Magdalen, with a spiritual gaze he discerned [the Lord Jesus] walking on earth, hanging on the cross, and rising from the dead."⁶¹

Grand: Culture et expérience chrétiennes (Paris, 1977), 104–6. See also Carole Straw, *Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection* (Berkeley, 1988), 113 ff.; and for more references in the works of Gregory the Great to the loss of clear spiritual sight and the ascendance of sensory perception, see Gregorio Penco, "La dottrina dei sensi spirituali in S. Gregorio," *Benedictina* 17 (1970): 161–201, at 176 n. 128.

⁵⁹ For references to the inverse relationship between spiritual and sensory perception in the works of Gregory the Great, see Penco, "La dottrina dei sensi spirituali," 175 n. 126, 179, 181, and 186; and see 166 n. 42 for a few examples of the same theme from the works of twelfth-century authors. On the idea's background in the works of Origen, see Hans Urs von Balthasar, *The Glory of the Lord: A Theological Aesthetics*, vol. 1: *Seeing the Form*, trans. Erasmo Leiva-Merikakis (San Francisco, 1982), 369.

⁶⁰ *De miraculis* 1.8 (ed. Bouthillier, 26.80–85): "Videres eum assistentem altari, profundo plerumque fletu totum concuti, uerba singultibus interrumpi, grauib[us] pectus suspiriis urgeri. Cerner[is] ut intelligi dabatur prorsus ab humanis alienatum, ad diuina subleuatum, non tantum mente, set ipso pene corpore sic in celestibus conuersari. . . ."

⁶¹ *Ibid.* (ed. Bouthillier, 26.70–76): "Quis enim facile referre ualeat, quam claro ille fidei oculo Ih[esu]m Dominum sub uelamine sacramentorum, non uelatum admirabatur, set reuelatum contemplabatur? Nullam intellectui eius spet[ies] exterior caliginem inferebat, set

Thus the catalyst of Gerard's profound experience of communion was not the sensation of bread and wine but instead the ability to project his awareness beyond appearance to reality. True to the dichotomizing language of his monastic culture, Peter the Venerable here presented a sharp contrast between the darkness of outward appearances and the clarity of the eye of faith, the material veiling the Lord and the spiritual gaze revealing him.

For the same reason Peter the Venerable praised ascetics who strive to master their bodies and to limit the activity of their senses in a regimen aimed at purification and ascent. Gaining control over one's sensory, corporeal self is one means of forgetting the things of the world; when the memory is emptied of worldly things, it may be refilled with the truth of Scripture which enables the believer to realize the claim of Philippians 3:20, "our citizenship is in heaven."⁶² *De miraculis* 1.20 is the story of Benedict, a monk of Cluny who led a particularly heroic life of active cultivation of the virtues alternating with contemplative withdrawal and forgetfulness of the world. So successful was he in transcending mortal things and almost sharing the angelic vision of the Creator that at the moment of his death his experience unfolded on a double register, at once on earth and in heaven. Benedict was rewarded with such keen supersensory perception that he saw the shining concursus of angels coming to welcome as a citizen of heaven the man whose soul had for so long dwelled there in anticipation.⁶³ Something similar could be achieved in community worship as well. Peter the Venerable admired the Carthusians who in their conventual prayer "turned their eyes to the ground while projecting their hearts into heaven," and whose physical appearance and tone of voice showed them to be deeply focused upon "things that go beyond the visible."⁶⁴ As for ascetics who fix their eyes on heaven rather than the ground, even they do so as a sign

uelut cum apostolis in terra gradientem, cum beata uirgine in cruce pendentem, cum Maria Magdalene a mortuis resurgentem, intuitu spirituali cernebat." See *ibid.* (ed. Bouthillier, 25–26) on Gerard's character and virtues.

⁶² Coleman's account of the "blanched" memory of St. Bernard, *Ancient and Medieval Memories*, 169–91, is a good indication of the place of forgetfulness in the monastic reconfiguration of the self, for Philippians 3:20, see *De miraculis* 1.20 (ed. Bouthillier, 61.84).

⁶³ *De miraculis* 1.20 (ed. Bouthillier, 61, on his way of life; and 62, on his deathbed vision). The phrase "double registre," which Torrell and Bouthillier use in reference to the story of the vision of the dying priest recounted in *De miraculis* 1.25 (*Pierre le Vénérable et sa vision du monde*, 386), is equally applicable in the present case.

⁶⁴ *De miraculis* 2.27 (ed. Bouthillier, 151.73–79): "... in ecclesia cuncti conueniunt, ibique non perfunctorie ut quidam, set intentissime oculis in terram demissis, cordibus celo infixis, Deo preces, Deo gratiarum actiones persoluunt, totumque suum tam interiorem quam exteriorem hominem, habitu, uoce, uultu, rebus uisibilia excedentibus, spretis cunctis aliis, intentum immo affixum esse ostendunt."

of their transcendent aspiration, not because they entertain the possibility of contemplating God with the eye of the body.⁶⁵

We note again that the abbot believed that an inverse relationship existed between the full spiritual perception of the future life and the words and ideas of human discourse of this world. No less than familiar objects and actions he considered words and metaphors to be veils under which divine truth is presented to human beings incapable of apprehending that truth directly. The elect will perceive unmediated truth in a manner that transcends the ordinary differences between seeing things and hearing words. Because they are spiritual, the spiritual senses function in ways that do not wholly correspond to their corporeal counterparts, and for this reason the odd metaphors sometimes used to describe them, such as the spiritual ear seeing or the spiritual eye hearing, are more apt than they might seem.⁶⁶ The author discussed the place of words in the economy of revelation in a letter arguing against the view that in the Gospels Jesus never openly and without concealment called himself God. Like a compassionate physician or a wise teacher providence has presented divinity to human beings gradually. Just as the phrasing of Old Testament prophecies of the Lord's advent was meant for the weak minds of people who expected not God but a human messiah, so the Lord's assumption of flesh was milk for people not yet ready for the solid food of his deity. While some were able to understand that he was both God and man, the Pharisees and most other Jews could not accept the truth of the Incarnation,⁶⁷ and so Jesus tempered his words to them "lest sudden brightness more darken than illuminate the still weak intellectual eyes. . . ."⁶⁸ Both the assumption of human flesh and the use of reserved language appear in this text as veils or coverings that protect the inadequate spiritual perception of human beings from the splendor of the Lord.⁶⁹ Certainly the words in which he spoke of himself concealed the truth only from the unfaithful, not from believers. But even those capable of understanding the unveiled verbal disclosure of his dual nature perceived deity as mediated by Jesus' body and words, not as it will be perceived in the future life.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ *De miraculis* 2.29 (ed. Bouthillier, 155.54–59).

⁶⁶ See the examples cited by Penco, "La dottrina dei sensi spirituali," 172–73.

⁶⁷ See *Epistola ad Petrum de Joanne* (PL 189:491D).

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* (PL 189:495A): "... ne subitus fulgor infirmos adhuc illorum illius temporis hominum intellectuales oculos magis obscuraret quam illustraret, eadem sua verba modis congruentibus temperabat." This language also appears in *Adversus Iudeorum inveteratam duritiem* 3 (ed. Friedman, 43.45–46).

⁶⁹ *Epistola ad Petrum de Joanne* (PL 189:492A, 493D, 496A, 496C, 497C, and 500D).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* (PL 189:496C), on what the faithful discern; but passages such as *Adversus Iudeorum inveteratam duritiem* 4 (ed. Friedman, 89.754–55), "Nam ecce oculi uestri Deum

The ideas expressed in these passages harmonize with the abbot's anthropology insofar as it may be extrapolated from his comments in Letter 37, an apologetic against the view that Christ assumed only a human body, not a human soul. Although "the whole man is at once soul and body"⁷¹ in accordance with the creator's design, the soul is "by far more worthy" than the body which is as contemptible as the mud from which it was fashioned. The substance of the body exists and enjoys a certain "suitable harmony" of its members but alone is powerless to sustain even its own material integrity for any length of time and is not "capable of [God's] highest majesty." It is the soul that enables the creature to be drawn to the creator through knowledge, loving desire, and spontaneous worship, for according to Scripture (Wisdom 7:7 or 7:27), "not the body but the soul of the righteous man is said to be the seat of wisdom, and not otherwise than through his image which is not in the body but in the human soul is God said to sit, walk, dwell in holy men through the mediation of grace."⁷² Furthermore the image of God resides only in the higher, rational part of the soul. In keeping with traditional language Peter the Venerable pictured the soul in hierarchical fashion with its inferior parts, life and sensation, on the level of animals, and its superior part, reason, somehow participating in divinity. The vital and sensing parts of the soul exercise these lower functions through the body which becomes the vector for the soul's experience of the "hardships of infancy, troubles of boyhood, hunger, thirst, fatigue, work and

olim uidentes excaecati sunt, gentium oculi usque ad Christi tempora clausi ab eo aperti sunt," should be understood as metaphor. Also metaphorical, and the subject of a separate study under preparation, are the abbot's references to the *oculus simplex* (Mt 6:22 and Lc 11:34), most of which are concentrated in Letter 111 (ed. Constable, 274–99, especially at 281–85).

⁷¹ Letter 37 (ed. Constable, 119): "... totum uero hominem hoc est simul animam et carnem. . . ." See also *Epistola ad Petrum de Joanne* (PL 189:500A, for "animae corporibus mistae" and "anima illa carni admista"; and 506B, for "anima rationalis et caro unus est homo"). For an outline of the main solutions to this problem known in the twelfth century, see McGinn, *Golden Chain*, 160–61.

⁷² Letter 37 (ed. Constable, 119–20): "Dignior inquam carne anima est. . . . Fecit ut anima esset uitalis, sensibilis, rationalis, cum nichil carni preter luteam originem, et membrorum corporalium congruentem armoniam tribuerit. . . . Qua ratione fieri potuit, ut natura quae per se nec ratione intelligere, nec sensu sentire, nec qualibet uita uiuere potest, summae illius maiestatis capax esse ualuerit, cum constet, quod nulla creatura creatoris susceptibilis esse possit, nisi eum et intellectu agnoscere, et amore diligere, et spontaneo ualeat obsequio uenerari? Et cum secundum scripturam, non corpus sed anima iusti sedes sapientiae esse dicatur, nec nisi per imaginem suam quae non in corpore sed in anima humana est, deus in sanctis hominibus sedere, ambulare, inhabitare gratia mediante dicatur. . . ." For parallel statements in other twelfth-century authors, see Robert Javelet, *Image et ressemblance au douzième siècle de Saint Anselme à Alain de Lille*, 2 vols. (Strasbourg, 1967), 2:146 n. 58.

rest, sadness and joy, torments and death.”⁷³ The god-like qualities of the soul’s rational part are its immutability, impassibility, and immortality: “A certain image or likeness of deity is given by the creator to rational substance, which whether blessed or miserable must be forever and eternal.”⁷⁴ The overall noetic tendency of this account is clear: the soul’s superiority to the body finds a parallel in reason’s ascendancy over the vital and sensing parts of the soul. Comprising a mixture of the four primordial types or species of creation, essence, life, sensation, and reason, the human person shares the nature of brute animals below and, as rational substance, participates in divinity above. Less satisfying is his discussion of the vital and sensing parts of the soul. Because he does not take up the issue of human restoration in Letter 37, it remains unclear whether sensory perception has a positive role in the process of conversion, even in its early phases. While loving desire for God appears alongside knowledge of God and spontaneous worship of God as the activities of the soul by which creature is drawn to creator, the abbot’s psychology is too sketchy to reveal love’s place within the soul or its relation to sensory perception. Some contemporaries of Peter the Venerable, notably St. Bernard, located perfect love of God in the will and the rational part of the mind, and tended to separate the higher manifestations of that love from sensory experience and the mental images derived from it. Love “is not a matter of sentiments and affective emotions, which are most frequently illusory, but rather consists of an effective accord of the will with God’s will in the observance of the commandments.”⁷⁵ On this view the

⁷³ Letter 37 (ed. Constable, 122): “Quae si ita se habent, cum anima per corpus, et corpus ex anima sentiat et patiat. . . . Patietur igitur deitas merores infantiae, labores pueritiae, esuriet panis, sitiet fons, fatigabitur uirtus, laborabit requies, tristabitur gaudium, et ad ultimum tormentis dirissimis impassibilis torquebitur, aeternus deficiet, uita morietur.” The author’s point here is that, since *deitas* was joined with but did not replace *anima* in the person of Christ, Christ’s *anima* rather than his *deitas* was the locus of human experience, and that *anima* experienced these human things through *corpus*. At CP 198 (ed. Fearn, 117.28–29), in reference to the Passion the abbot wrote that Christ’s *caro* was tortured for human beings and that his *anima* was saddened for them.

⁷⁴ Letter 37 (ed. Constable, 124): “Quaedam namque imago uel similitudo deitatis rationali substantiae a creatore indita est, quam uel beatam uel miseram, semper tamen necesse est esse aeternam.” See also *Sermo de transfiguratione Domini* (PL 189:970D): “gratias tibi agit homo humilis factura tua, sublimis imago tua”; and *ibid.* (col. 971A): “quod illum, quem signaculum tuae similitudinis feceras.” On the traditional character of this idea, see Javelet, *Image et ressemblance* 1:169–36.

⁷⁵ The quoted line comes from Aelred of Rievaulx, *The Mirror of Charity*, trans. Elizabeth Connor with introduction and notes by Charles Dumont, Cistercian Fathers Series 17 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1990), intro., 51; see also Michael Casey, *Athirst for God: Spiritual Desire in Bernard of Clairvaux’s Sermons on the Song of Songs*, Cistercian Studies Series 77 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1988), 94–110, esp. 104–5; Coleman’s account of St. Bernard’s “blanched” memory (*Ancient and Medieval Memories*, 169–91, esp. 176–84) is relevant here.

soul's involvement with sensible things may impede the reorientation of the person in accordance with the soul's spiritual pole; progress involves striving for ascent and the purification of the rational soul from the temporal and bodily world. Certainly Peter the Venerable's comments in Letter 37 could be viewed within such a framework, but since the framework is not one that he expressed we cannot be sure.

The abbot's most positive statements about the body concern not the actual human body but that of the resurrection. In his sermon on the Transfiguration he said that the sight of the Lord's shining face and dazzling clothes encouraged the disciples to hope for the future deification of their own flesh. It offered assurance that on the eschatological eighth day the "immortal bodies" human beings had lost would be recovered, and that the "thorns of our flesh and the trials of our carnal desires" would be supplanted.⁷⁶ Among the redemptive works of Christ was to show how corruptible, mortal flesh might assume incorruptibility and immortality. Equating Christ with the sun, the author explained that the sun had been obscured by a cloud but then for a time shone brightly with the cloud removed: "What is the cloud removed? Not the flesh but the weakness of the flesh briefly removed";⁷⁷ the spectacle of human flesh glorified and deified by the splendor of Christ the sun informed the apostles of the lightness of flesh not weighted down with the burden of sin. But this was a promise for the future. At present those who aspire to have a place in the Lord's white robe must "castigate and subject the body to servitude," washing away the stain and filth that makes them unworthy, and replacing the deformity of vice with the shining brightness of virtue.⁷⁸ In a sermon on the relics of St. Marcellinus, the abbot reminded his audience of the honor due even to the saint's "lifeless body" and "bones lacking in sense." "God, the creator of spiritual and corporeal things, . . . established the human creature and, in an excellent operation, joined it together from rational spirit and flesh . . . , one person of man conjoined from [two] diverse substances. And glorifying the unity of the wonderful conjoining with felicity appropriate to the proper nature of each [of the diverse substances], he bestowed justice on the soul and incorruptibility on the

⁷⁶ See *Sermo de transfiguratione Domini* (PL 189:953B, for the hope inspired by the sight; col. 956A, for "resumpta . . . immortalia corpora"; and col. 958B, for "nequaquam ultra terra corporis nostri spinas, et tribulos carnalium voluptatum germinabit . . .").

⁷⁷ Ibid. (PL 189:959A-B): "Quid est nube remota? Non carne, sed carnis infirmitate ad momentum sublata."

⁷⁸ Ibid. (PL 189:961C-D): "Et tu igitur, qui Christo adjungi exoptas, labora, exerce te ipsum, castiga corpus tuum et servituti subijce; ablue quidquid foedum, quidquid immundum, quidquid tegumento corporis Christi indignum est, et remotis vitiorum omnibus informatibus niveum tibi virtutum adhibeto candorem. . . ."

body. . . ."⁷⁹ The author went on to adapt the vocabulary of organic growth and germination, the Pauline language of the body that is sown physical and raised spiritual (1 Corinthians 15:44), to express the continuity between the physical remains of the present and the resurrected body of the future.⁸⁰

In similar fashion the abbot's direct positive statements about the human senses concerned the restored spiritual senses of the resurrection, not Man's actual physical senses. In the sermon on the Transfiguration he alluded to the eschatological recovery of spiritual perception among the elect by writing that the sunlight that shone through his deified body was the same light that the citizens of heaven enjoy directly, not mediated through even a sinless body. While on earth we look into a darkened mirror with faith and limited understanding; there we shall see face to face in recognition and full understanding. At the Transfiguration the promise given to Moses so long before (Exodus 33:18 ff.) was fulfilled when he saw the "back of God," or as Peter the Venerable glossed the passage, when he saw "Jesus deified in the flesh" and the "glorification of [Christ's] assumed humanity."⁸¹

Although often insistent about the inferior and transient character of the senses and their inadequacy to perceive the divine, the abbot recognized that during the present life the scope of spiritual perception has strict limits. He had no doctrine of ecstatic contemplation and consistently denied the possibility of experiencing the divine essence in this life. This was true of the monk-priest Gerard whose penetrating spiritual gaze discerned the Lord veiled by the appearance of bread and wine in the Eucharist. What he perceived with his clear eye of faith was the incarnate Lord of the Gospel, not the eternal Son, and the reward for his faith was a corporeal vision not of divine majesty in itself, but of the infant Jesus attended by his mother and an angel. The theophany promised to Moses during the wandering in Sinai (Exodus 33:23) was fulfilled when he

⁷⁹ The translation is from Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York, 1995), 178; for the Latin text, see Constable, "Petri Venerabilis sermones tres," 266; and for "exanimata corpora" and "ossa sensu carentia," see *ibid.*, 265

⁸⁰ Constable, "Petri Venerabilis sermones tres," 270; for a full appreciation of the abbot's use of the Pauline seed metaphor, see Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*, 176–80.

⁸¹ See *Sermo de transfiguratione Domini* (PL 189:959B–C): ". . . lux, quae illuminat omnem hominem, hodie resplenduit, hodie ipsam carnem glorificans, et deificatam ostendens apostolis per seipsum, et per apostolos mundo revalavit"; and *ibid.* (col. 965C): "Nam sicut probatum constat, Dei anteriora ante omnia existens et divinitas, Dei posteriora postmodum assumpta humanitas. Hujus humanitatis hodiernam glorificationem Moyses intuens, quod promissum fuerat, sibi redditum gavisus est, nec immerito. Agnoscebatur enim quod ante praedixerat, et se mundumque salvandum ejusdem humanitatis humilitate gaudebat. Unde et sibi olim dictum recolebat: *Cum pertransiero videbis posteriora mea.*" For discussion of these passages, see Bodard, "Le mystère du corps du Seigneur," 106–7 and 118.

saw Jesus transfigured, the unique instance of created human nature deified, rather than the substance of the creator, the Lord's face.⁸² In a discussion of whether the blessed virgin Mary enjoyed wisdom higher than that of the angels while she was alive, Peter the Venerable concluded that it was inferior to theirs because she perceived God less clearly than they. Despite her superadded grace, surpassing merit, and perfection of life, Mary's spiritual gaze was less discerning than that of the angels. Although she "carried in her womb, gave birth to, nursed, nurtured, sustained the Wisdom of God clothed in human flesh, nevertheless while she lived she did not know that Wisdom as did the angels, or comprehend him with his face exposed and his covering cast aside."⁸³ Through faith and the plenitude of divine love she admired the Lord hidden in flesh; they adore him as he is with his father, their perception interrupted by no obstacle of the flesh. "Therefore, those who discerned Christ, the Virtue of God and the Wisdom of God much more clearly, subtly, perfectly than did the Blessed Virgin while she was alive, were they not much wiser than the Blessed Virgin because of the same eternal and supreme Wisdom that they saw?"⁸⁴ Likewise scriptural accounts of Jacob, Moses, the elders of Israel, Isaiah, Micah, and others seeing God should be understood to mean not that these people saw him in the manner of the future life but that they perceived some aspect of God in a way appropriate to each case.⁸⁵

LITERARY ANTECEDENTS OF *CP* 198 ff.

It seems clear that a review of *CP* 198 ff. allows us to recover a fuller idea of the importance of the senses in the anthropology of Peter the Venerable and

⁸² See *Sermo de transfiguratione Domini* (PL 189:965B–C), where the author appears more certain than either Augustine or Gregory the Great that the theophany was not a revelation of God "sicuti est"; on Augustine and Gregory the Great, see David N. Bell, *The Image and Likeness: The Augustinian Spirituality of William of St. Thierry*, Cistercian Studies Series 78 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1984), 65–71; and Robert Gillet's introduction to *Grégoire le Grand: Morales sur Job*, vol. 1, 2d ed., Sources Chrétiennes 32 bis (Paris, 1975), 29–31.

⁸³ Letter 94 (ed. Constable, 249): "Licet enim sublimis illa et supercaelestis uirgo . . . amictam carne humana in utero portauerit, genuerit, lactauerit, fouerit, nutruerit, non tamen dum mortalis uixit, eam ut angeli agnouit, uel sicut illi reuelata facie et abiecto uelamine comprehendit" (see also p. 242, where the question is posed and Mary's grace and merit are mentioned). Bernard of Clairvaux also wrote that for Mary Christ's body was a shadow; see his *Sermones super Cantica canticorum*, Sermo 31.9 (ed. J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais, *S. Bernardi Opera* 1 [Rome, 1957], 225.16 ff.).

⁸⁴ Letter 94 (ed. Constable, 249): "Qui igitur Christum dei uirtutem et dei sapientiam, longe clarius, subtilius, perfectius, beata uirgine dum mortalis uixit cernebant, nonne ipsa aeterna ac summa sapientia quam conspicebant, longe sapientiores beata uirgine erant?"

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* (ed. Constable, 246).

suggests that his understanding of the worshiper's approach to the Eucharist was more closely bound to sensory perception, especially that of sight, than has been acknowledged. The abbot's account of the Eucharist of course fits into a longer tradition of discussions and commentaries on the Mass, and the doctrine the *CP* expresses is quite traditional. But the attention he gave to the sight of the Host and the impact upon viewers he anticipated it would have were not themes emphasized in this literature before the first half of the twelfth century. Certainly it had long been recognized that the Mass was in some ways a spectacle for the eyes. In terms of daily practice, in most Western churches anyone present during Mass could see the eucharistic rite from start to finish. While crowding on feast days might obstruct the line of sight of some observers, and the presence of a chancel screen might reduce the rite's visibility for those in the nave, even more than the others, this sacrament had an impressive corporeal appearance and visible rite "under" or "behind" which divine grace operated. The abbot's treatment of this issue makes sense in light of certain new features of sacramental piety, for example the elevation of the Host. Although it is not clear that Peter the Venerable even knew of this practice, let alone that he had it in mind when he wrote of viewer response to the Eucharist, his remarks in *CP* 198 ff. may be taken as one indication of an awareness among ecclesiastics of popular interest in seeing the consecrated elements.⁸⁶

It is not until the early twelfth century that we encounter substantial expressions of interest in seeing the rite and discussions of the impact of that sight upon viewers.⁸⁷ Before that time the sacrament's cover of corporeal things had attracted the attention of ecclesiastical authors interested in exploring the meaning of the rite. They explained the typological relationship between Hebrew and Christian sacrifices; they discussed the moral, ecclesiological, and eschatological significance of each part of the rite; and they considered the difference between the sacrament's physical form and spiritual efficacy. The ninth

⁸⁶ See Édouard Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l'hostie et les origines de la dévotion au saint-sacrement* (Paris, 1926), who saw devotion to the Eucharist as an expression of popular devotion to Christ; Grant, "The Elevation of the Host," who mentions *CP* 198 at p. 248; and Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi. The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991), 1–82, whose explanatory model is more complex and more satisfying than that of Dumoutet or Grant. For the background of high medieval eucharistic piety in the late antique and early medieval veneration of saints' relics, see G. J. C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction* (Leiden, 1995).

⁸⁷ For general orientation, see Gary Macy, "Commentaries on the Mass During the Early Scholastic Period," in *Medieval Liturgy: A Book of Essays*, ed. Lizette Larson-Miller (New York, 1997), 25–59; idem, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period: A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament According to the Theologians c. 1080–c. 1220* (Oxford, 1984); and David N. Power, *The Eucharistic Mystery: Revitalizing the Tradition* (New York, 1992; rpt. 1995).

century was fairly productive of literature of this kind, and the Carolingian synthesis of patristic and early medieval commentary on the Mass was as fundamental for later discussions of the sacrament as was the much better known ninth-century controversy over the real presence in the Eucharist. A clear example of the synthetic tendency is Hrabanus Maurus, abbot of Fulda, whose *De institutione clericorum* (819) includes a "De ordine missae." Although he was aware that the Mass transpires before the eyes of those present, when he mentioned the response of communicants to the rite the abbot assumed that what they hear outweighs what they see.⁸⁸

More innovative and substantial are the works of another early ninth-century author, Amalarius, bishop of Metz. In his major spiritual commentary on the Mass, the *Liber officialis*, which appeared in several recensions starting in 821, Amalarius discussed the rite as a reenactment of the Passion by quotation in which the officiant, his assistants and the communicants assume roles that have symbolic and figural meaning. For example, the priest takes the place of Christ, the sacrifice on the altar corresponds to the Crucifixion, and the enthronement of the bishop after the introit is the earthly counterpart of the Ascension.⁸⁹ Amalarius clearly understood that the liturgy is in some ways a spectacle that will engage the eye as well as the ear of those present. His discussion of the spiritual significance of the altar, clerical vestments, and the actions and gestures of the Mass assumes that these things will be seen.⁹⁰ The

⁸⁸ In a widely known formula borrowed from Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 6.19.40, Hrabanus Maurus affirmed that like the other sacraments, "virtus diuina" effects the Eucharist "sub tegumento corporalium rerum. . ." (*Liber de sacris ordinibus* 4 [PL 112:1168D] and *De ecclesiastica disciplina* [PL 112:1219AB]). In *Liber de sacris ordinibus* 19 (PL 112:1187B–C), he states that the elements of the sacrament and the actions of the priest commemorate and re-present the Passion. On the visible character of the Mass, see his *De institutione clericorum libri tres* 33, "De ordine missae" (ed. Alois Knoepfler [Munich, 1900], 78); on the anticipated response of communicants to the words of the rite, see *ibid.* (ed. Knoepfler, 73 and 74–75).

⁸⁹ For these "similitudines," see Amalarius, *Liber officialis*, Prooemium, 7 (ed. J. M. Hanssens, *Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia*, 3 vols., Studi e testi 138–40 [Vatican City, 1948–50], 2:14), and *ibid.* 3.10.1 (2:290). O. B. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages: Essays in the Origin and Early History of Modern Drama* (Baltimore, 1965), Essay II, "The Mass as Sacred Drama," 35–79, follows Amalarius closely but does not observe the distinction between mimesis or dramatization, which the Mass is only in part, and sacramental quotation or reenactment by quotation, which the Mass is of its essence. On this, see Peter Casarella, "Questioning the Primacy of Method: On Sokolowski's *Eucharistic Presence*," *Communio: International Catholic Review* 22 (1995): 668–701, at 686.

⁹⁰ See Amalarius, *Liber officialis* 2.15.1 (ed. Hanssens, 2:236), on vestments; 3.5.1 (2:271), on the sight of the episcopal introit; 3.26.6 (2:345) on the sight of the subdeacons watching the work of the priest; 3.26.9 (2:346), on the sight of the action of the archdeacon; 3.28.5 (2:354), on the correspondence between physical gesture and prayerful inner disposition; 3.28.8 (2:355), on the rite's power to remind us of the Passion; 3.30.1 and 3 (2:359–60),

participants are said to teach by example as well as word.⁹¹ But aside from these comments that reveal a de facto awareness of what the congregation sees, Amalarius did not dwell on the viewer's experience and did not raise viewer response as an issue. As far as he was concerned, the Mass unfolds beneath the gaze of the enthroned bishop,⁹² or before the all-seeing eyes of the Lord.⁹³ He showed more interest in the impact of words upon listeners than that of the spectacle upon viewers, and this was the case whether he considered the ideas words convey or the manner in which they are spoken. The *Gloria* and *Alleluia* are omitted from the Mass for the dead because the sweetness and joy their words convey would be inappropriate under the circumstances; the "Vir erat in terra" should be repeated in a strained tone of voice the better to remind the audience of Job's suffering; and the *Kyrie* comes early in the canon because its words help the priest overcome sensory distraction and focus the mind on invisible things.⁹⁴ The lector acts as a teacher in the school of the Lord, reading the divine law so that beginners may understand it; his initiation of the responsory should open the hearts of the people and lead them to reflect with compunction on their own sinful condition.⁹⁵ The cantor's office too is pivotal because its success depends not only upon the objective memorial content of the hymns and psalms chanted, but upon quality of the singing, for music has a natural power to move the spirit; the cantor's voice should be melodious, so that by singing God's praise he encourages others to do likewise; and his sweet music may reach even those who have suffered from a spiritual deafness.⁹⁶ Finally, Amalarius expressed his wish that hearing the words "Ite missa est" will direct the attention of the congregation to the heavenly fatherland and cause them to desire to be there with Christ.⁹⁷

on the sight of the subdeacons presenting themselves at the altar; and 3.5.30 (2:281), on the sight of the priest kissing the altar, which reminds the viewer of Christ's advent.

⁹¹ Ibid. 3.5.34 (ed. Hanssens, 2:282), on the appearance of the acolytes, whose action of holding candles indicates that ministers should instruct more by deeds than words.

⁹² Ibid. 3.10.5 (ed. Hanssens, 2:291), linking the elevated placement of the episcopal throne to the literal meaning of the word "episcopus;" this is repeated at *Eclogae de ordine romano* 13 (ed. Hanssens, *Amalarii episcopi Opera* 3:243); see also *Liber officialis* 3.5.12 (ed. Hanssens, 2:275), where the bishop is said to enter the church after the Gospel codex so that his eyes may behold that which should constantly be in his mind.

⁹³ Ibid. 3.23.8–9 (ed. Hanssens, 2:331–32), quoting Cyprian.

⁹⁴ Ibid. 3.44.1 (ed. Hanssens, 2:381); 3.39.2 (2:373); and 3.6.4–5 (2:284).

⁹⁵ Ibid. 3.11.22 (ed. Hanssens, 2:299); see also 3.11.15 (2:296–97) and 3.11.20 (2:298–99).

⁹⁶ Ibid. 3.5.28 and 3.11.15 (ed. Hanssens, 2:280 and 296–97); 3.3.6, 3.5.7, and 3.16.3 (2:267, 273, and 304); 3.11.9 and 11 (2:295–96), quoting Bede.

⁹⁷ Ibid. 3.36.6 (ed. Hanssens, 2:370).

In his *De corpore et sanguine Domini* (ca. 831), a work that Peter the Venerable seems to have known, Paschasius Radbertus, a monk of Corbie, concentrated on the communicant's faith in the reality behind the appearance of bread and wine, not on the communicant's response to the sight of the elements and rite. To be sure, isolated comments show that Radbertus understood that the visible sacrament is meant to instill deeper faith in the saving power of invisible grace.⁹⁸ In this respect, the appearance and sensible character of the sacrament, like the Incarnation itself, hold a place in the wider divine plan to lead carnal and weak human beings to the perception of the divinity of the Father.⁹⁹ The visible sacrament of his body and blood nourishes our faith "more abundantly."¹⁰⁰ Its daily repetition teaches us the depth of Christ's love for us, and shows that our unity with him is physical as well as spiritual.¹⁰¹ But when Radbertus dwelled on the spiritual significance of sight, it was in the context of miracles that unexpectedly manifest the real presence of the Lord, exposing what is usually hidden behind the appearance of the elements. He considered such miracles wonderful signs meant to confirm the faith of those too weak to concentrate their attention on invisible truth. Radbertus distinguished between the mystery of the sacrament, which we approach through faith, and a miracle, which we perceive through the senses, and which is meant to win over doubters and to strengthen the faith of believers.¹⁰² Because he concentrated on the hidden power of the sacrament, not its external appearance, there is no substantial precedent here for the treatment that Peter the Venerable gave to the sight of the Eucharist in *CP* 198 ff.¹⁰³

While the abbot of Cluny mentioned three recent or contemporary authors as the main sources of his own discussion of the Eucharist, namely, Guitmund of Aversa, Lanfranc of Canterbury, and Alger of Liège, in the present context the influence of the last of these authors was most important.¹⁰⁴ Alger was trained

⁹⁸ Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine Domini* 3 (ed. B. Paulus, CCCM 16 [Turnhout, 1969], 23.2–24.13).

⁹⁹ Ibid. 3 and 4 (ed. Paulus, 24–25 and 28–29).

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. 4 (ed. Paulus, 30.74–78): "... reliquid nobis hoc sacramentum uisibilem [uisibile in] figuram et caracterem carnis et sanguinis, ut per haec mens nostra et caro nostra ad inuisibilia et spiritalia capescenda per fidem uberius nutriatur." For discussion, see Marta Cristiani, "La controversia eucaristica nella cultura del secolo IX," *Studi medievali*, 3d ser., 9 (1968): 167–233, at 177–78.

¹⁰¹ Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine Domini* 9 (ed. Paulus, 57.127–45).

¹⁰² Ibid. 13–14 (ed. Paulus, 85.36–86.18). On Radbertus's use of miracles, see Cristiani, "La controversia eucaristica," 186–90.

¹⁰³ Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine Domini* 14 (ed. Paulus, 91.176–92.188).

¹⁰⁴ See *CP* 153 (ed. Fearn, 88.7), with reference to Guitmund, *De corporis et sanguinis Christi veritate in Eucharistia libri tres* (PL 149:1427–94), and Lanfranc, *De corpore et san-*

in the cathedral school at Liège and eventually became a canon there before taking monastic vows at Cluny, where he remained until his death sometime before 1145. In his treatise on the Eucharist, called *De sacramentis corporis et sanguinis Domini*, finished sometime between 1110 and 1121, Alger paid some attention to the commemorative aspect of the sacrament and included observations that clearly inspired at least some of what Peter the Venerable later wrote, in particular on the importance of actually seeing the sacrament.¹⁰⁵ Both memory and affection turn up in his consideration of why a visible sacrifice was instituted for the invisible God. Paraphrasing John 4:24 ("God is spirit, and those who worship him must worship in spirit and truth.") and Psalm 50:19 (Vulgate: "The sacrifice acceptable to God is a contrite spirit; a contrite and humble heart, O God, you will not despise"), Alger pondered the seeming incongruity between the visible appearance of the elements of the Eucharist and the invisible deity. He resolved the question with the observation that the Lord wished to show us the presence of his invisible body in the visible sacrament "so that in this way it would better rouse our memory to the recollection of the grace of his piety."¹⁰⁶ Just as our temporal life is sustained not from a source within us but by food and drink provided by God, so the visible sacrament reminds us that we lost access to eternal life through our own fault and regained it thanks alone to the Lord. Paul (Romans 1:20) had written that creatures understand and see the invisible things of the Lord through the things of creation. In similar fashion, the Lord wished the sign of his invisible presence to be his sacrament, "so that in this way rendering our mind more certain of his grace, he would cause our affection to be more ardent toward him."¹⁰⁷ In other words, the sacrifice on the altar has the visible appearance of bread and wine because the sight of the Eucharist is especially effective in rousing the viewer's memory and prompting the viewer to reflect on the grace the Lord has shown mankind, but also because a visible sign of the Lord's presence in the sacrament

guine Domini adversus Berengarium Turonensem liber (PL 150:407–42), who said almost nothing about viewer response to the outer appearance of the Eucharist.

¹⁰⁵ Alger of Liège, *De sacramentis corporis et sanguinis Domini* (PL 180:739–54); see Nicholas M. Haring, "A Study in the Sacramentology of Alger of Liège," *Mediaeval Studies* 20 (1958): 41–78.

¹⁰⁶ Alger of Liège, *De sacramentis corporis et sanguinis Domini* 2.2 (PL 180:814C): "... ut sic nostram magis excitaret memoriam ad recolendam tantae suae pietatis gratiam." For remarks on this passage, see Louis Brigué, *Alger de Liège: Un théologien de l'eucharistie au début du XII^e siècle* (Paris, 1936), 150.

¹⁰⁷ Alger of Liège, *De sacramentis corporis et sanguinis Domini* 2.2 (PL 180:814D): "... sic invisibilis praesentiae suae signum sacramentum suum esse voluit, ut sic intellectum nostrum de sua reddens gratia certiorum, affectum nostrum faceret erga se ardentiorum."

strengthens the viewer's conviction about the efficacy of the sacrament and inspires more ardent love toward its divine author.

Brief references to the communicant's response to the sight of the Eucharist occur here and there in *De sacramentis corporis et sanguinis Domini*. The appearance of bread in the sacrament stimulates the memory of the Passion and fends off the sleepy oblivion that enervates the devotion of faith.¹⁰⁸ At another point, reproducing a passage he attributed to St. Jerome, Alger wrote that the commemoration of the altar is left to us "like a keepsake given in parting by one friend to another, which as often as he sees it reminds him of the giver's benefits and friendship; [and] which if the friend's love is true he will not be able to see without [feeling] great longing or [shedding] tears."¹⁰⁹ The daily sacrifice of the Eucharist "figures the Passion" in a way that strengthens memory, increases devotion, and provokes imitation of Christ.¹¹⁰ Alger often wrote of the emotional and moral impact of the sacrament without associating it with the sensible aspect of the bread and wine.¹¹¹ Although in many cases his language seems to anticipate that of *CP* 198 ff., nowhere did Alger give as much space to a discussion of the effect on viewers of the sight of the sacrament as did Peter the Venerable, nor did he explicitly compare sight and hearing. To be sure, the abbot of Cluny acknowledged a debt to Alger's work, and the signs of a general dependence are quite evident in the discussion of the Eucharist in his treatise. But aside from the passages that have been discussed here, there is little on the affective response of viewers in Alger's work.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. 1.7 (PL 180:758D–759B).

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. 1.8 (PL 180:763C–D): "Hanc ultimam memoriam nobis reliquit quemadmodum si quis peregre proficiscens, aliquod pignus ei quem diligit relinquit, ut, quotiescunque illud viderit, possit et ejus beneficia et amicitias memorari; quem si ille perfecte dilexerit, sine ingenti illud desiderio vel fletu videre non potest." Macy, "Commentaries on the Mass," 40, notes the presence of this image in the *De missarum mysteriis* of Innocent III in the last decade of the twelfth century.

¹¹⁰ Alger of Liège, *De sacramentis corporis et sanguinis Domini* 1.16 (PL 180:789B): "Quotidianam igitur Christi immolationem peccatorum remissioni, vitae aeternae adeptioni necessariam, et sufficientem nobis astruximus. Ipsi autem Christo non supplicio passionis vel occisionis esse molestam, sed quadam ipsius passionis imaginatione nobis utilem ad memoriam concitandam, et devotionem augendam, et imitationem provocandam ostendimus." Seeing the sacrament seems to be implicit here.

¹¹¹ For weeping and compunction, see *ibid.* (PL 180:789C), on which see Brigué, *Alger de Liège*, 149, who discussed Alger's view of the worshiper's own compassionate suffering at the altar as an important facet of the re-presentation of the Lord's Passion. For the connection between affective response and imitation of Christ, see *De sacramentis corporis et sanguinis Domini* 1.19, 1.16, 1.20, and 2.5 (PL 180:796C–D, 787A–B, 797D, 822B–C); for the sacrament's role in combatting vice and sin, see *ibid.* 1.16 (PL 180:175:787A–B and 788B–C).

A second group of sources that seems to have influenced *CP* 198 ff. were discussions of religious images. Although Peter the Venerable did not mention this literature as he did the sacramental treatises of Alger, Guitmund, and Lanfranc, he must have been familiar with some of the leading discussions of the place of sculpture and graphic representations in churches. From time to time he mentioned the response he anticipated viewers would have to images and the cross, and in one well-known case described a chapel that was "much finer than the [other] churches of this our Burgundy, decorated with beautiful pictures and adorned with the more remarkable miracles of the deeds of Christ."¹¹² It seems most unlikely that St. Bernard's *Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem* reached an abbot of Cluny who was unaware of the range of patristic and early medieval views on the spiritual utility of religious art. But even if Peter the Venerable had not paid much attention to the matter before 1125 or 1126 when it appeared, the *Apologia* itself included enough information to reveal the main issues at stake.¹¹³

The abbot's own references to viewer response usually involve images of the crucifixion. The two crosses with the image of the Savior Peter the Venerable sent to Prior Guigo and the brothers at the hermitage of the Chartreuse were meant to facilitate contemplation of the crucified Christ.¹¹⁴ In *De miraculis* 1.6 the author related that he himself held a small wooden cross with an image of the Lord over a possessed monk in the hope that this would drive away demons and encourage the subject to confess his sins.¹¹⁵ Eventually the "brother accepted the absolution with much devotion, bent down and adored the cross . . . and showed his esteem for the saving Passion of the Lord most intently in soul and body."¹¹⁶ One of the abbot's monastic statutes stipulated that the cross presented to an ill monk for adoration should bear a painted image of the crucified Lord with a gold-encased fragment of the true cross below the feet of the image, but that the cross itself should be made of wood rather than a precious metal. Although the use of crosses fashioned of gold and silver is approved and praised in Catholic teaching, they are intended for the simple whose minds the costly material "excites . . . to a greater veneration of the holy cross"; the

¹¹² The translation is from Constable, *Letters* 2:155; for the Latin text, see Letter 86 (ed. Constable, 224).

¹¹³ On the date and contents of the *Apologia*, see Rudolph, *The "Things of Greater Importance."*

¹¹⁴ Letter 24 (ed. Constable, 46).

¹¹⁵ *De miraculis* 1.6 (ed. Bouthillier, 19).

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* (ed. Bouthillier, 21.134–37): "Quam absolutionem multa cum deuotione frater ille suscipiens, crucem sibi a me oblatam supplex adorauit, et salutifere passioni Domini, animam corpusque suum intentissime commendauit."

coarseness of a wooden cross “moves the spirits of the advanced to a more vehement devotion to the cross and the one crucified” because it reminds the worshiper of the actual instrument of the Passion. The presence of a relic of the true cross reinforces this impression, thereby kindling “the devout mind . . . in the love of the saving Passion.”¹¹⁷ The abbot’s assumption here was that even monks who should not be awed by a cross fabricated of precious material will experience an affective devotional response to a crucifix, especially one associated with such a holy relic. In two cases Peter the Venerable mentioned confusion between image and prototype in connection with seeing an image. *De miraculis* 2.22 records the prayer that the dying Bishop Matthew of Albano directed at a cross or crucifix: “And he turned to the Lord’s cross that was present and, as if he was looking at the Savior who had been crucified on it, he said, ‘Now is the time, O merciful Savior, for you to fulfill what you promised and . . . grant [me] leave to cross over to you who are life eternal.’”¹¹⁸ The second case appears in the abbot’s description of his mother’s death in a letter praising her life and the virtues she displayed as a nun following the death of her husband in 1116 or 1117. After making a final confession, taking Mass and receiving extreme unction, she asked that the cross with the image of the Lord be brought to her. Her deep sighs echoed through the monastery as she kissed the feet of the Lord’s image and held it with all her strength, adoring the Passion and expressing faith that the Lord’s sacrifice would be efficacious for her. When her attendants tried to remove the image, “inflamed by the ardor of her faith she asked: ‘Why do you wish to take away my Lord? While I live leave with me him to whom dying I will go straight away.’” Thus considering that she saw on that cross not an image but [the Lord] himself, it could not be removed from her grasp.”¹¹⁹ The tendency to confuse image and prototype is widely attested in the history of Western art and had appeared in devotion to the cross in

¹¹⁷ *Statuta Petri Venerabilis* 62 (ed. Constable, 94): “Sed aliud est metalli preciositas, quae mentes simplicium excitat ad maiorem sacrae crucis venerationem, aliud ligni uilitas, quae spiritualium animos commouet ad vehementiorem erga crucem et crucifixum deuotionem. Unde ut magis mens deuota in amorem saluatricis passionis accenderetur, particula de ipsius primae crucis ligno, ut iam dixi, pedibus picti crucifixi subposita est. . . .”

¹¹⁸ *De miraculis* 2.22 (ed. Bouthillier, 137.30–34): “Conuersusque ad Dominicam crucem que coram erat, uelut si in ipsa Saluatorem ut olim crucifixum conspiceret, ait: ‘Iam o misericors Saluator tempus est, ut quod promisisti adimpleas, . . . et ad te qui uita es eterna transmigrandi, licentiam concedas.’”

¹¹⁹ Letter 53 (ed. Constable, 169): “Cumque expleta oratione circumstantes a uultu eius imaginem domini amouere temptarent, accensa calore fidei ait: Quid uultis auferre dominum meum? Permittite eum michi quamdiu uiuo, ad quem statim sum moriens transitura. Ita non imaginem sed ipsum in cruce illa se uidere reputans, ab amplexu eius diuelli non poterat.”

Christian antiquity. Peter the Venerable could easily have encountered literary models for these stories in patristic or early medieval sources.¹²⁰

CONCLUSION

While Alger's treatise on the Eucharist and the traditional language of viewer response to religious art help elucidate the background of *CP* 198 ff., they do less to clarify the passage's place in religious discourse of the mid-twelfth century. An effort to situate it in context at first runs into deceptively sharp contrasts. It is tempting to picture *CP* 198 ff. as the embodiment of a Christian materialist position, with its acceptance of the material and sensory nature of Man, the Incarnation, and the sacraments, struggling against a position of Christian idealism, with its emphasis on the need to transcend the material and sensory world.¹²¹ Unlike contemporaries such as William of St. Thierry who wrote of a spiritual communion in which the religious might enjoy the objective grace and subjective experience of the sacrament even in the absence of the Eucharist, Peter the Venerable emphasized the centrality of the rite and even the value of its outward appearance.¹²² Equally acute is the contrast between some Benedictines, including Peter the Venerable, and some Cistercians over the relative worth of eye and ear in the process of religious conversion. The early twelfth-century treatise called *De diversis artibus* of Theophilus Presbyter, who was probably a Black Monk, discussed lavish liturgical ware and highly decorated churches as aids to monastic meditation, and agreed with the Benedictine Rupert of Deutz that the craftsman who

¹²⁰ For example, Einhard, *Quaestio de adoranda cruce* (ed. K. Hampe, *Epistolae Karolini Aevi* 3, MGH Epistolae 5 [Berlin, 1899], 146–49, at 149.4–7): “prostrata . . . ante crucem, quasi pendentem Dominum cerneret, adorabat”, hoc et nobis credamus esse faciendum, ut prosternamur videlicet ante crucem et eum, qui in ea pependit interioribus oculis intuentes adoremus.” Einhard was quoting Jerome, *Ep.* 108.9 (ed. I. Hilberg, *S. Eusebii Hieronymi Epistolae*, CSEL 55 [Vienna and Leipzig, 1912], 306–51, at 315).

¹²¹ Jaroslav Pelikan, *Imago Dei: The Byzantine Apologia for Icons* (Princeton, 1990), 107–8, uses the term “Christian materialism” to describe the response of some fourth-century Greek ecclesiastics to Gnostic dualism and the milder “Christian idealism” of the Alexandrian fathers Clement and Origen. The parallel with the twelfth-century situation under consideration here has only a limited value because, as Fearn, “Peter von Bruis und die religiöse Bewegung des 12. Jahrhunderts,” 323, points out, Peter of Bruys's attack on the Eucharist was not at bottom dualist.

¹²² William of St. Thierry, *Epistola ad fratres de Monte Dei* 36 and 115–19 (ed. Jean Déchanet, *Guillaume de Saint-Thierry: Lettre aux frères du Mont-Dieu*, Sources Chrétiennes 223 [Paris, 1975], 172 and 234–38).

fashions these things is inspired by the Holy Spirit.¹²³ On the other hand, St. Bernard wrote that because it hears the word of revelation, the ear is instrumental to faith and hope in a way that the eye, confined as it is to the present life, cannot be; and he considered the danger of concupiscence of the eye to outweigh the possible benefits of seeing most religious art.¹²⁴

Upon closer inspection this picture proves to be misleading, above all because the standing of *CP* 198 ff. in the thought of Peter the Venerable is open to question. The present discussion has shown that while important traces of a materialist view are discernible here and there in his work, the abbot's fundamental beliefs about Man and salvation often bear the imprint of Christian idealism. Like many other spiritual authors before the age of scholasticism, Peter the Venerable was not much troubled by this internal tension. Although the categories of their theological anthropology "tended towards a devaluation of the temporal and material dimensions of the human situation, important qualifications of this tendency were frequently introduced."¹²⁵ The same ambivalence softens the outline of the other sharp contrasts as well. Notwithstanding his interest in spiritual communion as the individual's direct inner experience of the divine life, William of St. Thierry considered the visible, material sacraments necessary for all the faithful; like the captive Israelites (Exodus 12:22) they should mark both door posts, that of the soul and that of the body, with the blood of the lamb.¹²⁶ St. Bernard's strongest objections to the devotional use of religious art concerned the religious whom he held to a higher standard of perfection than people still engaged in earthly affairs. Likewise his reservations about the contribution of sensory perception to the process of religious conversion applied to the advanced rather than beginners, and even then askesis of the body was not an end in itself but a means of purifying and reorienting the soul.¹²⁷ In other words, he might have agreed with what Peter the Venerable wrote in *CP* 198 ff. about the communicant's affective re-

¹²³ John Van Engen, "Theophilus Presbyter and Rupert of Deutz: The Manual Arts and Benedictine Theology in the Early Twelfth Century," *Viator* 11 (1980): 147-63, at 152-58, with references to the primary sources.

¹²⁴ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermo octavus in Psalmum 'Qui habitat'* 3 (ed. J. Leclercq and H. Rochais, *S. Bernardi Opera* 4 [Rome, 1966], 427-28); for references to *curiositas* in his works, see Rudolph, *The "Things of Greater Importance,"* 110-15.

¹²⁵ *Three Treatises on Man: A Cistercian Anthropology*, ed. Bernard McGinn, Cistercian Fathers Series 24 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1977), 87, in the editor's introduction.

¹²⁶ Paul Verdeyen, "Parole et sacrement chez Guillaume de Saint-Thierry," *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 49 (1987): 218-28, at 225, with references to the primary sources.

¹²⁷ On the devotional use of religious art, see Rudolph, *The "Things of Greater Importance,"* 104-10; on reforming the will through discipline of the body, see John R. Sommerfeldt, *The Spiritual Teachings of Bernard of Clairvaux*, Cistercian Fathers Series 125 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1991), 31-38, with references on 40-41.

sponse to the sight, touch, and taste of the Eucharist, though perhaps with the stipulation that it referred more to the laity than to aspiring contemplatives. Furthermore some twelfth-century Cistercian authors demonstrated a mastery of the language of personal affective piety far superior to that of Peter the Venerable, and their reflections on the Eucharist focused more and more on the sympathetic sharing of the suffering of the Lord's Passion. But Cistercian meditations tended to be logocentric rather than iconic in their point of departure. The mental image of Jesus at the age of twelve that forms the subject of a short treatise by Aelred of Rievaulx is based on the words of Scripture, not a work of art and not the bread and wine of the Eucharist.¹²⁸ Although he mentioned the Eucharist in his meditation on the humanity and suffering of Jesus, William of St. Thierry showed much more interest in mental images derived from the scriptural account of the Savior's life.¹²⁹ The importance for the viewer that Peter the Venerable attributed to the outer appearance of the Eucharist was not a theme his Cistercian contemporaries singled out.

However appealing in practice the idea of incorporating sensory perception into his understanding of Man's return to God might be, Peter the Venerable never gave up the conviction that sight has, so to speak, blinded Man. His repetition of the dictum that the whole human being is a compound of body and soul does not conceal the discordant elements of his anthropology.¹³⁰ Nevertheless the abbot's discussion of the senses in *CP* 198 ff. deserves attention because it shows that he was swept up in one of the most important religious-cultural developments of his century, namely, a fundamental reassessment of the status of the physical and sensory aspects of the human person. While the early medieval roots and antecedents of this shift have yet to be fully exposed, and while its most profound impact did not register before the emergence of high scholasticism in the thirteenth century, we have begun to recognize its fruit in the twelfth century, among other places in medical literature and *De anima* treatises, in the language used to describe Man's resurrection, in the history of private life and attitudes towards sexuality, and even in the assump-

¹²⁸ Aelred of Rievaulx, *De Jesu puero duodenni* (ed. Anselme Hoste, *Aelred de Rievaulx: "Quand Jésus eu douze ans . . ."*, Sources Chrétiennes 60 [Paris, 1958]; and see Hoste's remarks on meditation *sicut praesens* on pp. 7–10).

¹²⁹ William of St. Thierry, *Meditativae orationes* 10 (ed. Jacques Hourlier, *Guillaume de Saint-Thierry: Oraisons méditatives*, Sources Chrétiennes 324 [Paris, 1985], 158–67). It is worth noting that he regarded prayer directed toward the human Christ as less perfect than that focused on the divine majesty.

¹³⁰ McGinn, *Golden Chain*, 168 n. 286, writes, "Isaac [of Stella] frequently repeats the traditional dictum that the whole man is a creature composed of soul and body . . . but the question is: does he mean it? I hope I have shown that he does." For Peter the Venerable, the answer would have to be no, but with the important proviso that on the level of devotional practice the sensory side of the human person did play a positive role.

tions brought to Bible commentary.¹³¹ Appreciating this dimension of Peter the Venerable's thought brings us to a more nearly complete understanding of "the balanced catholic humanism implicit in Cluny's vision of a transfigured cosmos" during his tenure as abbot.¹³² This vision encompassed reality as experienced now as well as anticipated future glory. The ascensional aesthetic that furnished a means of appraising the beauty and goodness of the transfigured cosmos existed alongside an aesthetic of antithesis in which all the parts of the cosmos, even human bodies and sensory-dependent souls, contribute to a totality that has a beauty and goodness of its own.¹³³

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¹³¹ See *Three Treatises on Man*; Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*; the studies in *A History of Private Life*, vol. 2: *Revelations of the Medieval World*, ed. Georges Duby, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass., 1988); Olsen, "Twelfth-Century Humanism Reconsidered"; and, for the earlier period, Ilario Tolomio, "'Corpus carcer' nell'alto Medioevo: Metamorfosi di un concetto," *Patristica et mediaevalia* 18 (1997): 3–19.

¹³² Chrysogonus Waddell, "The Reform of the Liturgy from a Renaissance Perspective," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 88–109, where the quoted words appear on 103, and the phrase "liturgical humanism" appears on 101.

¹³³ See Robert J. O'Connell, *Art and the Christian Intelligence in St. Augustine* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), 22.

COLA DI RIENZO, THE LATERAN BASILICA, AND THE *LEX DE IMPERIO* OF VESPASIAN*

Amanda Collins

THE following paper offers an investigation of the peculiar message of a particular theatrical moment in the early career of a remarkable figure; the events are set in a unique city, in a curious period of its long history. Moreover, the episode in question may be considered as paradigmatic of all we know of the Roman revolution of Cola di Rienzo. This essay will show how Cola read and used the past, the present, and even the future, and how easily he operated with both monument and with document; it will illustrate the ways in which he appealed to *alto* and *basso* in his society; and it will reveal his extraordinary capacity to strip down and reformulate certain contemporary semiological implications of tradition, law, literature, and art. The occasion I describe here has been noted, usually in passing, by most of the historians of post-classical Rome. But I would like to suggest that it was a far more crucial and significant moment in the run-up to Cola's revolutionary tribunate of 1347 than has been previously imagined.

Cola, in proper Roman fashion, often used classical imagery and language—borrowing the models of Augustus and Constantine particularly—to create metaphors for his own rule, cashing in on, one might say, the legitimizing potential such figures offered with regard to his contemporary regime. But the best example of Cola's borrowing of the antique was his treatment of a rather different and literally more tangible early imperial source of authority, namely, the concession of sovereign powers by the Senate and people of Rome to their emperor, as inscribed on a famous bronze tablet from the early principate of the emperor Vespasian (A.D. 69–79): the so-called *Lex de imperio Vespasiani*. Cola discovered, reerected, and illustrated the tablet, in a public ceremony in the Lateran basilica, cleverly associating himself on a number of levels (as will be seen below) both with the popular mandate and the monarchical authority which represented the two sides of the transaction recorded in the tablet.

* I should like to thank the Faculty of Letters at the British School at Rome for awarding me a Rome Scholarship (1994–95), which provided the opportunity to research this material. I am also grateful to the participants in the Italian history (1250–1300) seminar at the Institute of Historical Research in London, where this paper was initially presented and given helpful criticism.

This episode, which took place perhaps as much as a year before his revolution of May 1347, reveals that Cola's later autocratic self-conception was built on both practical and ideological foundations, and that these were laid down well in advance; the revolution was not merely some opportunistic grabbing of power. The events of the occasion in question are highly informative in the long-running debate about Cola's attitude both to the classical past and to the "legal" present, and to the authority which these sources could yield to him. This paper will also seek to resolve the debate over Cola's relationship to the then-absent Roman papacy. Since Cola's reading of this law was, as will be argued, a reclamation of the universal sovereign rights of the Roman people, which had been alienated by the infamous (and fraudulent) Donation of Constantine, it will be seen that Cola's conception of the role and power of Roman papacy was a long way removed from that held by the canon lawyers of Avignon. Finally, I hope to offer a significant contribution to a debate not on Cola himself, but on an issue which has particularly engaged classical and legal historians reading Cola's sources, namely, the possible survival into the fourteenth century of a second tablet of the Vespasianic *lex de imperio*. In this essay I will argue that the debate cannot be moved any further towards resolution without a more sophisticated knowledge of the Trecento legal and social context, and without a full acquaintance with Cola's own writings, both of which I shall offer here.

That context, of course, was very different from the imperial city where the *lex* tablet was first erected. After the fall of the late Empire, and the symbolic collapse of the aqueducts, and with these events a drop too in the number of Rome's inhabitants, the population of the city naturally contracted into the crook of the Tiber. By the Trecento the population, thirty to fifty times smaller than under the Julio-Claudians, was concentrated in the *ansa*; that is, the Campo Marzio, the Borgo, the Capitoline zone, the island, and Trastevere, which made up the so-called *abitato*. The fourteenth century also saw the "Babylonian Captivity" of the papacy, namely, the transfer of the papal court to Avignon in Provence. This had the effect of depressing still further the population and the economy of a city then, as now, dependent on the pilgrim or tourist trade. The literary image of Trecento Rome as an anarchic disaster zone, either empty, or, alternately, filled with the rival militia of an over-mighty aristocracy, is an overstated rhetorical trope. Nonetheless it is the case that in the absence of the papacy, the occasional power vacuums which typify Italian communal politics of the period had a particularly painful impact in Rome. Basic systems such as the grain supply regularly broke down, leading inevitably to public rioting, and not infrequently to political coups—there were

almost twenty such occasions in fourteenth-century Rome, of which the revolution of Cola di Rienzo in 1347 was the most spectacular.¹

Before his seizure of power in May 1347, Cola di Rienzo already held a significant position in the government of Rome, that of Notary of the Camera Urbis—effectively the treasurer and accountant of the city. This was neither a civic nor an imperial appointment, but a position granted Cola by the pope in 1344. Prior to this appointment, Cola had been an ambassador to the Avignon court on behalf of the coup of the so-called “Thirteen Good Men,” an anti-magnatial group very probably composed of the district representatives of Rome, with the support of the consuls of the guilds. Their seizure of power took place in late 1342; and so, with the formal accession of the new pope, Clement VI, in early 1343, Cola went to Avignon to acquire papal recognition for the new government, and to request that the papacy should return to Rome. He failed in both those objectives, despite the much noted fiery rhetoric of his appeal; and the Thirteen themselves, back in Rome, were swiftly stifled by an aristocratic counterrevolution. Cola proved less easy to stifle; though crushed temporarily by the Avignon branches of the same baronial families he had castigated, and thereby obliged to endure a loss of face and lull in fortunes, nonetheless Cola finally regained the attention of the papal court. He returned to Rome in late 1344, with his new position in the financial administration of Rome.

¹ There are few scholarly accounts of fourteenth-century Roman life, and fewer again which set Cola’s revolution squarely within that context, though Cola has attracted the attention of scholars *inter alia* (see n. 53 below) for over four hundred years. The best account of later medieval Roman society is that of Robert Brentano, *Rome before Avignon: A Social History of Thirteenth-Century Rome* (New York, 1974). Despite its title, Brentano’s book draws heavily upon sources which date from the second half of the fourteenth century. A recent collection of essays on specifically fourteenth-century Rome has tended to bypass the events of the years around 1347: Étienne Hubert, ed., *Rome aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles [Roma nei secoli XIII e XIV: Cinque Saggi]*, Collection de l’École Française de Rome 170 (Rome, 1993). On Cola himself the literature is endless, and often (historically, at least) useless. The *précis* of events here is my own; the fullest account of events, which differs in analytical emphasis from that of my own dissertation—Amanda Collins, “Cola di Rienzo (c.1312–1354). The Revolution in Historical Perspective” (D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1996)—is found in Paul Piur, *Cola di Rienzo: Darstellung seines Lebens und seines Geistes* (Vienna, 1931). His narrative is based (as is my own) on the epistolary and chronicled evidence for Cola’s career collected in Konrad Burdach and Paul Piur, *Briefwechsel des Cola di Rienzo*, 5 vols., Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation. Forschungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Bildung 2 (Berlin, 1913–29). For Cola’s cultural background and political ideology, the best recent work is that of Massimo Miglio, whose several articles are now collected and published as *Scritture, Scrittori e Storia. I: Per la storia del Trecento a Roma*, Patrimonium 1 (Rome, 1991). A readable though unchallenging account in English is Iris Origo, *Tribune of Rome* (London, 1938).

By the end of 1346, Cola had designed and gained support for a new revolutionary program to overthrow the influence exercised by the chaotic barons of medieval Rome—this time centred on his own supreme authority as elected representative of the *Populus Romanus*. On 20 May 1347 he led a great crowd of partisans to the Capitol, taking advantage of the temporary absence of the resident noble controllers of Rome, whose troops and leaders had left the city in order to escort home the grain supply. Cola initially took the papal rector of Orvieto as a partner in power but over the next few months it became increasingly clear from his actions and correspondence that he considered himself the sole agent of Roman authority. This centralizing process culminated in two astonishing ceremonies, involving representatives from all Italy, one on 1 August and the other on 15 August 1347 (dates chosen for their classical and Christian resonances). In the first ceremony Cola had himself knighted, and in the second he had himself crowned as “Tribunus Augustus.” But the presumption was too great, as he himself later regretted.² In December of the same year the final public performance of his regime was to be a melodramatic exit from the Roman stage—which did little to hide the fact, as he himself recognized, that his immediate ambitions had been foiled.

But well before the revolution of May 1347, in fact, Cola had developed visibly spectacular techniques for drawing attention to his own position, and to his theme of the imminent resurrection of the global authority of the *Populus Romanus*. In the account of a near-contemporary chronicler,³ in which Cola's career is described in detail, the most pithy statement of this theme was that of the placard attached in late 1346 to the doors of the church of San Giorgio in Velabro, which read: “In a short time the Romans will return to their ancient Good Estate.”⁴ Shortly before this, the chronicler mentions a great tableau Cola

² *Briefwechsel* 3, letter 49.19–23.

³ Anonymous for over six centuries, the identity of the chronicler was finally proposed, in 1994, as Bartolomeo di Iacovo da Valmontone, a minor figure in the wide circle of Petrarch's acquaintance. See Giuseppe Billanovich, “Come nacque un capolavoro: La ‘cronica’ del non più Anonimo Romano,” *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, ser. 9, 6 (1995): 195–211.

⁴ The chronicle, which covers the years 1327–54, has appeared in a host of editions, ever since the extract published as the *Vita di Cola di Rienzi* of 1624. This biographical extract, which consists of around a third of the whole chronicle, has been translated into English by John Wright, *The Life of Cola di Rienzo*, Mediaeval Sources in Translation 18 (Toronto, 1975). Unless otherwise noted, passages in English cited here are from that translation, with my own modifications indicated. The best critical edition of the entire chronicle is Giuseppe Porta, ed., *Anonimo Romano: Cronica* (Milan, 1979); references to the pages in this edition will be followed in brackets by references to the corresponding pages in the more compact 1981 edition (containing only the text).

had executed on the wall of Sant'Angelo in Pescheria, showing an angel rescuing an aged woman from a burning church among a host of other allegorical and symbolic features. This carried a different message: "The time of great justice approaches: await this time!"⁵ A little before again, probably in late 1345, Cola had displayed an equally violent image of Rome as a woman shipwrecked below rows of animals who symbolized bad government, supervised by an apocalyptic image of Christ.⁶

Even more fully resonant with meaning, however, was the event staged in the Lateran basilica—the heart of medieval Latin Christendom—between the execution of the two representations of Rome above: namely, Cola's public exhibition of the tablet containing various clauses from the *Lex de imperio* of the emperor Vespasian. The Roman chronicler's account offers the fullest description of the event:

Soon afterward he admonished the people with a beautiful speech in the vernacular, which he delivered in St. John Lateran. Behind the choir he [Wright: Lateran, behind the choir. He] had a magnificent metal tablet fixed to the wall, with ancient letters written on it, which he alone knew how to read and interpret. Around this tablet he had a picture painted, showing how the Roman Senate conceded authority to the Emperor Vespasian. There in the middle of the church he had a speaker's platform built of planks, and high wooden seats, decorated with tapestries. . . . There were many learned men as well, judges and canon lawyers, and many other people of authority. . . . Silence was called for, and he made his beautiful discourse, his beautiful speech, and said that Rome had fallen and lay overthrown on the ground, and could not see where she lay, since her eyes had been torn from her head. . . . Then he said, "You see how great was the magnificence of the Senate, which gave authority to the Empire." He had a paper read which contained the articles describing the authority which the people of Rome conceded to the Emperor Vespasian: he could make leagues [Wright: laws] and treaties at will with any nation or people; he could decrease or increase the garden of Rome, that is, Italy; he could grant a greater or a lesser fief, as he wished; he could promote men to the status of duke or king, and demote and degrade them; he could destroy cities and rebuild them; he could divert the courses of rivers; and he could impose taxes and remit them at will. All these things the people of Rome conceded to Vespasian just as they had conceded them to Tiberius Caesar. When this paper had been read, and

⁵ "Veo lo tiempo della granne iustizia e ià taci fi' allo tempo" (*Anonimo Romano: Cronica*, ed. Porta, 151 [110]; see also Wright, *Life of Cola di Rienzo*, 38).

⁶ *Ibid.* (ed. Porta, 145–46 [106–7]; Wright, *Life of Cola di Rienzo*, 33).

these articles, he said, "Gentlemen, so great was the majesty of the people of Rome that it gave authority to the Emperor. Now we have lost it. . . ." ⁷

Cola's exposition of this tablet was possibly the most symbolically charged act of his career. He wove a dense web of meaning, power, and precedent around its interpretation, which deserves explication at length. Yet, on Cola's reading of the *lex*, F. Saxl scoffed, "enthusiasm for the greatness of a nation's past alone does not produce any active political power."⁸ Here I will take issue with Saxl's dismissal. Cola *did* understand the legal nature and the political potential of the *lex de imperio*; and in addition to his ability to interpret the content of the tablet, Cola also demonstrated that he could manipulate the original form, i.e., the appearance of the tablet. But, most importantly, Cola was even capable of adapting the original purpose of the law, in the context of contemporary legal scholarship surrounding the concept of the *lex regia*, to legitimate his own schemes for the reconstruction of the power of the city of Rome. Form, content, and meaning: together these offered an exegetical trinity particularly appropriate for the symbolically minded young notary.

⁷ Wright, *Life of Cola di Rienzo*, 35–36. The original Romanesco passage reads as follows (*Anonimo Romano: Cronica*, ed. Porta, 147–49 [108–9]):

Non moito tiempo passao che ammonio lo puopolo per uno bello sermone vulgare lo quale fece in Santo Ianni de Laterani. Dereto dallo coro, nello muro, fece ficcare una granne e mannifica tavola de metallo con lettere antique scritta, la quale nullo sapeva leiere né interpretare, se non solo esso. Intorno a quella tavolo fece pegnere figure, come lo senato romano concedeva la autoritate a Vespasiano imperatore. Là, in mieso della chiesa, fece fare uno parlatorio de tavole e fece fare gradi de lename assai aiti per sedere. E fece ponere ornamenta. . . . Anche ce fuoro moiti uomini savii, iudici e decretalisti, moita aitra iente de autoritate. . . . Fatto silenzio, fece sio bello sermone, bella diceria, e disse ca Roma iaceva abbattuta in terra e non poteva vedere dove iacessi, ca li erano cavati li uocchi fòra dello capo. . . . Puoi disse: «Vedete quanta era la mannificenzia dello senato, ca la autoritate dava allo imperio». Puoi fece leiere una carta nella quale erano scritti li capitoli colla autoritate che llo puopolo de Roma concedeva a Vespasiano imperatore. In prima, che Vespasiano potessi fare a sio benepiacito leie e confederazione con quale iente o puopolo volessi; anche che potessi mancare e accrescere lo ogliardino de Roma, cioene Italia; potessi dare contado più e meno, como volessi; anche potessi promuovere uomini a stato de duca e de regi e deponere e degradere; anco potessi disfare citate e refare; anco potessi guastere lietti de fiume e trasmutarli airove; anche potessi imponere gravezze e deponere allo benepiacito. Tutto queste cose consentio lo puopolo de Roma a Vespasiano imperatore in quella fermezza che avea consentuto a Tiberio Cesari. Lessa questa carta, questi capitoli, disse: «Signori, tanta era la maiestate dello puopolo de Roma, che allo imperatore dava la autoritate. Ora l'avemo perduta.»

⁸ F. Saxl, "The Classical Inscription in Renaissance Art and Politics," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 4 (1941): 19–46, at 19.

FORM

To commence with the physical aspect of the tablet, this impressive bronze inscription⁹ was moved from the Lateran in 1579, along with other ancient statue remnants and inscriptions, by Gregory XIII. In a subsequent period, under Clement XII, it was fixed to the wall of the Sala del Fauno in the Capitoline Palazzo Nuovo, where it remains to this day. Its history before Cola is less clear. Cola himself claimed, in letter written in 1350, to have rescued the tablet from obscurity—in fact, from deliberate concealment—in the Lateran Basilica.¹⁰ He, as we have seen, brought this item back to the centre of attention. But more important was his choice to hold the ceremonial unveiling of the tablet in the Lateran rather than, for example, on the Capitol. The Lateran was the ultimate public space, the heart of Rome and the spiritual home (in theory) of all Roman Christendom's members, the symbol of the ceding of ancient temporal universal authority to Christian spiritual world rule. Constantine, at least according to the Donation, emphasized papal temporal jurisdiction over Rome, representing this by the handover of his own imperial palace at the Lateran to Pope Sylvester. Yet Cola's performance centred on the resurrection of secular, legal, pre-Constantinian antiquity. So it is essential to question the nature of Cola's message regarding Roman authority. And for which Romans did he intend this glorious display? The chronicler mentions that among the

⁹ It is around 5.5 feet high and just over 3.5 feet wide. See reproduction, text, and translation in Arthur E. Gordon, *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy* (California, 1983), 121–23 and plate 29; also now M. H. Crawford, *Roman Statutes*, 2 vols. (London, 1996), 1:552–53.

¹⁰ Cola claimed that Pope Boniface VIII, in *odium imperatoris*, hid the tablet by using it as part of an altar (*Briefwechsel* 3, letter 57.727–33). The *lex* tablet was very probably in the Lateran well before the fourteenth century; this can be inferred from two earlier sources which refer to a bronze tablet, listing various rights. The first of these witnesses was the late thirteenth-century English Master Gregorius, who, in the concluding chapter of his *De mirabilibus urbis Rome*, wrote of a bronze tablet, an “enea tabula . . . [quae] ‘prohibens peccatum’ dicitur”; Gregorius was refreshingly honest, writing “in hac tabula plura legi, set pauca intellexi,” and thus putting Cola's epigraphical ability into context (ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Magister Gregorius [12e ou 13e siècle]: Narracio de mirabilibus urbis Rome*, *Textus minores* 42 [Leiden, 1970], 31); see also the translation by John Osborne, *Master Gregorius: The Marvels of Rome*, *Mediaeval Sources in Translation* 31 [Toronto, 1987], 36, and commentary 97–99). The other evidence for a medieval acquaintance of the tablet is earlier again, in a passage from the Bolognese jurist and glossator, Odofredus († 1263). His mistaken impression was that the bronze tablets, of which this one survived in the Lateran, formed a part of the ancient “Twelve Tables” of Roman law. He could not read the tablet either: “. . . et male sunt scriptae, quia non est ibi punctus nec capitalia in litera, et nisi revolveritis literas non possetis aliquid intellegere” (text in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. 6, pt. 4.2 [Berlin, 1902], 3075, no. 31207). On the evidence of Odofredus and Gregorius, see Crawford, *Roman Statutes* 1:4.

audience were representatives of the Roman social elite, barons such as the infamous Colonna. The chronicle also mentions the presence of learned men, including canon lawyers, in the audience. But an interesting and significant facet of Cola's performance in this context was his concern that the message should reach beyond the legal cognoscenti, indeed beyond even the verbally literate, to the broader populace.¹¹ The demagogic language of his address on this occasion anticipates the impressive *trasversalità* of Cola's appeal during the subsequent tribunate. Cola left nothing to chance concerning the transmission of the content of the tablet. He not only translated it into the *volgare*, reading the points of the tablet from a *carta* and explaining the contents of the law, stressing the former glory of the people of Rome; but, also, he had painted around it "a picture showing how the Roman Senate conceded authority to the emperor Vespasian." So, for those not able to read the tablet, perhaps not even able to understand Cola's summary and analysis, the basic message was, nonetheless, clear and dramatic: that the people of Rome had once had the authority to rule the world, or at least to choose an emperor to rule the world on behalf of them, the citizens of Rome.

Yet Cola's ceremonial presentation of the tablet was infinitely more subtle again in terms of the visual devices involved. The contrasts and connections between aural and visual aspects of verbal communication have been studied extensively by art historians (this refers especially to the study of "word" as "image," *Wort als Bild*).¹² Cola's use of the written document and inscribed tablet, against the broader backdrop of a painted tableau, provides a superb example of this process of word as image in action.¹³ The episode can be read as central, therefore, to Cola's entire ideological thrust towards the restoration

¹¹ This is implied by "the people" of the chronicler's account; in other instances where the chronicler talks of "the people" he is referring very clearly to non-elite groups. The question of Cola's reliance on popular support is, of course, a complex one and cannot be adequately addressed in this article. Cola's exposition of the *lex* offers a nice example of the type of sophisticated polysemic ritual described by, e.g., Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, 1992); see 301–24 for a nice discussion of roughly analogous ritual events, where different groups in a given constituency are addressed by the same ceremonial performance, and for a sophisticated analysis of medieval ritual in general terms.

¹² See the work of Hans Belting, especially "The New Role of Narrative in Public Painting of the Trecento," in *Historia and Allegoria* (New York, 1985), 151–68 in particular.

¹³ For a discussion of the methodology adopted here, see Serena Romano, "'Regio Dissimilitudinis': Immagine e parola nella Roma di Cola di Rienzo," in *Bilan et perspectives des études médiévales en Europe*, ed. Jaqueline Hamesse (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1995), 329–56. I would like to thank Dott.ssa Romano for making her paper available to me before its publication.

of Rome—precisely because his props in this case were the real thing. By elevating the power of the people and their “representative,” i.e., the emperor, in the Lateran basilica, at the heart of papal power in medieval Rome and in the central *locus* of Christian worship, he was, literally, resurrecting something of the power of the past. Cola’s fresco of the concession of the tablet, using the tablet itself as the centrepiece of the picture, must have offered a striking response to the earlier papal-centred frescoes in the Lateran, from those of the twelfth century to the militant rhetoric of the frescoes in Boniface VIII’s Jubilee Loggia of 1300.¹⁴

The *lex* tablet, therefore, carried all the sacral and magical power of “the word” with, in addition, the charismatic and legitimating factor of antiquity. Cola outdid contemporary uses of words in pictures in his sensitivity to the range of the visual, as well as the verbal, literacy and imagination of his listeners. As Cola spoke the words, translating and interpreting, the Senate of the tableau behind him was depicted in the eternally frozen moment of conceding the tablet itself to the emperor.¹⁵ In the Lateran exhibition Cola used the real tablet, which at the same time played itself, as it were, within the narrative of the tableau. The words of the text of the tablet were brought to life simultaneously through the media of the ear—Cola’s speech—and of the eye—the fresco and the tablet he was pointing to, the *mise-en-scène* of the events effectively recorded by the *lex*; a sort of *pittura famante* of the *Populus Romanus*.¹⁶

With the *lex* tablet Cola, as the new ruler of Rome, was able to combine the charisma of antiquity with an injunction for the future. To understand Cola’s perception of this tablet, we should perhaps think of this in terms of a classical equivalent of the biblical tablets upon which God’s law was transmitted to

¹⁴ See Christopher Walter, “Papal Political Imagery in the Lateran Medieval Palace,” *Cahiers archéologiques* 20 (1970): 155–76; and 21 (1971): 109–36.

¹⁵ This should be imagined as analogous to the image of Enrico Scrovegni physically presenting his Arena chapel to the Virgin, in Padua, or to that of Nicholas III offering his Lateran *Sancta Sanctorum* chapel right above the altar there. A similar diachronic impression is achieved in the freezing, for all eternity, of these moments of man’s reaching heaven. In these pictures, as in the case of the *lex* tablet, the actual chapel exists and functions in three-dimensional reality as the location, as well as the *raison d’être*, for the frescoed image of the chapel on the flat surface. It is a moment in time, an event, but one which will last for ever, just as the Arena chapel is figured at the heart of the end of time, Cola’s image of the award of imperial powers suggests permanence and irreversibility.

¹⁶ This was in contrast to the *pittura infamante* of later medieval Italy, where an individual’s *fama* or good name could be destroyed by public depiction or caricature in a humiliating situation. See especially Samuel J. Egerton, *Pictures for Punishment: The Underside of Art in the Renaissance* (London, 1985); and Gherardo Ortalli, “*Pingitur in Palatia*”: *La pittura infamante nei secoli XIII–XVI* (Rome, 1979).

Moses. So the *lex* tablet, one could say, was a secular relic.¹⁷ It came, undoubtedly, from the period of Rome's past greatness, was suffused with the power of the word, and yet at the same time offered a veiled prophecy for the future, concerning the power of the people, and their ability to reassume that past control of the world through the medium of Cola di Rienzo. Once Cola had reerected, illustrated, and expounded on the *lex* tablet, the writing was, truly, on the wall.

CONTENT

The content of the inscription of the tablet has attracted extensive attention from modern scholars. A subject of considerable debate is its precise legal status, and there are many rival analyses of its importance in both the constitutional and epigraphic history of the Roman Empire.¹⁸ The question of its legal status and its physical survival is further complicated by the fact that the present Capitoline Museum tablet does not tell the whole story. It is in fact only the second, or the final, part, of a longer inscription which must have listed more fully the powers granted Vespasian. The present tablet begins in mid-paragraph: including this first injunction, the tablet makes eight specific points, which are followed by a "sanction" asserting its legal status and validity. The first part of the *lex* is lost.

¹⁷ On the symbolic and religious properties of Roman bronze legal documents in the ancient world, see Callie Williamson, "Monuments of Bronze: Roman Legal Documents on Bronze Tablets," *Classical Antiquity* 6 (1987): 160–83.

¹⁸ Crawford, *Roman Statutes* 1:549–50; Fr. Hurlet, "La *Lex de imperio Vespasiani* et la légitimité augustéenne," *Latomus* 52 (1993): 261–80; Claude Nicolet, "La *Tabula Siarensis*, la *lex de imperio Vespasiani*, et le *jus relationis* de l'empereur au Sénat," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Antiquité* 100 (1988): 827–66; Vittorio Facchetti, "La 'Lex de imperio': Struttura giuridica, ragioni politiche, significato storico," in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi Vespasiani*, 2 vols. (Rieti, 1981), 2:399–410; P. A. Brunt, "Lex de Imperio Vespasiani," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 67 (1977): 95–116; G. Barbieri, "Lex de Imperio Vespasiani," *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane* 4, fasc. 24 (Rome, 1957), 750–58. The clauses are written in the subjunctive, the form used in the recording of a decision of the senate, the *senatus consultum* (SC). But the tablet refers to itself as *lex* in clause VI, and just below its sanction, at the bottom—which is appropriate to a law passed by the Comitia, the popular assembly. The debate is unresolved, though eased by the discovery of another example, in fact a precedent, the *Tabula Hebana*; this is also a synthesis of the SC and the comitial *lex*. Some recent scholarship tends to favour an amalgamated version of events—the tablet records a senatorial decision to grant Vespasian an number of general and specific powers, which was then ratified and given the status of law in the assembly. On that basis it will be referred to here as the *lex* or *lex de imperio*.

Whatever Cola made of this tablet, his choice of subject matter, at least, cannot be faulted; he selected a law which had had profound implications for the authority of citizens relative to ~~near~~ emperor. As we will see, it was also to become central to Cola's political self-construction, both in terms of the powers he later held, as tribune by popular mandate, and also in terms of the techniques Cola was already developing, and which he used the following year to lever himself into this position of supreme authority. Those political and rhetorical techniques naturally appear cynical and manipulative. Cola needed the tablet to carry out his display. So, really, just how close a reading was it? Did Cola really bother to understand the contents of the *lex de imperio*, or was it merely an exercise in self-definition?

Cola's use of the tablet was, in fact, as I will argue, a very sincere attempt to restore the glory of a past age, for the benefit of all the citizens of the city as well as for the sake of his own power over contemporary Rome. The following section will show how his understanding of the content of the Vespasianic law was sincere, scholarly and precise, even though the ramifications he anticipated did stretch some way into the realm of imagination.

If the terminology of the tablet is examined closely, a connection can be made between all of the clauses of the surviving part of the *lex*, and the account provided by the chronicler of the *lex* clauses Cola had read out from a *carta*. Several scholars have noted two points of connection:¹⁹ first, the chronicler started his enumeration of the clauses expounded by Cola with the statement that Vespasian could make "alliances²⁰ and treaties" with whomever he wished. This dialect phrase is readily comparable to the first (incomplete) clause of the tablet, which informs readers that Vespasian had the power to make treaties:

[. . . that] he be allowed to make [. . .] or a treaty with whom he wishes, just as was allowed to the deified Augustus, (the emperor Tiberius), and (the emperor Claudius). . . .²¹

Second, historians have pointed out, consistently, a connection between the second point of Cola's speech, where the chronicler's account tells us that

¹⁹ Crawford, *Roman Statutes* 1:551; Marta Sordi, "Cola di Rienzo e le clausole mancanti della 'lex de imperio Vespasiani,'" in *Studi in onore di Edouardo Volterra*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1971), 2:303–11, at 305; Eugenio Duprè Theseider, *Roma dal comune di popolo alla signoria pontificia (1252–1377)*, Storia di Roma 11 (Bologna, 1952), 538; Barbieri, "Lex de Imperio Vespasiani," 758.

²⁰ The Romanesque term *leie* (or *leije*, as found in other manuscripts of the Romanesque chronicle and used, e.g., by Sordi, "Cola di Rienzo e le clausole mancanti," 305) means "leagues," i.e., alliances, rather than "laws," as Wright translates (*Life of Cola di Rienzo*, 36).

²¹ "foedusve cum quibus volet facere liceat, ita uti licuit divo Aug(usto), / Ti(berio) Caesari Aug(usto), Tiberioque Claudio Caesari Aug(usto) / Germanico" (text and translation from Gordon, *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, 121–22).

Vespasian's power to increase or decrease the so-called "garden of Rome," and the fifth clause of the original tablet, which has the reference to the emperor's right to fix the *pomerium*,²² i.e., the threshold of the city's jurisdiction, across which no *imperator* could step without forfeiting his *imperium* or military authority:

and that he shall be allowed to advance (and/or) move forward the boundaries of the pomerium when he thinks it useful for the State, just as was allowed to (the emperor Claudius).²³

However, it cannot be denied that some of Cola's clauses do not seem to appear on the present tablet. The chronicler also describes Vespasian's authority to give land grants (*dare contado*); to promote men to the status of duke or king; to alter the status of towns and cities; and to divert the courses of rivers.²⁴

²² The chronicle description provoked a marvelous passage in which Edward Gibbon berated medieval man for failing to recognize the difference between an orchard and the Roman empire (*The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 6 vols. [London, 1990], 6:573 n. 3): "I cannot overlook a stupendous and laughable blunder of Rienzi. The *lex regia* empowers Vespasian to enlarge the *pomoerium*, a word familiar to any antiquary. It was not so to the tribune; he confounds it with *pomarium*, an orchard, translates 'Lo Jardinio de Roma cioene Italia', and is copied by the less excusable ignorance of the Latin translator [Pietro Gherardo ("Gherardius"), in 1740, in Lodovico Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi*, 6 vols. (Milan, 1738–42), 3:251–548] and the French historian [Jean Du Cerceau, *Conjuration de Nicolas Gabrini dit de Rienzi* (Paris, 1733)]." Thus Gibbon claimed that Cola, in his attempt to *volgarizzare* the clauses of the *lex*, misunderstood the term, hence the translation *Jardinio*. There is a precedent to be found in Dante, where he described Italy as the "garden" of the Empire (*Purgatorio* VI, 105; see Sordi, "Cola di Rienzo e le clausole mancanti," 303–5). But Gibbon, and many commentators since, have overlooked their own "stupendously" simple point of distinction; the chronicler and the tribune were not the same person. Cola, notary and proto-antiquary, knew perfectly well that the word was *pomerium*, not *pomarium*. In Bohemia Cola used precisely this term, *pomerium*, in reference to the boundaries of the Roman Empire within Italy (*Briefwechsel* 3, letter 57.645; also 57.725 and 58.751)—a usage, moreover, quite in accordance with German imperial constitutions of the thirteenth century (see Sordi "Cola di Rienzo e le clausole mancanti," 306). Sordi does not note the 1278 inscription in which Nicholas III recorded that he had made a *circuitum murorum pomerii huius* (see Raffaello Morghen, *Civiltà medioevale al tramonto* [Bari, 1971], 191). The same term was used by another Roman notary, in 1358, to describe the boundaries of a property held by the Clarisses of San Silvestro; see the unpublished parchment at Archivio Storico Romano, *fondo* S. Silvestro in Capite, *pergamene* 228.

²³ "utique ei fines pomerii proferre, promovere, cum ex republica / censebit esse, liceat ita uti licuit Ti(berio) Claudio Caesari Aug(usto) / Germanico [. . .]" (text and translation from Gordon, *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, 121–22).

²⁴ The Italian historian of later medieval Rome, Duprè Theseider, thought that Cola had invented the entire list of rights. He found the "river" clause so ridiculous that he graced it with no more than an exclamation mark (Duprè Theseider, *Roma dal commune di popolo alla signoria pontificia*, 538).

But the tablet which now hangs in the Sala del Fauno includes not a single clause which can be interpreted as one of the points made in the chronicler's account. Therefore we have to establish a different source for these medieval ideas regarding Vespasian's rights; what could be the source, if not the surviving *lex* tablet? So it has been claimed (see below) that Cola must have had access to both tablets of the *lex de imperio* of Vespasian, since the Capitoline Museum tablet is only the second, final, part of a longer inscription documenting the concession of sovereign authority to Vespasian.

This is a problematic assumption, however, and has never been fully worked out even by its firmest adherents. In order, therefore, to test the hypothesis of Cola having seen and used two tablets, so as to compare the clauses of the "entire" *lex* to the contents of Cola's speech in 1346, we must reconstruct the rest of the Vespasianic law. Regrettably, no other tablet or record survives, from Vespasian's reign or that of any other emperor, for direct comparison with the *lex de imperio Vespasiani* tablet. What we do know, however, is that this or a similar collection of various jurisdictions was bestowed on all emperors upon their accession; and that these accumulated powers came to be known as a *lex regia*, a sovereign law, at least in retrospect by the time of Justinian's massive undertaking. The term appears in many passages (see below) of *Corpus Iuris*, though it is never fully explicated. Conveniently, the German legal scholar, O. Karlowa,²⁵ actually reassembled, in 1885, a notional list of the terms of a classical *lex regia*, from a combination of scattered references throughout *Corpus Iuris* and from classical commentators such as Tacitus and Suetonius. He presented fourteen clauses. As well as the two imperial rights over the *pomerium* and treaties on the surviving tablet, these include, most interestingly, a number of other clauses regarding territory and status. Among these Karlowa lists the *assignatio agrorum*, or individual land grant system; the promotion and demotion of settlements to the status of *coloniae* and *municipia*; and the absolute administration of "Caesarian" provinces, i.e., those under direct imperial rather than senatorial control; this included the right to establish deputies—legates—or even client kings, to rule in the place of the emperor.

These correspond explicitly with the "missing" rights described in the chronicler's paraphrase of Cola's speech. Cola's account, respectively, echoes the emperor's right to grant estates (*dare contado*) as he wished; to make and unmake cities; and to promote or demote men to or from the status of duke or

²⁵ Otto Karlowa, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1885–1901), 1:492–503, esp. 496–501. His reconstruction does not use the fourteenth-century chronicle; this gives his account objective validity as a source of comparison.

king. More generally, rights over civil jurisdiction included, of course, the right to divert the courses of rivers. A topical issue in the late republic and early principate, when officials were appointed to keep the channel clear and thus prevent blockages and floods, this would have had an even more particular resonance for the chronicler of a frequently deluged fourteenth-century city.²⁶

In conclusion, then, each one of the clauses which the chronicler attributes to Cola's account of the content of the *lex* can be explained, to a greater or lesser extent, in terms of the information for *leges regiae* in general, though not all can be explained in terms of the clauses on the surviving tablet. While, on the one hand, certain aspects of the content of Cola's description of the *lex de imperio* of Vespasian tally more closely than has been realized with the clauses on the tablet which does survive, on the other hand, the account also corresponds with other clauses of the *leges regiae*, some of which would certainly have appeared on the missing tablet of the Vespasianic *lex*.

So, to restate the question, did Cola have access to both tablets? A reading of the chronicle account in isolation has prompted several scholars to assume that Cola must have had seen more than one tablet,²⁷ despite the absence of definitive evidence to that effect. To reach a answer to this debate, however, we must move on to discuss Cola and his position more generally as regarded law, legal scholarship, and his use of legal precedent; we must examine all the evidence for Cola's construction of Roman authority to assess the extent of his reliance on the Vespasianic tablet.

²⁶ An account of a Roman flood of 1345 may be found in *Anonimo Romano: Cronica*, ed. Porta, 135–39 [98–101]. Though refusing to share Duprè Theseider's scorn, even Sordi glosses over the difficult question of where Cola or his chronicler picked up the rivers clause (see "Cola di Rienzo e le clausole mancanti," 305–8); she argues, *contra* Duprè Theseider, that the clause is so strange it cannot possibly be an invention. She offers an excellent selection of literary and epigraphical references from ancient Rome as possible sources for Cola's account of the imperial right to alter the courses of rivers, but she does not in fact attempt to prove Cola had access to these sources. Thus she is unable to explain what she calls the strangeness of the clause. But there would be nothing strange, surely, in medieval as in ancient Rome, in an emphasis on controlling the routes and the banks of rivers. The water supply, to state an obvious, if overlooked, fact, was crucial. The Tiber, until its final containment a century ago, played an essential, if also something of a maverick role in daily life in Rome.

²⁷ See, for instance, Sordi "Cola di Rienzo e le clausole mancanti." But in any case all of Cola's references are to one tablet, as are the references of the chronicler, as are those of Master Gregorius and Odofredus. This was accepted by Brunt, "Lex de Imperio Vespasiani," 95 n. 2. Crawford's recent statement (*Roman Statutes* 1:551–52) implying that Cola had access to two tablets, since he would have been unable to make a proper distinction between one and two tablets or between the columns of a tablet with two columns, seems hardly a fair assessment of Cola's abilities.

USE

So, finally, we must consider the use to which Cola put the tablet, namely, the purpose of the ceremony conducted around the tablet. What exactly did Cola do with the information he extracted from this law? Despite all the debates there have been concerning Cola's ultimate ambitions, no one, curiously, has attempted to relate the clauses of the *lex* tablet to all of the evidence existing for the conception and construction of Cola's own authority.

It will be argued here, then, that in 1347 Cola was to envisage his own powers as comparable to those of Vespasian, which he had read out in the Lateran several months before his assumption of government. He used the Vespasianic precedent as a prelude²⁸ to his own legal establishment as supreme ruler of Rome by popular mandate. He taught the citizens, the people of Rome, that they had always possessed supreme authority, and, moreover, that they had the power to hand over their rights to a representative. This was precisely what the same "people" did, several months later, in electing him as "Tribunus Romanus"; a move clearly anticipated by Cola well before his coup. But it was only after May 1347 that Cola writes that the assembled people of Rome had conceded to him their "absolute and free power and authority."²⁹ And in an interesting and barely noted passage,³⁰ the chronicler tells us exactly how Cola used the precedent of the Vespasianic *lex*. Directly after his coup, in late May 1347, according to the chronicle Cola read out (from another *carta*) a list of legal ordinances.³¹ Immediately after this list there is the following statement:

²⁸ It should be noted, immediately, that in previous treatments of Cola's exhibition of the tablet the tendency has been to assume that the 1346 *lex* speech was Cola's own manifesto. The chronicler, however, is very clear on this issue. He states explicitly that this was Cola's version of the classical law, i.e., that Cola was here describing a classical emperor's powers; nowhere in the passage does he imply that Cola was right then trying to assume these powers. At the time of the Lateran exposition, Cola was still testing the political waters; the revolution of May 1347 was still a year's plotting away. A precise distinction must be drawn between the rhetoric of 1346 and the positions Cola later assumed in 1347. The point of the event in the Lateran, then, was to stress not Cola's own personal authority, but the sovereign authority of the Roman people, and their right to grant that authority to an individual.

²⁹ "... absolutam et liberam potestatem et auctoritatem . . . commisit et concessit" (*Briefwechsel* 3, letter 7/8.105–11; also see letter 27.24–26).

³⁰ This was not remarked upon at all until 1992, but now see Gustav Seibt, *Anonimo Romano: Geschichtsschreibung in Rom an der Schwelle zur Renaissance* (Stuttgart, 1992), 125: "Erstaunlicherweise hat man bisher übersehen, daß Rienzos Vollmachten offenbar Punkt für Punkt nach der *lex* . . . abgefaßt waren." Despite this declaration, Seibt's subsequent assessment of Cola's reliance on the clauses of the *lex* is no less vague than that of Sordi.

³¹ These were not classically oriented but analogous to the civic legislation of contemporary Italian communal administration.

Many other things were written in this document (*carta*); the people were extremely pleased with it, and they all raised their hands in the air, and joyfully elected him their lord (*signore*). . . . They also gave him freedom to punish, to execute, to pardon, to promote [men] to new status [Wright: to appoint officers], to make leagues [Wright: laws] and treaties with neighbouring peoples, and to establish boundaries. They also gave him pure and free imperial power for as far as the jurisdiction of the Roman people extended.³²

This was quite obviously not some spontaneous transfer, by the assembled people, of a collection of *ad hoc* powers. Cola had obviously drafted this list well in advance of his coup. Even the acclamation of Cola as *signore* appears stage-managed. One might say that Cola had neatly added *laudes regiae* to *leges regiae*. And it is obvious that the *lex regia* inspired this list of Cola's new powers. The clauses are by now familiar: we have already seen those regarding the leagues and treaties, and the *pomerium* issue. It is particularly clear that Cola was given the right to alter "status." This echoes, and I suggest puts in context, the awkward chronicle paraphrase from the year before, in the Lateran ceremony, regarding Vespasian's rights over elevation of men to the status of duke or king. Cola went on to make full use of these particular ancient imperial powers:

Then he pardoned the barons. . . . He made some of them patricians and others prefects of the grain supply; one he made Duke of Tuscany, another Duke of Campagna.³³

These points suggest very strongly that Cola's powers were conceived of before he came to power, and were indeed constructed in analogy to the powers conferred by the *lex regia*,³⁴ but the Lateran exposition of the year before was far more sophisticated than a crude demand for the powers Cola meant to grab. Well before he took over the Capitol in May 1347, Cola was at pains to lay out the foundations, practical and ideological, for the resumption of the universal power of the Roman people, in anticipation of the moment when they would then hand over to Cola, as their representative, this sovereign power, the "absolute and free power and authority."

³² Wright, *Life of Cola di Rienzo*, 43 (*Anonimo Romano: Cronica*, ed. Porta, 156 [114]).

³³ *Ibid.*, 76–77 (ed. Porta, 191 [141]). Cola also informed Clement that he had asked for ambassadors from countries over which he claimed the right to arbitrate; including "reges Francorum et Anglie et singulos alios reges catholicae fidei, notabilesque duces, principes" (*Briefwechsel* 3, letter 28.187–89; see also vol. 4, letter 8.58–62; and Wright, *Life of Cola di Rienzo*, 64–66 (*Anonimo Romano: Cronica*, ed. Porta, 178–80 [130–32])).

³⁴ A criticism of Karlowa's reconstruction is his failure to mention the *tribunicia potestas* among the list of imperial prerogatives and titles. If this element is added to the reconstruction of the *leges regiae*, then it throws into sharper relief the most important title Cola took on, the one he emphasized most frequently, and the one he kept longest: tribune.

This explains, then, Cola's careful use of the *lex* tablet, and the ultimate meaning and purpose of the ceremony of 1346, which has sometimes led to complicated exegesis, but more often again to dismissal as evidence of Cola's "madness," by historians. But to resolve the other issue at point here, namely, the long-standing debate over whether Cola had only the one, or two tablets of the *lex de imperio Vespasiani* available to him, we have to return to contemporary sources, and finally to Cola's own writings. Briefly to anticipate this argument, then, although it is tempting to use Cola's evidence to suggest that both tablets survived the Middle Ages (and to reconstruct their contents), unfortunately the case cannot be proved. The reason it cannot be proved is that a close reading of Cola's correspondence, and the legal knowledge this contains, set against a study of the legal scholarship of his time, makes it perfectly obvious that Cola would not even have needed the one tablet he knew, in order to reconstruct the content of the *lex*. It was not his only source for this *lex*.

So far the material under discussion in this section, which shows how Cola adopted and adapted the clauses of the *lex de imperio* into a unique matrix of authority and legitimation, could well be, in fact, fitted into the theory that Cola knew of both the tablets of Vespasian's *lex*. But Cola would not, in fact, even have needed the original tablet in order to draw upon the general tradition of the *leges regiae* of Roman law.³⁵ In the later Middle Ages anybody with some legal or philosophical training would have known what a *lex regia* meant or could mean—although no one, commenting on Cola's use of the tablet, has mentioned this. Cola, of course, was a notary and legal scholar. He would have known Justinian's references to the *lex regia*, long before his rescue of the Vespasianic tablet. As a notary, a political and historical thinker, and an antiquarian (if the term is not too anachronistic), Cola was familiar with the Justinian collations; indeed, this was the basis of the education of any civil lawyer.³⁶ There are direct references to Justinian himself and to the law codes, and also quotations, from the Digest particularly, scattered throughout Cola's correspondence.³⁷

³⁵ After all, in his exhibition, Cola did not stand in front of the tablet and read it off; as the chronicler says, he read out the chapters from a *carta*. The tablet was a springboard for the legal disquisition, and not necessarily his exclusive source.

³⁶ Cola was not himself a "doctor of both laws" (canon and civil). But among his closer political associates were two extremely important Roman judges, the noble lawyers Matteo dei Baccari and Paolo Vaiani, who both appear in notarial sources as *doctor ambum legum* [sic]. Immediately after his coup Cola sent these men as his ambassadors to other cities: so they were, very probably, involved in the conspiracy of 1346–47, and quite possibly involved in the exposition of the *lex* tablet at this earlier stage, 1346, as well as in the mapping of Vespasian's powers onto the new tribune of Rome after Pentecost of 1347.

³⁷ See *Briefwechsel* 3, letter 58.113, 376, 626, and 740; and letter 60.22.

Moreover, the *lex regia* was not some mere or minor legal technicality, known only to the professional lawyer: the *lex regia* was, on the contrary, bound up with the great question of the sources of universal authority over the medieval world. It was a subject for profound and detailed speculation throughout the writings of medieval glossators, post-glossators and jurists.³⁸ If we examine what medieval legal scholars thought, it is perfectly obvious why the *lex de imperio* tablet, the one tangible relic of the *lex regia* tradition, was crucial for Cola, and why, then, the whole *lex* episode of 1346 was more important and meaningful to his career than has ever been supposed.

The central issue of the *lex regia* for medieval legal commentators was the establishment of a balance between God's input and man's contribution to the creation of a Roman emperor. God's role—or that of his representative, the Pope—in the divine ordination of temporal authority could be countered, or even bypassed, using the authority of the Roman *lex regia*. This, as we know, created the principle that the people, i.e., the people of Rome, had the right to make, and possibly even to break the emperor.

The *lex regia* had never been denied in essence, even if the Vespasianic *lex de imperio* tablet, the concrete evidence so to speak, was not recognized as such until 1346. The *lex regia* principle was put into political practice in the twelfth century, in the context of the Roman people's constitutional relationship with Frederick Barbarossa.³⁹ It had featured widely in the justifications offered by imperial ideologues in the long medieval battle between pope and emperor—the so-called Investiture Contest—for supreme universal authority: the debates raged throughout the commentaries. Did the ancient *lex regia* represent the permanent alienation, the *translatio*, of the sovereign authority of the Roman people? Or had it been a one-off grant, a *concessio*⁴⁰ designed to be

³⁸ E.g., Odofredus, as noted above in n. 10.

³⁹ Robert L. Benson, "Political *Renovatio*: Two Models from Roman Antiquity," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, Mass., 1982) 339–86, at 356.

⁴⁰ Seibt, *Anonimo Romano*, 124 n. 88, draws out the general difference in implication of *translatio* and *concessio*. However, he does not make it clear that in fact this distinction—or rather, an ambiguity—arises from the civil law sources themselves. Of the five references in *Corpus Iuris* to the *lex regia*, three talk of a translation of power (Donation of Constantine "Deo Auctore": *Digest* I.ii.1; *Codex Justinianus* 1.17.1,7); the other two (*Institutes* 1.2.6, *Digest* 1.4.1) refer to a concession of sovereign authority (see Joseph Canning, *The Political Thought of Baldus de Ubaldis* [Cambridge, 1987], 55 n. 121). The Roman chronicle, it should be noted, uses the Romanesque term "concedeva," rather than a derivative of *translatio*. Cola, it hardly requires repeating, favoured the interpretation of a revocable *concessio*. He was, as we have seen, the recipient of this new concession of imperial powers. The fact that the tablet itself repeatedly invokes the precedent of other emperors could be interpreted as reinforcing the renewable, rather than once-for-always, argument.

reinstitution when necessary with the accession of new emperors? And if the latter were true, could the *lex regia* be revoked by the Roman people?⁴¹

We can see why it was an issue of such importance to Cola; and there is evidence that he was bound up in this very debate, in two passages in the collected correspondence to or concerning Cola di Rienzo. The first comes from a papal "spy" in Rome, Cochetus de Cochetis, with reference to the ceremonial knighting of Cola of 1 August 1347. In the public address which followed the knighting, Cola declared the forthcoming election, for Pentecost 1348, of the Holy Roman Emperor, summoning the claimants⁴² themselves, and those who claimed the right to elect them, namely the German electors, to attend his court in Rome. The papal spy wrote,

After he received his knighthood, in the aforementioned assembly in the Lateran he had various legal arguments set out against the German electors, [stating] that they would have to come to the city and into his presence to explain why they thought they had the right to elect the emperor; others [i.e., other arguments stated] that the election of the emperor had devolved onto the Roman people—and this he intended to prove in law.⁴³

Clement VI was to receive this information, in Avignon, and to disagree violently:

He [Cola] also has presumed to revoke those concessions made since the time of the foundation of Rome [. . .] but only *de facto*, because he cannot do it *de iure*.⁴⁴

Of course, Clement would say that. By the mid-fourteenth century, the papacy had won, at least in theory, the great Investiture Contest. However, the popes were not, at the time, in Rome, the heart of both imperial and papal power, to

⁴¹ Broadly, and briefly speaking, the legal scholars Inerius, Rogerius, Piacentinus, Pillius, Bartolo da Sassoferrato, Baldo, and certain political theorists, including Giles of Rome and Ptolemy of Lucca, all said "no," once passed, the *lex regia* could not be revoked. Azzo, Ugolino, Gulielmus de Cuncto, Odofredus (who, ironically, it may be recalled, did not identify the actual *lex* tablet), Accursius, Raynerius, Butrigarius, Branchazolus, Jacopus de Arena, Cino da Pistoia, and, of course, theorists such as Marsilius and William of Ockham, all said "yes," the people could be revoke the voluntary alienation of their sovereign power.

⁴² I.e., Lewis the Bavarian, then still alive, who had been crowned in Rome in 1327; and Charles IV of Bohemia, legitimate grandson and heir of Henry VII.

⁴³ "Et post dictam miliciam receptam in dicto parlatorio Lateranensis Ecclesie legi fecit certos processus factos contra Electores Alamanie et quod hinc ad festum Penthecostes debeat dicti Electores docere de iurisdiccione eorum electure Imperatoris in Vrbe et coram eo; alias electio Imperatoris est ad Romanum populum deuoluta, et hoc intendit iuridice probare" (*Briefwechsel* 4, letter 8.52–57).

⁴⁴ "Concessionones quoque a condite Vrbs quippe tempore factas . . . de facto, cum de iure non posset, revocare . . . presumpsit" (*Briefwechsel* 4, letter 40.118–23).

prevent Cola's activities. Clement did not think that Cola could prove his case in law. But evidently Cola did know of a legal precedent, from some written source: in a later section of the Roman chronicle there is a description of Cola's summons to the pope, the electors, the college of cardinals and Lewis the Bavarian. Then the chronicler says,

He [Cola] said that he had found it written that after the lapse of a certain amount of time the election fell to the Romans.⁴⁵

Regrettably, the chronicler fails to tell us precisely where Cola found this written. It is evident from the tablet itself that Cola did not find this *lex regia* "expiry date" on the classical remnant of the *lex de imperio* of Vespasian; and it does not appear in the relevant *Corpus Iuris* passages. But even this cannot be used to suggest that Cola must therefore have seen the "missing" tablet (as the only place to have found such a clause), because the very same argument, regarding the time factor, exists in the writings of Cola's contemporaries,⁴⁶ and it is likely that Cola knew either the scholars themselves or their work. For example, Bartolo da Sassoferrato, perhaps the most famous Trecento legal scholar, took the opposite line from Cola. Bartolo claimed that the Roman People retained their legal sovereignty after the grant of power in the *lex regia*, but that over the course of time and because of historical events, he argued, these powers were lost.⁴⁷ Bartolo's teacher, Jacopo Butigarius, agreed with Cola's line of interpretation, that the *lex regia* could be revoked. On the other hand, Bartolo's famous pupil, Baldo degli Ubaldi, shifted Bartolo's reasoning slightly, claiming that these powers were lost on account of the legal measure which he read as a second *lex regia*—namely, the Donation of Constantine.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Wright, *Life of Cola di Rienzo*, 72 (*Anonimo Romano: Cronica*, ed. Porta, 187 [138]).

⁴⁶ It is impossible to establish exactly what Cola knew of contemporary juristic literature, since he does not refer to any recent texts. But he certainly knew many jurists (see n. 36 above); and there are also several passages in his correspondence where he talks of his consultation, in 1347, of a legal advisory body (see, e.g., *Briefwechsel* 3, letter 7/8.192; see also letter 27.80–85). We know, of course, from the chronicler's description of the exposition of the tablet in 1346 that there were jurists among the invited audience.

⁴⁷ See Diego Quaglione, *Politica e Diritto nel Trecento italiano: Il "De Tyranno" di Bartolo da Sassoferrato (1314–57)* (Florence, 1983), 208–9.

⁴⁸ Canning, *Political Thought of Baldus de Ubaldis*, 56–58. Bartolo was an exact contemporary, Cola's construction of his powers in 1347 is also readily comparable to Bartolo's near contemporary *De Regimine Civitatum*. A summary was assembled from Bartolo's commentaries on the Digest and the Codex, by Walter Ullmann, "*De Bartoli sententia: Concilium repraesentat mentem populi*" in *Bartolo da Sassoferrato: Studi e Documenti per il VI Centenario*, ed. A. Giuffrè, 2 vols. (Milan, 1962), 2:707–33; reprinted in *The Papacy and Political Ideas in the Middle Ages* (London, 1976), regarding the full legislative sovereignty of the autonomous city. Though Cola does not mention Bartolo in his letters, there are many points of comparison with Cola's own ordinances, both those which relate to the classical *lex regia*

In 1346, therefore, Cola di Rienzo marched right into the heart of the whole legal debate over popular sovereignty and the authority of the Roman people. While Cola, evidently, did not think that the Roman people had lost their rights for good, and could in fact revoke those powers granted to the emperor, he certainly thought they had been unused until his arrival. But approximately one year after the Lateran *lex de imperio* reading the people of Rome were back in control of the world. On the advice of the *iurisperiti* of the Roman college and of all Italy, Cola stated,

The Senate and people of Rome possess that authority and jurisdiction over the whole world which they once had before, from ancient times. . . . And now, they can interpret, compose, suspend, alter, append, limit, and even declare *iura et leges*; they can do everything that they used to be able to do; they can even revoke measures established to their benefit and advantage.⁴⁹

This has a direct implication for the *lex regia*. Cola continued, that with the authority of the Roman people, in their "full and most solemn *parlamentum*,"

we have reconferred those offices, dignities, powers, and imperial or whatever other kinds of authorities, plus all original and ancient rights of the same Roman people, upon ourselves and upon the aforementioned people.⁵⁰

This edict, Cola continued, was to be recorded "in tablets of bronze, as used to be done in days of old"⁵¹—a neat implicit tribute to the Vespasianic precedent he had adopted.

To sum up the discussion of the "use" of the tablet, it is undeniable that Cola himself knew the terms of the debate over the *lex regia*, and the powers it conferred, as detailed on the tablet, and elsewhere. As a notary and a scholar, he also knew the codices of Roman law, and, very likely, the debates to which

and others which are close to the measures found in contemporary urban statutes across central Italy in the late medieval period. It is rather more likely that Cola met Baldo degli Ubaldi in person. Baldo was a young man in Perugia in the mid-fourteenth century; Perugia was one of the towns selected for a special fraternal relationship with Rome in the ceremony of 1 August 1347 (see p. 162 above). Perugia also operated as Cola's base of operations, troops, and funding for several months in 1353, when he returned to central Italy and began to plan his triumphal reentry of Rome.

⁴⁹ "Senatum populumque Romanum illam auctoritatem et iurisdictionem habere in toto orbe terrarum, quam olim habuit ab antiquo tempore. . . . et posse nunc iura et leges interpretari, condere, reuocare, mutare, addere, minuire ac etiam declarare et omnia facere sicut prius et posse etiam reuocare, quidquid in sui lexionem et preiudicium factum fuerat" (*Briefwechsel* 3, letter 41.29–35).

⁵⁰ "... ea officia, dignitates, potestates et auctoritates imperiales et quascunque alias et omnia primitiua et antiqua iura eiusdem Romani populi reduximus ad nos et populum prelibatum" (*ibid.*, lines 47–51).

⁵¹ "... prout solebat antiquitus fieri, in tabulis ereis annotari" (*ibid.*, line 119).

these gave rise. It may be asserted, therefore, that Cola knew, better than any of his contemporaries, the one remaining tablet of the original *lex de imperio* of Vespasian; but he also knew the tradition of the *lex regia*, as it had been discussed over the hundreds of years between Justinian's compilation and Baldo's interpretation. Cola di Rienzo designed an occasion to combine the continuity of the *lex regia* tradition with the presentation of a historical artifact, the *lex* tablet. In doing so, he took the people's sovereign rights, the *lex regia*, out of the conceptual zone and into a broader social context, away from theory and into reality.

CONCLUSIONS

The first conclusion that I would like to draw is that the evidence of all the sources cannot prove, then, that Cola saw both (or all the) tablets of the *lex de imperio* of Vespasian; and, taken altogether, this evidence suggests that Cola did not have to rely exclusively on even the one tablet his sources make evident he knew: the tablet as a literal, visual *artifact* assisted his dramatic reconstruction of popular sovereignty, but, I have argued, he supplemented the clauses on the tablet with information he already knew from other sources of Roman law. He used not just the *lex de imperio* tablet, but the entire *lex regia* tradition, which he knew of, not from another single tablet, but from his education as a lawyer. It is a pity, then, that Cola's adaptation of the *lex* tablet cannot, after all, assist classical scholars in the important task of reconstructing the legal moves which turned the classical Roman Republic into the Roman Empire, without in theory sacrificing its republican constitution. But, from a medieval (or at least, a medievalist's) perspective, Cola's aim was quite the reverse; to forge his *sacra respublica Romana*⁵² back out of what had, historically, become an empire—though without jeopardizing the award and exercise of imperial authority, in so far as it had devolved onto him.

Second, we have moved some way towards answering another debate which surrounds Cola and his career, namely, his attitude towards the papacy and its authority over Rome, and by extension, naturally, the question of Cola's response to the temporal jurisdiction claimed by the medieval papacy. In his exhibition of the tablet in the Lateran, Cola privileged "Rome" over "Empire" and altogether bypassed the papacy, although he was to retain the sacral role of the city within his concept of the Holy Roman Republic. The adoption of a similar attitude towards the Pope, and a similar use of ancient imagery, and a similar legalistic manipulation of ancient theories and traditions may be seen in

⁵² Ibid., letter 7/8.5.

Cola's evocation of the memory of the emperor Constantine alongside the revocation of his notorious Donation of power over Rome to Pope Silvester. Just as Cola never explicitly referred to the *lex regia*, and yet constructed an entire discourse around its application to his contemporary political situation, in the same way he never explicitly criticized Constantine for the foundation of the material, i.e., the corrupted church. And yet in 1346 and 1347, Cola's activities in the Lateran Basilica, at the heart of western Christendom—and particularly the exposition of the *lex de imperio*—can be read as a clear challenge to the authority of the papacy; he was, in effect, reversing the Donation of Constantine, which had effected the alienation of supreme Roman imperial power to the medieval papacy. Baldo degli Ubaldi was, presumably, not among the *iurisperiti* who advised Cola that he could revoke the *lex regia*: for Baldo, this would have meant that Cola, *qua* representative of the *Populus*, had the legal right to revoke the Donation of Constantine, and Baldo had always argued for sovereignty as devolved onto the papacy. In order to recreate the mandate for single, imperial authority, Cola was obliged to resurrect, in every sense of the word, the supreme rights of the Roman people, in the *lex regia*. The people, as the electors of the emperor, according to the line of interpretation Cola chose to follow, did have the power to revoke those concessions made by Constantine to Silvester: hence Clement's apoplectic response to Cola's "revocation" statement.

Third, this paper responds to the longest-running debate surrounding the revolution of Cola di Rienzo; namely, that of his self-perception, his desired position vis-à-vis Rome, and towards all that "Rome" implied in medieval Christendom. Ever since the publication, in 1624, of that part of the chronicle which deals with Cola, he has been either the idol or the *bête noire* of ideologues; he has been depicted, in technicolour anachronism, from the seventeenth century through to the 1990s, in roles from the romantic hero of "the people," to that of a herald of national self-determination; from a communistic demagogue to a precursor of Fascist dictatorship.⁵³ Better-balanced historical

⁵³ See Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, canto IV, stanza 114; Bulwer Lytton's novel *Rienzi. Last of the Tribunes* (London, 1841); Wagner's opera, based on this novel. Cola has offered a curiously variable totalitarian model: in 1928 Wagner's *Rienzi* overture opened the tenth Congress of Soviets in the USSR (see Origo, *Tribune of Rome*, 13), but the original score of the opera disappeared along with Nazi leaders in 1943. Many articles praising the supposedly proto-fascistic regime of the tribune appeared in the 1930s; and one particularly anti-Fascist reading immediately following the Second World War is the most recent monograph in English: Victor Fleischer, *Rienzo. The Rise and Fall of a Dictator* (London, 1948). Historians have found it hard to resist making comparisons with subsequent dictators, whose intense personal ambition and even semi-divine self-perception did not prevent the establishment of empires. This is not, however, a new development in Cola historiography. Over the last two centuries, comparisons have been drawn between Cola and Caesar, Nero, Napoleon,

accounts have, quite rightly, debated his ambitions more specifically "in context."⁵⁴ The arguments made here go at least some way towards resolving that debate. The *lex* ceremony, and the manner in which Cola followed it up, shows very clearly that, despite his humble origins, Cola saw himself as bearing an imperial mandate.⁵⁵ His activities as part of his mission to return Rome to its ancient power and glory were couched in terms of Augustus's title of tribune, Vespasian's autocratic law and Constantine's Christian restoration of Rome; and also in terms of the supremacy of the imperial, rather than papal right to administer justice to the world. Cola's symbolic position was not entirely absolute, and it is clear that in 1347 he saw his position as temporary.⁵⁶ Furthermore, after the collapse of his tribunate, and his acceptance in 1350 of Charles IV of Bohemia as the rightful imperial claimant, he created a lesser role for himself within a terrestrial Trinity of pope, emperor and tribune. However, even before the tribunate began, Cola had made his quasi-imperial ambitions clear. The *lex* exposition in 1346, as asserted above, was not Cola's personal manifesto but a claim on behalf of the Roman people. Nonetheless, this does not conceal Cola's personal ambition: according to the chronicler's account, Cola let slip a telling phrase a short time after the *lex* ceremony. When mocked by the Colonna barons, he threatened them: "I am going to be a great *signore* or emperor."⁵⁷

To wind up the argument, however, I feel it is necessary to put these issues back into the broader perspective of the political context of fourteenth-century

Garibaldi, Hitler, and Mussolini: see also G. W. Meadley, "Two Pairs of Historical Portraits: Octavian Augustus and William Pitt; Rienzi and Buonaparte," *The Pamphleteer* 18/35 (1821): 129–14; Gabriele D'Annunzio, *La Vita di Cola di Rienzo* (Florence, 1905); Luigi Barzini, "Cola di Rienzo or the Obsession of Antiquity," chap. 7 in *The Italians* (New York, 1964), 117–32.

⁵⁴ See, for example, the increasingly acrimonious debate between two Italian scholars, Brizzolara and Filippini, earlier this century: Giuseppe Brizzolara, "Il Petrarca e Cola di Rienzo," *Studi Storici* 8 (1899): 239–51 and 423–63; Francesco Filippini, "Cola di Rienzo e la Curia Avignonese," *Studi Storici* 10 (1901): 241–87, and 11 (1902): 3–35; Brizzolara, "Ancora Cola di Rienzo e Francesco Petrarca," *Studi Storici* 12 (1903): 353–411, and 14 (1905): 69–101 and 243–77.

⁵⁵ Later, in 1350, he was to claim to be the son of Henry VII, and thus to be the current Emperor Charles's uncle (see *Briefwechsel* 3, letter 50.179). Cola said that when he knew his true parentage, "*vitam plebeyam contempnere incepi*," and he started to read only the deeds of the great emperors of the past. But in 1346–47, Cola had not yet made this claim.

⁵⁶ He announced an imperial election for Pentecost of 1348 (*ibid.*, letters 27.54–71, 28.174 ff., and 41.51–67). Although he may well have been seeking election himself, this does confirm Cola's respect for his role as "representative" of the Roman people (see also the "elective" principle behind the tribunate: *ibid.*, letters 18.55 and 64.168).

⁵⁷ "Io serraio granne signore o imperatore. Tutti questi baroni persequitaraio" (*Anonimo Romano: Cronica*, ed. Porta, 150 [109]; see also Wright, *Life of Cola di Rienzo*, 37).

Rome and Italy. The last word on this theme—Rome, the Romans, the law, and supreme power over the world—must, therefore, go to Cino da Pistoia († 1337), the near-contemporary jurist. His ironic comment on the subject of the *lex regia*, perhaps more poignantly than any other source, illustrates the antithesis of reality and imagination in Cola di Rienzo and his vision of Roman power. Cola, in his use of the Vespasianic *lex*, attempted, during his short period in control of fourteenth-century Rome, to recreate the quasi-sacred universal authority, as well as the glory and charisma, of the ancient Roman Empire. But, as Cino's gloss on the *lex regia* debate reads,

Make what choice you like from these opinions because I do not care. For if the Roman people were in fact to make a law or custom, I know that it would not be observed outside the city.⁵⁸

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⁵⁸ Canning, *Political Thought of Baldus de Ubaldis*, 57 (for the Latin text, see *ibid.*, 236).

FROM ERFURT AND LYONS TO THE PARISH
CHURCH OF BJÖRKVIK:
THE FRIARS OF VADSTENA ABBEY
AS CULTURAL TRANSMITTORES

Roger Andersson

THE interest in medieval sermons is steadily increasing, and it is highly satisfying to notice that sermon studies are no longer the exclusive domain of theologians and church historians but can be used as source material for a broad variety of studies.¹ In Sweden, the sermons originating from Vadstena Abbey, the mother house of the *Ordo Sanctissimi Salvatoris*, more commonly known as the Birgittine Order (founded by St. Birgitta of Sweden in the fourteenth century), have recently proved to be of particular interest to scholars, especially on account of the vast amount of preserved sermons.²

It is almost certain that of the approximately six thousand sermons written in Vadstena Abbey from the end of the fourteenth century to the beginning of the sixteenth,³ by far the greatest proportion were intended for use by the friars themselves in their own preaching activity. The innumerable model collections, of both foreign and domestic origin, served as an aid in their preparation of sermons. Other collections seem to be more directly connected to their actual preaching.⁴ The sermons in these are sometimes heavily loaded with marginal

¹ The interdisciplinary approach to the study of medieval sermons is given particular emphasis within the International Medieval Sermon Studies Society and its *Newsletter*, appearing twice a year.

² For basic bibliographical references to Birgittine studies and a general survey of Birgittine preaching, see Roger Andersson and Stephan Borgehammar, "The Preaching of the Birgittine Friars at Vadstena Abbey (ca 1375–1515)," *Revue Mabillon* 64 (n.s., 3) (1997): 209–36.

³ Roger Andersson, *Predikosamlingar i Vadstena klosterbibliotek*, Vadstenabrödernas predikan, Meddelanden 1 (Uppsala, 1994), 22. Approximately six thousand additional sermons not actually written in the Abbey are preserved in manuscripts that once belonged to its library (*ibid.*).

⁴ A special case is the series of over one hundred *reportationes* which was discovered a few years ago; see Håkan Hallberg, "Reportaciones Vadstenenses – über das Predigen im Kloster Vadstena um 1430," in *A Catalogue and Its Users: A Symposium on the Uppsala C Collection of Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. Monica Hedlund, Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis 34 (Uppsala, 1995), 101–14.

notes indicating the main structure or which parts could be expanded. The selection of sermons also often seems to correspond well with what we know about on which days preaching was an obligatory task for the friars according to the Rule of the Order (*Regula Salvatoris*).⁵

Far less is known about the degree to which the sacred rhetoric of Vadstena in its turn may have influenced the preaching outside the monastery, for example, the ordinary parish priests. In a study of the textual transmission of the vernacular postils from the late fifteenth century, I have provided indirect evidence that such an influence was actually present to a considerable degree.⁶ At a more precise and concrete level, though, as regards for example copying from Vadstena manuscripts or borrowing and lending of books, our knowledge still remains fragmentary. Nonetheless, it remains significant, since the few things we do know neatly suggest that this, i.e., the copying and borrowing of books, may very well have been *the* most important and efficient vehicle for transmission of such an influence.

Just recently, evidence that such transactions were normal practice has been brought to light. Of special interest is a receipt formula for the lending of sermon collections to parish priests, found in one Vadstena manuscript.⁷ Highly significant in this respect is also the case of another sermon collection, namely, Cod. Ups. C 332, written in the second half of the fifteenth century, according to the catalogue of medieval manuscripts in the C collection of the University library of Uppsala.⁸ On the first leaf the following notice can be read:

This book was lent to the reverend Daniel Hemmingi, vicar in Björkvik in the diocese of Strängnäs, by the brothers of Vadstena monastery, in such a manner and under such conditions that the book after his death shall be returned and restored to the hands and use of the brothers in the said monastery.⁹

⁵ See Andersson and Borgehammar, "Preaching of the Birgittine Friars," 222.

⁶ Roger Andersson, *Postillor och predikan. En medeltida texttradition i filologisk och funktionell belysning*, Runica et Mediaevalia, Scripta Minora 1 (Stockholm, 1993).

⁷ Monica Hedlund, "C Collection and C Catalogue: A Long Term Project with Great Potentials for Research," in *Serving the Scholarly Community: Essays on Tradition and Change in Research Libraries Presented to Thomas Tottie on July 3rd, 1995*, ed. Stan Hedberg et al., Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis 33 (Uppsala, 1995), 235–49, esp. 242–46.

⁸ *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala: Katalog über die C-Sammlung*, 8 vols., ed. Margarete Andersson-Schmitt, Håkan Hallberg, and Monica Hedlund, Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis 26.1–8 (Stockholm, 1988–95) [henceforth MHUU], 4:253 (description on 253–59).

⁹ "Iste liber concessus est domino Danieli Hemmingi, curato in Birkewik dyocesis Stren-gensis, a fratribus monasterii Watzstenensis tali modo et condicione, quod ipso mortuo liber iste restitatur et redeat ad manus et vsus fratrum dicti monasterii" (Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket C 332, fol. 1v). Unless otherwise stated, all manuscripts cited in this article belong to the Uppsala C collection.

Since the codex eventually ended up in the University Library of Uppsala together with what was left of the Latin manuscripts that once belonged to the monastery library,¹⁰ it must be assumed that reverend Daniel fulfilled the agreement.¹¹

The sermon collection in C 332, to which I will refer as the Björkvik homiliary, is a complete series of sermons for all the Sundays of the year, beginning with 1 Advent (fol. 2r) and ending with the 25th Sunday after Trinity (fol. 480r), including sermons for Nativity Day and the two following days (Stephen and John the Evangelist), Circumcision, Epiphany, Corpus Christi and the fourth day after Pentecost, i.e., days normally belonging to the temporal. We also find one sermon for the Dedication of the Church and a lengthy catechetical treatise on the seven mortal sins. For some days, two sermons are proposed. An index, presumably organized and written by Michael Nicolai (see n. 11) follows immediately after the last sermon (fol. 481r-v). The rest of the codex is written by one and the same unidentified scribe.

As it is pointed out in MHUU, almost all sermons in the Björkvik homiliary are copied from other Vadstena manuscripts. Only a few of them have sources that are uncertain or unknown. It seems that the sermons are to a large extent taken from collections compiled by the friars Henechinus and Jacobus Laurencii in the middle of the fifteenth century. In addition, there are minor contributions from the friars Acho Johannis and Ericus Simonis, as well as from some anonymous collections. This kind of compilatory method might lead to the assumption that the homiliary was produced specifically in order to be used by the vicar Daniel Hemmingi in his own pastoral office, and may perhaps even have been ordered by him personally for such a purpose. Following the regulations of his own diocese, Daniel was obliged to preach to his parishioners every Sunday and failure was liable to a fine.¹²

¹⁰ A thorough description of the fate of the Vadstena library after the Reformation is provided by Vilhelm Gödel, *Sveriges medeltidslitteratur. Proveniens. Tiden före antikvitetskollegiet* (Stockholm, 1916), 116–21, 124–32.

¹¹ A short passage (fol. 154v) apparently written by Michael Nicolai, friar 1487–1516 (MHUU 4:254), in combination with the year “1508” on the same leaf, also supports such an assumption, since the manuscript must have been returned around the turn of the century, when Michael was in office.

¹² On medieval preaching regulations for Swedish parish priests in general, see Sven-Erik Pernler, “Predikan ad populum under svensk medeltid,” *Predikohistoriska perspektiv*, ed. Alf Hårdelin, (Stockholm, 1982), 73–94; and Andersson, *Postillor och predikan*, 188–93. The regulation from the diocese of Strängnäs stipulates that the bishop in his visitations of the churches of his diocese should interrogate the curates about their preaching duty: “Item de sermonibus habitis. Item de cohortacione seu exposicione ewangelii dominicalis factis, que si non sunt facta, est pena iii marcarum” (ed. Jaakko Gummérus, *Synodalstatuter och andra kyrkorättsliga aktstycken från den svenska medeltidskyrkan*, Skrifter utgifna af Kyrko-

Unfortunately, we know nothing about him other than what is said in the passage quoted above. In fact, his very existence can be deduced from this brief notice only. Some parchment strips used to reinforce the binding contain fragments of a letter from Nicolaus König, bishop in the diocese of Linköping 1441–58. Under the assumption that this letter would hardly have been mutilated in this manner in his lifetime, the year of death of Nicolaus (1458) provides a *terminus post quem* for the manuscript, and therefore Daniel cannot have been in office before 1458. For similar reasons the *terminus ante quem* can be specified as 1494, when the next known vicar of Björkvik (one Laurens) assumed his office.¹³

Nevertheless, despite minor uncertainties of this kind, we do know for certain that the manuscript was in fact lent to Daniel Hemmingi, the purpose probably being that the postil should serve him as an aid or as some kind of reference for his own preaching activity. Therefore, the Björkvik homiliary offers an excellent possibility to study the influence of the friars of Vadstena on the preaching of the secular clergy. Such a study would, if carried out properly, increase our knowledge about the sort of models for preaching, which were proposed to a humble servant of God in an ordinary Swedish parish in the late Middle Ages.

Our intention is to take a few steps in this direction by means of a thorough investigation of one of the sermons in the Björkvik homiliary in relation to its sources. Since I have made transcriptions of a large number of sermons for the 8th Sunday after Trinity, including that of the Björkvik homiliary, in order to provide material for a broader study on Vadstena preaching, it seemed quite natural to choose this particular day also for the present study.

THE SERMON "BEWARE OF FALSE PROPHETS!" IN THE BJÖRKVIK HOMILIARY

As is often the case with sermons intended for Sundays of no special occasion, this sermon is based on the Gospel pericope for the day, in our case Matthew 7:15–21 ("Beware of false prophets!"). A brief outline of its contents will not be out of place. A complete edition follows below in the appendix.¹⁴

historiska Föreningen 2.2 [Uppsala, 1902], 95). For the provenance of this statute in the diocese of Strängnäs (discussed by Gummérus, *ibid.*, 23 ff.), see Carl Ivar Stähle, "Ett medeltida företal till Magnus Erikssons stadslag," *Lychnos: Annual of the Swedish History of Science Society* (1952): 118 and n. 8, who proves that it was used there during the episcopate of Kort Rogge (1479–1501).

¹³ *Strängnäs stifts herdaminne 1: Medeltiden*, ed. Magnus Collmar (Nyköping 1977), 304.

¹⁴ Section numbers within brackets correspond to those of the edition in the appendix below.

The sermon is divided in three distinctive sections: a literal exposition of the Gospel (§§ 2–5); protheme or *exordium* (§§ 6–12); and finally the main part of the sermon (§§ 13–62). The exposition starts off with some brief introductory lines that, so to speak, set the scene of the pericope in a broader biblical context:

At the time our Lord Jesus Christ preached in Judea, there were among the people hypocrites and Pharisees, who in their clothing and behaviour were considered more righteous and perfect in the Law than others, [and] who were much praised by the people and attracted many by their false and simulatory doctrine (§ 2).

The structure of the exposition of the Gospel hereafter is rather that of the traditional homily with its roots in patristic exegetical works, i.e., an exposition of almost all verses in the pericope with a short commentary attached to each one of them.

In the protheme the correspondence between the tree and man (indeed intended by the evangelist) is elaborated as follows by means of four conditions for the fruitbearing tree:

1. It must be firmly rooted and the deeper it extends its roots, the steadier it will stand up against the wind.
2. It must stand upright without too much bending and curving.
3. It must grow tall and has its branches erected upwards.
4. It must be planted near water in order to bear fruit.

In the main part of the sermon, the principal theme (*Attendite a falsis prophetis*) is recapitulated. The application of these words is explained as follows (in a free rendition):

Christ knew beforehand all the mishappenings that were to affect the Church and that many would come and try to introduce their false doctrines in people and openly or clandestinely deceive them, thus seeking to withdraw them from Divine service by their words, deeds or evil example. Therefore, our Saviour Jesus Christ, who cares so much for the welfare of our souls, like a pious and loving father wanted to warn us from being betrayed by those and uttered these words: "Beware of false prophets!" (§§ 13–14).

Special precaution should be taken against the following five false prophets (§§ 14–32):

1. Heretics, schismatics, and forgers of the Scripture.
2. Unfit preachers and seducers of the souls who do not expound the Word of God in a just manner according to the truth.
3. Hypocrites, who pretend to be what they are not.
4. Adulators, detractors, betrayers, liars, and fork-tongued (*bilingues*).
5. Soothsayers, wizards, and all violators of the sacred faith.

Then the sermon mentions three other false prophets or enemies who deceive and attract the whole world and finally carry it off to Hell (§§ 33–60):

1. The Devil. Seven arms are proposed in order to defend oneself against the Devil: devout prayer, contrition of the heart, pure confession, torments of fasting, generosity in alms-giving, true humility, and remembrance of Christ's passion.
2. The world, which may be defeated by three things: contemplation of the yoke of death, consideration of Christ's poverty, and reflection on the eternal riches.
3. The flesh.

The sermon ends as follows:

Beloved, these are our enemies, who by their daily incitements gravely attack us. He, who gains victory over them will happily obtain the crown of glory in Heaven. . . . Let us therefore, beloved, fight courageously against our foes, that is the Devil, the world, and the flesh, and strongly resist them, so that, when the victory is won, we will deserve to be crowned by the crown of glory in Heaven, which Jesus Christ may deem worthy to fulfil. . . . Amen. (§§ 61–62).

IMMEDIATE SOURCES

In an attempt to sketch the textual background for our sermon, the parallels indexed by MHUU provide a natural starting point.¹⁵ It becomes evident that the same sermon also appears in five other Vadstena sermon collections. The six versions of the sermon are listed below with the sigla that will be used for the individual versions.

A	C 355, fols. 202v–207v
B	C 311, fols. 183v–185v
C	C 313, fols. 307r–313v
D	C 314, fols. 64v–70r
E	C 358, fols. 259r–264v
F	C 332, fols. 380r–386r

C 355 is an anonymous manuscript, probably compiled towards the middle of the fifteenth century and certainly after 1428, since the compiler has copied a number of sermons from manuscripts written by Johannes Borquardi, who

¹⁵ MHUU 8:56–57.

entered the monastery in that year and eventually became confessor general.¹⁶ The copied sermons are certainly "original" products of Johannes, since he himself comments on his compilatory method.¹⁷ C 332 is our Björkvik homiliary, and the remaining four manuscripts were compiled and written by three identified Vadstena friars: Henechinus, originating from Jönköping in the province of Småland, friar 1440–53¹⁸ (C 311); Jacobus Laurencii, former parish priest in the town of Vadstena, friar 1446–60¹⁹ (C 313 and C 314); and Laurencius, friar 1448–58 and former parish priest in Törnevalla in the province of Östergötland²⁰ (C 358). Five of our six versions of the sermon (A–E) therefore seem to have been written approximately in the middle of the century, whereas F apparently is somewhat later.

As is normally the case with medieval sermons in this kind of *Brauchshandschriften*, the extant copies of one sermon are very seldom identical and it is often more appropriate to regard them as different versions than as different copies or text witnesses. In our particular case there are differences between them that presuppose a conscious redactional activity guided by the special preferences of the individual scribe/compiler, but they still have so much in common that it seems possible to use them for a study on textual transmission.

Beginning with the similarities, I will provide one example of a mistake found in the protheme in A, B, C, and E, which suggests a common derivation for these manuscripts. D cannot be studied in this respect, since Jacobus Laurencii in this particular sermon has omitted the protheme. The passage in question deals with four different conditions imposed on the good tree. Under the fourth of these (the tree should be planted near water in order to be fruitful) a quotation from St. Birgitta's *Revelations* is used. The quotation ("Ego sum simillima flori . . . et ego superhabundo") is taken from the chapter 86 of book 4, whereas reference is made to the chapter 76 in all our copies.²¹

¹⁶ See *Diarium Vadstenense: The Memorial Book of Vadstena Abbey*, ed. Claes Gejrot, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 33 (Stockholm 1988), §§ 384, 541.

¹⁷ For example, the sermon C 355, fols. 229v–234r, is copied from C 392, fols. 122r–126v, which is the third in a series of four sermons (three of which are preserved) for the eighth Sunday after Trinity by Johannes Borquardi. At the end of the second of these (C 392, fols. 27r–31r), Johannes indicates what sources he has used (or possibly will use) when composing the third, i.e., C 392, fols. 122r ff. Dr. Monica Hedlund, Uppsala, is at present preparing a study of such cross-references between Vadstena sermon manuscripts.

¹⁸ *Diarium Vadstenense*, §§ 504, 637.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, §§ 561, 709.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, §§ 591, 691.

²¹ C 355, fol. 203v; C 313, fol. 308r; C 358, fol. 260r; C 311, fol. 184v; C 332, fol. 381r (§ 12 in the appendix below). This erroneous chapter number occurs in none of the manuscripts recorded in the authorized edition of the *Revelations*; see Birgitta, *Reuelaciones*, lib.

Within this quotation we may consider the following sentence:

A: Sic ego omnibus gratiam impetrare volentibus possum dare et ego superhabundo (C 355, fol. 203v).

B: Sic ego omnibus gratiam impetrare volentibus dare possum et ego superhabundo (C 311, fol. 184v).

C: Sic ego omnibus gratiam impetrare et dare possum et ego superhabundo (C 313, fol. 308r).

E: Sic ego omnibus gratiam impetrare et dare possum et ego superhabundo (C 358, fol. 260r).

F: Sic ego omnibus gratiam impetrare volentibus dare possum et ego superhabundo (C 332, fol. 381r).

Rev. 4.86: Sic ego omnibus gratiam impetrare possum et ego semper abundo.

As we can see, "dare" is common to ABCE in opposition to the *Revelations*, but the intriguing and apparently faulty "volentibus" is common to ABF in opposition to both CE and the *Revelations*.²² It is, however, not clear whether "volentibus" is added in ABF or omitted in CE.

There are other differences between the versions pointing in the same direction, namely, that ABF form one group in opposition to CE (and D). The second section of the main part of the sermon deals with the three false prophets on the moral level, i.e., the Devil (*diabolus*), the world (*mundus*), and the flesh (*caro*). In fact, this whole section differs substantially between the two groups in terms of the way these three categories are developed with supplementary subdistinctions, *exempla*, authorities, and arguments. Here we are dealing not only, as in the rest of the sermon, with different versions of the same text, but with two completely different texts.

Knowing that F belongs to the same branch of the tree as AB, we may now exclude CDE from our investigation of the sources of F.²³ What can then be said about the relationship between A, B, and F? The dating of the manuscripts gives us some sort of general hypothesis with which to start off. Is there reason

IV, ed. Hans Aili, Samlingar utgivna av Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet, ser. 2, VII:4 (Göteborg, 1992), 267.

²² The words "dare" and "volentibus" are recorded in neither the Latin (see n. 21) nor the vernacular (Old Swedish) versions of the *Revelations*; see *Heliga Birgittas uppenbarelser* II, ed. Gustav Edvard Klemming, Samlingar utgivna av Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet 14:2 (Stockholm 1860), 169.

²³ Of these, C is closest to the group ABF. The first half of the sermon in C is possibly adapted from B. D is the most independent text of all six. It has omitted the protheme and its beginning and end are taken from a sermon by Lucas de Bitonto (see Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters*, 11 vols. [Münster/Westfalen, 1969–90], 4:60, no. 144), with the main part of the sermon inserted in between.

to believe that F is copied directly from either A or B? To what extent will we have to consider lost versions?

The answers to these questions will prove to be rather complex. Nevertheless, it seems possible to assume that the first part of F (§§ 1–33) is copied directly from B. In the prothème, there is a total number of ten deviations between A and B as to word order. Of these, F follows B in all but one, which is highly insignificant: “opus bonum” (AF), “bonum opus” (B). In fact, there is yet another example that will support this. In B, the section treating the subject of the three false prophets on the moral level is not recorded. Instead, reference is made to another sermon in the same manuscript. The passage reads

Item sunt alii falsi prophete, qui per suas prophecias totum mundum decipiunt et sibi attrahunt et vltimum prodolor ad infernum perducunt. Hii prophete sunt dyabolus, mundus et caro. De hiis quere supra C 40 (C 311, fol. 185r).

The passage Henechinus refers to by means of the medieval foliation is located in the middle of a sermon for St. Eskil (a Swedish saint) beginning on fol. 168v. The section in question runs from 169r–170r and begins

Primus hostis est dyabolus, qui semper hominem inpugnat . . . (C 311, fol. 169r).

The corresponding lines in A read

Item sunt alii falsi prophete, qui per suas prophecias totum mundum decipiunt, sibi attrahunt et ad vltimum prodolor ad infernum perducunt. Hii prophete sunt dyabolus, mundus et caro. Primus est dyabolus, qui semper hominem inpugnat . . . (C 355, fol. 205r).

In F, however, the passage reads

. . . ad infernum perducunt. Hii prophete sunt dyabolus, mundus et caro. De hiis, primus hostis est dyabolus, qui semper hominem inpugnat . . . (C 332, fol. 383r).²⁴

Apparently, the scribe of F has by mistake commenced the clause beginning with “De hiis” (which make part of the reference to the omitted part made in B), and then looked up the leaf referred to in the exemplar and copied the rest of the sermon from there.²⁵

²⁴ See §§ 33–34 in the appendix. In CDE the corresponding passage reads as follows. CE: “. . . ad infernum perducunt. Hii prophete sunt dyabolus, mundus et caro. Isti sunt periculosissimi et falsissimi . . .” (C 313, fol. 310v; C 358, fol. 262r); D: “Moraliter notandum, quod tres prophete falsi possunt dici: caro, mundus et dyabolus. Primus promittit delectacionem . . .” (C 314, fol. 68r). In the succeeding development CDE differ substantially from ABF (cf. above).

²⁵ It may be noted that the words “hiis” and “primus” in F are separated by means of a distinctive virgula.

That F is derived from B does not allow us to state that B is the original sermon in ABCDEF, since we have not been able to ascertain that the other four are also derived from B. The original could in theory be any of these texts (except F) or a now lost sermon. This problem cannot be definitely solved, and since the text of F is that of AB and not that of CDE (concerning §§ 33–62), we must concentrate on AB when addressing the issue of the sources of F. As to the discussion about the relationship between A and B within the group ABF, two arguments suggest the priority of the latter:

1) In B, the second half of the sermon is copied from another sermon in the same manuscript (cf. above), something which allows us to catch a glimpse of the very composition of the sermon ABF.

2) In the first part of the sermon, two short passages, integrated in the text in A, have been added at the bottom of the page in B and by means of marks of reference assigned their proper location in the text.²⁶ The first one is an *exemplum* about a monk who desperately turns to his prior, since he is worried about the harshness of the sermons preached to the people. The other is a *similitudo*,²⁷ where it is stated that God's preachers can easily be compared to fishermen and hunters. None of these passages is derived from the ultimate source of this part of the sermon (see further below). We must consider it more likely that the sermons where those additions are integrated in the text (A and F) are secondary in relation to the one where they are added at the bottom of the page (B).

This does certainly not prove that A is derived from B, but it will suffice to state that B is probably the best text to use for comparisons when we now turn to the sources beyond the textual tradition of ABCDEF.

ULTIMATE SOURCES

As we have seen, our sermon is made up of three separate sections: the exposition of the Gospel pericope, the prothème, and the main part. Each one of these proves to originate from different sources and will therefore be treated separately.

²⁶ See C 311, fols. 184v–185r, and C 355, fol. 204v; the passages in question are also integrated in the text in F (cf. §§ 24–25).

²⁷ On the concept of *similitudo* in the homiletic context, see Louis-Jacques Bataillon, “*Similitudines et exempla* dans les sermons du XIII^e siècle,” in *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, ed. Katherine Walsh and Diana Wood, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 4 (Oxford, 1985), 191–205.

a) The exposition of the Gospel.

The *expositio euangelii* is heavily dependent on the perhaps most widespread and influential exegetical treatise of the Middle Ages, i.e., the biblical gloss of Nicolaus de Lyra, known as *Postillae perpetuae in universam S. Scripturam*. Nicolaus (ca. 1270–1349) was a Franciscan scholar, who studied theology and eventually became an important master at the university of Paris. His main contribution to the history of exegesis is said to be an emphasis on the literal understanding of the Bible, partly in opposition to the current allegorical method, and an incorporation of influences from Jewish exegetical tradition.²⁸ The dependence on Nicolaus's gloss will become evident in the following comparison between the two texts, treating Matthew 7:17 ff., where the corresponding passages are marked with bold.

B

Nicolaus de Lyra

Vnde sequitur: **omnis arbor bona fructus bonos facit. Hoc est: omnis homo habens voluntatem bonam semper facit opus bonum. Mala autem arbor fructus malos facit. Hoc est: malus homo habens malam voluntatem facit malum actum.** Non potest arbor bona fructus malos facere et econverso. **Omnis arbor, que non facit fructum bonum, excidetur et in ignem mittetur.** Sic est omnis homo, qui non facit opera bona: excidetur in morte et separabitur a consorcio beatorum et in ignem, scilicet iehenne, mittetur sicut arbor infructuosa. Et sic apparebit fructus talis arboris. Ideo subditur: **A fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos, id est ex verbis et operibus eorum potestis eos cognoscere, quales sunt.** Et quia confessio fidei sine operibus non sufficit ad eternam salutem, quia talis fides mortua est, ideo dicit: **Non omnis, qui dicit michi Domine Domine, intrabit in regnum celorum, sed qui facit voluntatem Patris**

Sequitur: omnis arbor etc. Arbor bona dicitur hic homo habens voluntatem bonam, et talis vt sic semper facit opus bonum. Et similiter arbor mala est homo habens malam voluntatem, et iste semper facit malum actum.

...

Et propter hoc subditur: **omnis arbor, quae non facit fructum bonum, excidetur etc., scilicet in morte, quando a vita praesenti separabitur, et in ignem mittetur, scilicet gehennae. Et sic apparebit fructus talis arboris, propter quod repetit: Igitur ex fructibus eorum etc.** Non omnis qui dicit. Ostenso, quod requiritur ad legis impletionem, ostendit consequenter, quod alia non sufficiunt sine istis ad salutem. Quia inter alia illa, quae videntur magis sufficere ad hoc, est confessio fidei vel operatio miraculorum vel prophetia vel ista coniuncta simul. Et tamen non sufficiunt. **Confessio enim fidei sine operibus non sufficit, quia talis fides mortua est, vt**

²⁸ A. Kleinhaus, "Nikolaus von Lyra," in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, ed. Josef Höfer and Karl Rahner, vol. 7 (Freiburg 1962), cols. 992–93.

mei, qui in celis est, scilicet **fidem catholicam ore confitendo**, corde credendo et opere adimplendo, ipse intrabit in regnum celorum; et patet ewangelium (C 311, fol. 184r).

dicitur Jacob ii. Et hoc est quod dicit: **Non omnis, qui dicit mihi Domine Domine etc., confitendo fidem catholicam**, nisi assint opera (*Bibliorum sacrorum tomus quintus, cum Glossa ordinaria* [Lyon, 1545], fol. 29r).

b) The protheme.

A couple of times already we have used the quotation from St. Birgitta's *Revelations* 4.86 to discuss the relationships within the main group. The same quotation will further prove to be useful in identifying the source of the protheme in B.

In a sermon for the eighth Sunday after Trinity (C 326, fols. 284r–286r) compiled by the important and, as it seems, highly influential preacher Acho Johannis (friar 1416–42, then bishop in Västerås),²⁹ the protheme is almost identical to the protheme in ABCEF. In this, Acho uses the same quotation from St. Birgitta's *Revelations* 4.86 (apart from the errors mentioned above). Since it appears in the same textual context and since it has exactly the same length (“Ego sum simillima flori . . . et ego superhabundo”), it seems highly probable, if not certain, that Henechinus has had access to this sermon of Acho. Furthermore, the passage quoted is hardly of a kind that can be supposed to have been present in the mind of every Vadstena preacher (as may well be the case with other passages from St. Birgitta), and therefore not of a kind that might come naturally to mind when addressing the issue about trees and their moral meaning.

The sermon in C 326 is an elaboration of a sermon in C 382, an anonymous collection from the fifteenth century, the Vadstena provenance of which has been supposed but not ascertained.³⁰ In this manuscript, a sermon for the eighth Sunday after Trinity appears on fols. 123r–126r. This sermon belongs to a series of sermons that, according to the catalogue, has been copied directly from C 377, a fourteenth-century manuscript of unknown origin.³¹ In the discussion below, the following sigla will be used for these sermons:

²⁹ See the references to Acho in *Diarium Vadstenense*, §§ 267 and 520. The sermon in C 326 is one of two sermons that he compiled for the eighth Sunday after Trinity; the other is in C 335, fols. 179r–182r.

³⁰ MHUU 4:512–14.

³¹ See MHUU 4:476–85 for a description of C 377; and see 4:476 and 513 for the relationship between the two sermon collections.

X	C 377, fols. 61v–62v
Y	C 382, fols. 123r–126r
Z	C 326, fols. 284r–286r

These three sermons are practically identical.³² First, they deal with four conditions for the good tree. Then three different kinds of fruit are mentioned (the fruit of the heart, of the mouth, and of the acts) with yet another sub-distinction under each of them. The main differences are the following: Z uses as protheme the section that in X and Y constitutes the first main section, adding the Ave Maria at the end. Z is expanded in relation to its source by means above all of *exempla* (which are totally lacking in X and Y) and the already mentioned quotation from St. Birgitta.

That Y is copied from X has already been stated in MHUU. The following list of erroneous biblical references common to XYZ supports this, and it also supports the assumption of a close relationship between Y and Z:

Biblical quotation	Reference		
	X	Y	Z
Mt 6:1 (Attendite ne iusticiam . . . hominibus)	Mt v (fol. 61v)	Mt v (fol. 123v)	Mt v (fol. 284r)
Jer 17:8 (Erit sicut lignum . . . super aquas)	Iere xvi (fol. 62r)	Iere xvi (fol. 124r)	—
Mt 16:24 (Qui vult . . . abneget semetipsum)	Mt xvii (fol. 62v)	Mt xvii (fol. 125r)	Mt xvii (fol. 285v)
Eph 5:3 (Fornicatio . . . non nominetur in vobis)	Eph vi (fol. 62v)	Eph vi (fol. 125v)	Eph vi (fol. 286r)

Since B uses the same protheme as Z and only Z has the connections with X and Y, we can now state that B must have followed Z. This becomes all the more probable since Acho Johannis is known to have worked on C 382. In fact, he has written quite a substantial section of it: the part copied from C 377 (fols. 166r–192v) precedes five long sermons by his very hand.³³

What, then, would be the ultimate source of X? The catalogue remarks that some of the sermons in the series in question in C 377 show similarities with

³² The correspondence has not been noted in MHUU. The reason for this must be that Z is developed from another theme (*Omnis arbor bona fructus bonos facit* instead of *Omnis arbor, que non facit fructum bonum*, etc.), and in the catalogue these sermons are listed under their respective themes (MHUU 8:217).

³³ MHUU 4:513.

sermons of Nicolaus de Aquaevilla (from the French village of Hacqueville), an apparently important and highly influential, but less well-known, Franciscan from the second half of the thirteenth century. He was a doctor of theology, and is said to have been a famous preacher in Lyons.³⁴ In fact, a comparison with sermon no. 41 in one of the earliest printed editions of Nicolaus's collection *Sermones aurei super evangelia dominicarum totius anni* eliminates every further doubt.³⁵ Here, we find indeed the very same sermon as X and those dependent on X.

We will not dig further into the textual tradition of Nicolaus's sermon collection. However, the most striking difference between his sermon no. 41 and our X is that the former is expanded and elaborated in a variety of ways (though not the same, fortunately enough, as in Z).

Thus, the prehistory of the protheme in B can be described as follows. C 377 contains a sermon originally composed by Nicolaus de Aquaevilla. The scribe of one part of C 382 eventually copied this sermon from C 377 and Acho Johannis made an elaboration of it in his major collection C 326. The first section of Acho's sermon was then used as protheme in the sermon B.

c) The main part of the sermon.

If the sources of the exposition of the Gospel and the protheme have been relatively easily identified, the state of affairs becomes more complicated for the main part of the sermon. It can be divided into two sections which seem to originate from different sources. It will therefore be necessary to discuss those sections separately.

The first section (§§ 13–32) deals with five different categories of false prophets. This section is extremely illustrative when considering the compilatory technique of composition apparently practised at Vadstena. We have been able to identify at least three different sources. The main influence on the first three of the five false prophets is to be sought in sermon 357 (*Expositio evangelii dominice septime post Pentecosten*) in a collection *Sermones de tempore* of Jordanus de Quedlinburg.³⁶ Jordanus (ca. 1300–ca. 1370/80) was a famous preacher belonging to the hermits of the Order of St. Augustine. He was the governor of Saxonia and was teaching in the *studia generalia* of his order in

³⁴ Pierre Péano, "Nicolas d'Hacqueville," in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique. Doctrine et histoire*, ed. M. Viller et al., vol. 11 (Paris, 1981–82), col. 283.

³⁵ The comparison is based on the 1476 Paris edition, fols. 126v–129r. This collection has erroneously been attributed to one Johannes Quintinus.

³⁶ Checked against the 1483 Strassburg impression.

Erfurt and Magdeburg.³⁷ But it is by no means a word-for-word rendition of Jordanus's text. On the contrary, other influences are also noticeable, as, for instance, the sermon *Dominica octaua sermo primus* in the collection *Sermones dominicales de tempore et de sanctis per totum annum II* by Jacobus de Voragine.³⁸ Jacobus (ca. 1228/30–1298) is one of the most productive popular ecclesiastical writers of the Middle Ages. He joined the Dominican order in 1244, became professor of theology in 1252, and ultimately archbishop of Genoa.³⁹ His different sermon collections are preserved in hundreds of manuscripts throughout Europe,⁴⁰ and are apparently as least as widespread as his perhaps more renowned work, the so-called *Legenda Aurea*, a hagiographic encyclopedia of capital importance for the development of popular hagiography. In fact, the section in question in B begins with an elaboration of Jacobus:

B

Jacobus de Voragine

Primi falsi prophete sunt heretici, scismatici et sacre Scripture falsarii. Isti enim falsificant et corrumpunt litteras regis celestis, id est sacram Scripturam, quam Christus Iesus Dei filius personaliter dictauit et scribi mandauit et v sigillis sigillauit, id est per sua vulnera firmiter tenendam et seruandam roborauit. Et ideo sicut falsarii litterarum legalium secundum leges humanas sunt grauiter puniendi, sic omnes sacre Scripture falsarii in inferno eternaliter puniuntur, nisi se corrigant et per veram obedienciam ecclesie se subiciunt (C 311, fol. 184v).

Secundum leges humanas puniendi sunt falsarii litterarum regalium et bullarum, falsarii monetarum et falsarii ponderum et mensurarum. Falsarii litterarum regalium sunt heretici, qui litteras summi regis, id est sacram Scripturam, falsificant. Quam et filius Dei per quinque bullas, id est per quinque vulnera, roborauit, quas bullas heretici falsificant, Dominum Christum non vere passum, sed fantastice, fuisse affirmant (*Sermones*, fol. 118v).

As we can see, B is quite a free rendition of Jacobus, and the similarities vanish completely shortly thereafter. As can be seen in the passage quoted, Jacobus develops his sermon by means of a totally different main distinction, departing

³⁷ Adolar Zumkeller, "Jourdain de Saxe," in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 8 (Paris, 1974), col. 1423.

³⁸ Checked against the 1500 (1499) Pavia impression, fols. 118v–119v.

³⁹ A. M. Zimmermann, "Jacobus a Voragine," in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 5 (Freiburg, 1960), cols. 849–50.

⁴⁰ Some 750 manuscripts are listed by Schneyer, *Repertorium* 3:233–35 and 245–46, not to mention the vast number of printed editions.

from the word “falsis” in the theme rather than from “prophetis” as in B. Consequently, Jacobus identifies three main categories of forgers:

1. falsarii litterarum regaliū—heretici
2. falsarii monetarum—hipocrite
3. a) falsarii ponderum—mali prelati
b) falsarii mensurarum—mali subditi

In opposition to this, both B and Jordanus de Quedlinburg identify different categories of false prophets, the former five and the latter three. The first three are the same.

B	Jordanus de Quedlinburg
1. heretici	1. heretici
2. inepti predicatorēs	2. simplices et indocti predicatorēs
3. ypocrite	3. hypocrite
4. adulatorēs, detractorēs, proditorēs, mendaces et bilingues	
5. malifici diuinatores, incantatores et omnes sacre fidei violatores	

Shortly after the passage quoted, an *exemplum* about the excommunication of Arius the heretic is retold in B, to which only a brief reference is given in the sermon of Jacobus. The full version of this *exemplum* is, however, to be found in one of the two sermons for the eighth Sunday after Trinity by the important preacher at Vadstena, Finvidus Simonis (friar before 1384–1424)⁴¹ in C 334, fols. 8r–14v (the *exemplum* is on fol. 8v).⁴² This sermon is in itself an elaboration of the already mentioned sermon by Jordanus de Quedlinburg. Jordanus, however, does not include this *exemplum*, nor does he make any reference to it. The fact that B in this *exemplum* follows Finvidus makes it highly probable that the influence of Jordanus is mediated by Finvidus, and that his is the only text of Jordanus’s sermon that B has had at hand. From now on, he uses Finvidus to create a well-structured and, as it seems, independent piece. This procedure is notably prevalent in the paragraph dealing with the unfit preachers (the second category of false prophets). Let us first see what Finvidus (Jordanus) has to say about these. (Scriptural authorities are only rendered by

⁴¹ See Stockholm, Riksarkivet A 20 (leaf between fols. 49 and 50, where he is mentioned for the first time in connection with Vadstena abbey); and *Diarium Vadstenense*, §§ 129 and 356.

⁴² The other is immediately preceding in the same manuscript (C 334, fols. 5r–7v). In MHUU 4:264 these two are classified as one (heterogenous) unit.

the first couple of words. Some figures have been inserted in bold within brackets to mark the internal structure of the text.)

In alio sensu falsi prophete dicuntur simplices et indocti predicatores, [1] qui ineptam Scripture expositionem fingunt et docent, que non intelligunt: *Ve prophetis* [Ezek 13:3]. Vel [2] qui, dum deberent predicare verba Dei, nunciant noua vel fabulas, vt demulceant aures audiencium: *In prophetis Samarie* [Jer 23:13]. Tales libenter audiuntur isto tempore, de quo [2 Tim 4:3–4]: *Erit tempus*. Vel [3] qui, cum deberent predicare vtilia, predicant alta et subtilia, siue de sole siue de luna et syderibus; que, licet sint vera, *non tamen inuenerunt visionem a Domino* [Lam 2:9] ac per hoc sunt falsi prophete. Vel [4] etiam, quia non reprehendunt peccata et scelera hominum: *Prophete tui* [Lam 2:14]. Quod quidam dimittunt ex timore, quidam ex fauore, nonnulli ex cupiditate commodi temporalis. Timentes enim perdere elemosinas vsurariorum non arguunt scelera eorum: *Sacerdotes in mercede* [Mic 3:11] (C 334, fol. 9r).

How does, then, B deal with this passage? Of the four categories of unfit preachers that Jordanus presents, B only treats the first and fourth. The first concerns those who do not know the right way to interpret the Scripture and who therefore teach others what they do not understand themselves. In the fourth, Jordanus attacks those who do not reprehend and blame the sins and the crimes of the people and states that this negligence may be the result of fear (*ex timore*), favor (*ex fauore*), or longing for temporal benefits (*ex cupiditate commodi temporalis*). Apart from the very last subcategory (*ex cupiditate*), we find here all the main components that construct the sermon in B. This sermon is further expanded by means of a quotation from St. Birgitta's *Revelations* 6.8 plus the *exemplum* and the *similitudo* which were previously discussed. In the following rendition of the corresponding passage in B, the key words are in bold:

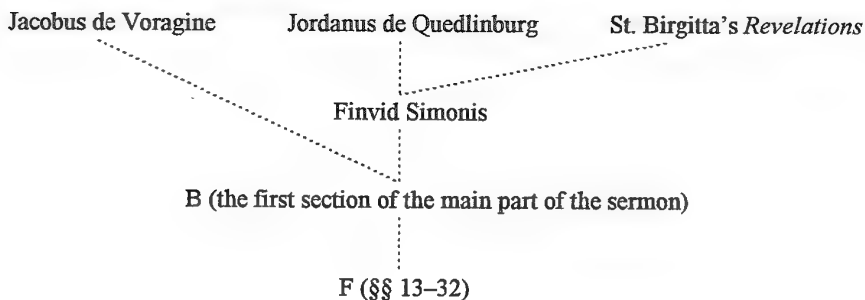
Secundi falsi prophete, a quibus cauendum est, sunt inepti predicatores, animarum seductores, qui Scripturam et verba Dei secundum veritatem debito modo non exponunt. Quidam [1] hoc faciunt ex ignorancia, qui Scripturam in vero sensu **non intelligunt** et seipsos et alios seducunt, quia *si cecus* [Lc 6:39]. Quidam [2] autem Scripturam intelligunt, sed **ex timore** veritatem occultant, nolentes audacter arguere peccata, de quibus [Ps 52:6]: *Trepidauerunt timore*. Ideo dicit Christus cuilibet predicatori 6 libro 8: *Loquere fiducialiter*. Quidam [3] etiam tacent veritatem, nolentes reprehendere scelera et hoc **propter fauorem**, quia volunt placere hominibus. Contra hoc monet Dominus quemlibet predcatorem dicens: *Clama ne cesses* [Is 58:1]. Exemplum. Quidam dixit quodam priori in claustro: "Si sic duriter predicaueritis, scandalizantur homines et ab eis necessaria non habetis." Respondit prior: "Nos habemus horreum, quod numquam timet sterilitatem nec cellari^{or}um siccitatem. Hoc est noster pius Deus, qui est prouisor noster. Ergo veritatem numquam tacemus."

Predicadores possunt dicere, vt in ewangelio dicitur: *Preceptor per* [Lc 5:5]. Predicadores Dei vocantur piscatores et venatores. Primum fuerunt piscatores, quia vno tractu rethis, id est predicacionis, multitudinem piscium, id est hominum, capiebant, id est conuertebant. Modo sunt venatores, quia cum multis clamoribus et laboribus vix capiunt vnam feram, id est animam conuertunt ad Dominum. Que est causa, nisi peccata nostra, quia in quolibet statu homines deuiant? Tamen non est tacendum etc. Vt [1 Tim 5:20]: *Peccantes coram*. Augustinus: *Felix religio christiana* etc. Vnde Ysidorus: *Sacerdotes peccatis populorum dampnantur* etc. (C 311, fol. 185r).

The fourth and fifth of the false prophets in B are, as has already been mentioned, found neither in Jacobus nor Jordanus. The most plausible explanation for this is that these two are added in our textual tradition. This probability becomes even greater, at least regarding the fifth, if we consider the fact that Finvidus Simonis in his previously mentioned sermon dwells on the same theme and uses a similar word construction. He states the following about the false prophets:

Tales fuerunt multi in primitiua ecclesia, scilicet Arrius et eciam plures alii, qui multos errores et falsas doctrinas introduxerunt. De quorum numero multi adhuc inueniuntur in mundo, scilicet omnes sortilegi, diuinatores, incantatores et incantatrices (C 334, fol. 8r).

In the following, Finvidus quotes a passage in St. Birgitta's *Revelations* 7.28, a revelation that contains a harsh attack on soothsayers and wizards and where a similar expression is used.⁴³ Thus, the revelation could be the source of this expansion. The following tentative scheme will illustrate the lines of influence for this section of our sermon:



⁴³ "... multi homines et femines habent secum et consulunt aliquos malignos sortilegos et diuinatores et aliquas pessimas incantatrices. . ." (Birgitta, *Reuelaciones* 7.28 § 18, ed. Birger Bergh, Samlingar utgivna av Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet, ser. 2, VII:7 [Uppsala, 1967], 206).

The second half of the main part of the sermon (§§ 33–62) deals, as has already been noted, with three categories of false prophets on the moral level. For this section, I have not been able to identify the source. Its main structure (*diabolus, mundus, caro*) is a very common theme in this kind of literature, already appearing in the late antique period. But the way in which it is expanded seems to be unique here. As we have already seen, it differs substantially from the corresponding passage in CDE. Apart from the model sermon collections I have already mentioned, a handful of others have been studied in this respect without result.⁴⁴ Its beginning resembles that of the corresponding passage in the sermon 72 in the collection *Sermones Socci de tempore* by the Cistercian abbot Conradus de Brundelsheim, commonly referred to as *Soccus* († 1321).⁴⁵ Consider the following:

B

“Soccus”

Item sunt alii falsi prophete, qui per suas prophetias totum mundum decipiunt et sibi attrahunt et vltimum progdolor ad infernum perducunt. Hii prophete sunt dyabolus, mundus et caro (C 311, fol. 185r).

Sunt autem hi: mundus, caro et diabolus. Qui per falsas suas prophetias totum mundum pene deceperunt et sibi prochdolor attraxerunt (*Sermones Socci de tempore* [Strassburg, 1484], sermo 72).

After this promising introduction, however, the similarities cease completely. Possibly, B has taken the introductory lines from one source and then changed to another for the rest. It may be noted that another sermon by Henechinus (C

⁴⁴ The following sermons for the eighth Sunday after Trinity, or with themes from the pericope *Attendite a falsis prophetis*, have been carefully studied: Antonius de Azaro Parmensis: C 310, fols. 113r–114v, and C 268, fols. 104r–105v; “Aurissa”: C 269, fols. 110v–115r; Conradus Holtznicker de Saxonia (in a Birgittine elaboration): C 352, fols. 214r–217v; Conradus de Brundelsheim? (“Soccus”): *Sermones Socci de tempore* (Strassburg, 1484), sermons 72 and 73; Gilbertus de Tornaco: C 413, fols. 263v–266r; Guido Ebroicensis: C 315, fols. 139r–144r; Guilelmus Peraldus: *Guilielmi Alverni episcopi Parisiensis . . . Opera omnia. Tomus secundus* (Paris, 1674), 308–13, C 345, fols. 89v–95r, and Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket A 188, fols. 71v–74r; Jacobus de Lausanna: C 366, fols. 91v–94v; Johannes Contractus: C 288, fols. 109v–110v; Johannes Halgrinus de Abbatisvilla: C 286, fols. 117v–121v; Johannes Militius: C 325, fols. 107v–111v; Mattias Ripensis: C 343, fols. 95r–96r, and C 356, fols. 73v–74v; Nicolaus de Asculo: C 300, fols. 161v–165r; Nicolaus de Gorran: Lincoln, Cathedral Library 224, fols. 40v–41r; “Paratus”: *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis* (Nürnberg, 1493), sermons 122 and 123; Peregrinus de Oppeln: C 335, fols. 102r–104r, (Ps.-) Petrus de Palude: *Sermones sive enarrationes in evangelia . . . qui Thesaurus nouus vulgò vocantur. Pars aestivalis* (Lyon, 1576), fols. 91r–96v.

⁴⁵ R. Bauerreiss, “Konrad v. Brundelsheim,” in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 6 (Freiburg, 1961), col. 462.

7, fols. 36v–38r), with the rubric *Henrici vel alterius*,⁴⁶ is very similar to this section of B, though the latter is slightly more elaborate. The two sermons do not only use the same main *distinctio*; they also have several patristic authorities, *exempla*, and even a hexameter verse (cf. § 49 in the appendix below) in common. In this case, however, it has not been possible to identify the source.

CONCLUSIONS

The investigation of the sources of the sermon *Attendite a falsis prophetis* in the Björkvik homiliary can be summarized in two major conclusions.

First of all, our sermon is of a genuine Vadstena sermon type. As the preceding survey has shown, it constitutes the end point of a long textual development within the monastery. It is copied from a sermon of Henechinus, which is a compilation of a broad variety of sources. Its *expositio euangelii* is taken from the Gloss of Nicolaus de Lyra. Its protheme is ultimately taken from Nicolaus de Aquaevilla, though mediated by Acho Johannis and an earlier model collection. Its main part seems to be an amalgam of influences from Jacobus de Voragine, Jordanus de Quedlinburg, and St. Birgitta channelled mainly by Finvidus Simonis.

A generalization derived from the study of this single sermon would therefore lead us to the assumption that the Vadstena sermon throughout this period is heavily dependent on some early sermon collections written in the monastery. These collections served as model collections in the same way that the continental homiliaries did for the first generation of Vadstena preachers (and indeed would continue to do).

Even at the formal level our sermon must be regarded as a genuine Vadstena product, insofar as it provides a good example of how the instructions and ideals for the preaching at Vadstena put forward by St. Birgitta herself, and later on in the friars' customary, the so-called *Liber usuum*, were implemented.

It contains an exposition of the Gospel for the day, which seems to be in accordance with what is stated in chapter 15 of the *Regula Saluatoris*:

Every Sunday they [i.e., the friars] shall expound the Gospel of the day at Mass, in the vernacular, to all who may listen.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ The sermon is edited by Aarno Maliniemi in *De S. Henrico episcopo et martyre. Die mittellaterliche Literatur über den Apostel Finnlands. II: Legenda nova. Sermones*, Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran Toimituksia 45:2 (Helsinki, 1942), 204–9.

⁴⁷ “Qui quidem omni die dominico euangelium illius diei in ipsa missa omnibus audientibus in materna lingua exponere tenentur . . .” (Birgitta, *Regula Saluatoris* 15 § 174, in *Opera minora* I, ed. Sten Eklund, Samlingar utgivna av Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet, ser. 2,

That F is recorded in Latin does not complicate matters, since this was normal practice, even when the sermons were to be preached in the vernacular.

This exposition is, as we have seen, seemingly of the type *literals expositio*, i.e., a literal explanation of the pericope. According to the *Liber usuum*, such a literal exposition seems to be the minimal requirement for the treatment of the Sunday Gospel. For instance, in those cases when a feast coincides with a Sunday and the office and mass of the feast take precedence over those of the Sunday, the Sunday Gospel still must receive a literal exposition.⁴⁸ Such a sermon, or part of the sermon, is sometimes, but certainly not always, written out in the manuscripts. Probably, the preachers could easily look it up in a postil or, by virtue of their apparently profound basic biblical knowledge, even improvise one.⁴⁹ Let us dwell a little further on this topic. The very concept *literals expositio* indeed presupposes a more elaborate kind of exposition, one which interprets the text in other senses than the literal. Bearing in mind the expression used in *Regula Saluatoris* 15 (see above), we may wonder if Vadstena Sunday sermons in general (and not only the brief introductory expositions) could be seen as representing a homiletic form, which we might call *expositio moralis* or *spiritualis*.⁵⁰ If we recognize *expositio euangelii* as a form, where a whole section of a biblical text (in our case the evangelical pericope) is commented upon (in opposition to the thematic method, where the entire sermon takes its departure from an isolated *thema*, developed by means of *distinctiones*), the answer is yes, at least to some extent. Even though our sermon departs from a single theme (*Attendite a falsis prophetis*), it also provides a moral application of Matthew 7:17 (*Omnis arbor bona fructus bonos facit*) in the protheme. In D, this procedure becomes even more evident, since Jacobus Laurencii here at

VIII:1 [Stockholm, 1975], 121). For details and further documentation on *expositio euangelii* in the Birgittine context, see Andersson and Borgehammar, "Preaching of the Birgittine Friars."

⁴⁸ "Et si aliquod festum in dominica occurreret—seu fratres ad predicandum in eo obligantur seu non, si extra dominicam eueniret—, eciam si de eo totum officium et missa et nichil de dominica nisi sola memoria canitur, non debet omitti ewangelium dominicale, quin ad minus literaliter exponatur (ed. Andersson, *Postillor och predikan*, Appendix, p. 266).

⁴⁹ Johannes Suenonis senior, one of the more important preachers in the first decades of the history of the Order, finishes one of his sermons with the remark that he did not in fact preach the sermon as it is written out in the manuscript, and then he indicates how he actually went about it: "First I ran through the Gospel literally. Secondly, I somehow introduced the verbs I had chosen as theme . . ." ("Primo percurrebam ewangelium literaliter. Secundo, verba pro themate assumpta aliquantulum introduxi . . .", C 333, fol. 38v). On Johannes Suenonis senior as a transmitter of influences from Bohemia, see Alf Hårdelin, "Johannes Suenonis senior—lärdomsförmedlande kanik och klosterbroder," in *Öppna gränser. Ekumeniskt och europeiskt i Strängnäs stift genom tiderna*, ed. Samuel Rubenson (Stockholm, 1992), 47–63.

⁵⁰ This is a form that seems to correspond with what Rudolf Cruel labelled *textuale Predigten* (*Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter* [Detmold, 1879], 279–80).

the end of the sermon (the part which is taken from Lucas de Bitonto⁵¹) adds a comment on Matthew 7:21 (*Non omnis, qui dicit michi Domine Domine . . . intrabit in regnum celorum*), leading him to dwell on two additional topics: the invocation of God and God's will.⁵²

Furthermore, our sermon is expanded by means of a large number of quotations from the Bible, from St. Birgitta's *Revelations*, and from the Fathers. It also contains some *exempla* for the benefit of the unlearned audience. All this is well in line with the recommendations given by Christ in the so-called *Reuelaciones extrauagantes* 23:

. . . but they shall adapt everything to the capacity of the audience. For what the simple people do not understand is more apt to astonish than to edify them. Thus the preachers of this Order should on Sundays present the Gospel of the day and its expositions, the Bible and these words of mine [i.e., the *Revelations*] and of my beloved Mother and of my saints, the Lives of the Fathers and the miracles of the saints. . . .⁵³

The second major conclusion would of course be the strong dependence on the continental model collections. However, the relation to the sources is by no means that of the copy to the original. The preachers use what they judge to be

⁵¹ See n. 23 above.

⁵² The way in which the Vadstena preachers understood the precepts of *exposicio* seems rather confused. Many Sunday sermons use the thematic method, whereas others are of this more expository type (see Andersson and Borgehammar, "Preaching of the Birgittine Friars," 230–31). The regulations seem to have tolerated a certain amount of freedom in this respect, allowing sermons of both kinds to have been preached on Sundays. It is also important to remember that, apart from the preferences of the individual preacher, the homiletic form is also dependent on that of the sources. One of the main sources for our sermon is the *Expositio euangelii dominice septime post pentecosten* by Jordanus de Quedlinburg, which comments on the entire pericope, but is by no means merely a literal explanation of it. This will rather support the idea that the Vadstena friars understood the requirements for the Sunday sermon given in the Rule as a moral application of the entire pericope (ideally) or the most important parts of it. In fact, the earliest Birgittine sermon collection in the vernacular, the oldest manuscript of which was probably written towards the end of the fourteenth century (Copenhagen, Arnamagneænske Institut AM 787 4^o), provides good support for this. Here, the word *exposicio* is currently used as a rubric for the main part of the sermon, consisting in short *distinctiones* attached to the most important verses of the pericope commented upon (see Andersson, *Postillor och predikan*, 208–9). My argument is that the word *exposicio* is here used in a more restricted sense than as a general term for the principal part of a sermon (regardless of form), which is sometimes the case.

⁵³ "... sed omnia moderare iuxta capacitates audiencium. Quia que populus simplex non intelligit, solet plus mirari quam edificari. Ideo, si est dominica, predicantes in ista religione proponant euangelium diei et eius exposiciones, Bibliam et ista verba mea et dilecte matris mee sanctorumque meorum, Vitas patrum et miracula sanctorum . . ." (*Reuelaciones extrauagantes* 23 §§ 2–3, ed. Lennart Hollman, Samlingar utgivna av Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet, ser. 2, V [Uppsala, 1956], 133).

most useful in their mission as preachers. As for modes of composition, tradition and innovation seem to be entangled in a constant and intricate interplay, which can only be properly understood if we regard the sermons as *Gebrauchstexte*.

If we look beyond the internal development in the monastery, the ultimate sources of our sermon are to be sought in what was the perhaps most dynamic period of all in the Middle Ages, at least where the history of preaching is concerned. It has connections with both qualified intellectual surroundings, like the universities of Paris and Erfurt, and with the most renowned and influential popular preachers of that period.

It is, however, the popular practice that prevails. There is a strong emphasis on the basic ingredients in the religious life of the ordinary churchgoer, such as sins, virtues, merciful acts, and the like. In the sermon, *exempla* meant to make the arguments concrete and visual are inserted. We also find *similitudines* with the same function: preachers are seen as fishermen and hunters (§ 25), the good acts are seen as arms against the Devil (§§ 38–45), he who struggles against the voluptuousness of the flesh is compared to a king besieging a castle (§ 60), the Devil is regarded as the serpent of the Hell with Pride as his head (§ 44), and so forth. Abstract categories like the world and the flesh are personalized and act like humans. Warnings against remaining seated idly too long at table (§ 58) or against believing in charmers and wizards (§§ 31–32) are other aspects of the same popular tendency, since the preacher here uses motives that can be presumed to appeal to a popular audience.

The fact that many of the innumerable sermon collections composed by friars or other preachers in central Europe enjoyed a tremendous popularity and came to be used as model collections throughout the continent is a well known fact, the detailed history of which, however, has not yet been told. It is further highly interesting to notice that many of them were also spread to the Scandinavian countries. Here, the homiletic zeal of the Vadstena friars stands out as the perhaps most important vehicle for such a cultural transmission. The friars kept copies of such collections in their library for study and reference, and they used them eagerly when composing their own sermons.⁵⁴ And finally, perhaps the most interesting fact of all, parts of this material, transformed by the continuous remodelling of the Vadstena friars, came to be used as a reference tool

⁵⁴ Concerning the representation of foreign sermon collections in the monastery library of Vadstena, see Sven Olof Andersson, *Preachers in the Vadstena Collection*, *Studia seminarii latini Upsaliensis* 5 (Uppsala, 1992); and Andersson, *Predikosamlingar*. Of the ca. twenty collections which seem to have been most widespread, i.e., more than seventy manuscripts listed in Schneyer, *Repertorium*, the library is known to have possessed copies of seventeen (see Andersson and Borgehammar, "Preaching of the Birgittine Friars," 217 and n. 19).

by Daniel Hemmingi, a curate in an ordinary Swedish countryside parish, in his preaching. Daniel was obliged to preach according to the regulations of his diocese (see above) and he most certainly was anxious to avoid incurring the wrath of his bishop and the prospect of an embarrassing fine.

APPENDIX

EDITION OF THE SERMON *ATTENDITE A FALSIS PROPHETIS* IN THE BJÖRKVIK HOMILIARY

The purpose of this edition is to present the final product of a long textual transmission, not the original sermon. Therefore, it is based exclusively on F, the Björkvik manuscript (C 332, fols. 380r–386r). Variants from other manuscripts have not been noted in the apparatus except in a few instances, where F is in error and a more correct reading can be adopted from one or several of the other manuscripts (for the sigla, see p. 190 above). A few more emendations have been made even if no better reading can be adopted from the textual tradition. In all such cases, the exact reading in the manuscript is indicated in the apparatus.

I have tried to identify the sources of all quotations that are clearly indicated as such in the manuscript (normally by reference to the author). A couple of patristic quotations have remained unidentified. The more immediate sources (such as model sermon collections) have been discussed at some length in the article and will not be indicated separately in the apparatus. Abbreviated forms of scriptural books are rendered as they appear in the manuscript, if it is uncertain which case is intended by the scribe.

Abbreviated words and affixes are written out in accordance with “normal” medieval orthography. Otherwise, the orthography of the edited text follows that of the exemplar, with the following exceptions: *i* is used for both *i* and *j*; *v* is used initially and *u* in any position within a word, regardless of which variants actually appear in the manuscript (*vu*, however, is used for initial *w* in words like “*wlt*,” “*wlnera*,” etc.). The use of punctuation marks has been fully normalized. All marginal notes are indicated in apparatus, with the exception of isolated figures indicating the textual structure.

Dominica octaua post <festum> trinitatis

1 “Attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ouium; intrinsecus sunt autem lupi rapaces.” Matthei vii.

2 In illo tempore, quo Dominus noster Ihesus Christus in Iudea predicauit, erant
 5 in populo ypocrite et Pharisei, qui habitu et conuersacione videbantur magis iusti et perfecti in lege quam alii, qui populo multum applaudebant et sua falsa, simulatoria doctrina multos sibi attrahebant. Sed Dominus volens discipulos suos esse cautos, ne talium personarum contagione inficerentur et deciperentur, dixit eis: “Attendite a falsis prophetis,” id est doctoribus, qui falsa et simulatoria in suis predicacionibus
 10 proponunt, “qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ouium,” scilicet simplicitatem et humilitatem in habitu et conuersacione exterius pretendentes. “Intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces,” scilicet in corde falsam intencionem habentes. 3 Sed possent discipuli dicere: Quomodo possumus eos vitare, quia eos non cognoscimus? Respondit Christus: “A fructibus eorum,” id est operibus eorum, “cognoscetis eos,” quia opera sua
 15 faciunt, vt videantur ab hominibus propter inanem gloriam. Et ideo non percipiunt fructum, id est mercedem, quod Dominus ostendit exemplo dicens: “Numquid colligunt homines de spinis uuas aut de tribulis ficus,” quasi dicens: sicut spine et tribuli non faciunt fructum nisi sterilem, sic tales non faciunt fructum, id est opera fructuosa. 4 Vnde sequitur: “Omnis arbor bona fructus bonos facit.” Hoc est: omnis
 20 homo habens voluntatem bonam semper facit opus bonum. “Mala autem arbor fructus malos facit.” Hoc est: malus homo habens malam voluntatem facit malum actum. “Non potest arbor bona fructus malos facere” et econuerso. “Omnis arbor, que non facit fructum bonum, excidetur et in ignem mittetur.” Sic est omnis homo, qui non facit opera bona: excidetur in morte et separabitur a consorcio bonorum et in ignem,
 25 scilicet iehenne, mittetur sicut arbor infructuosa. Et sic apparebit fructus talis arboris. Ideo subditur: “A fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos,” id est ex verbis et operibus eorum potestis eos cognoscere, quales sunt. 5 Et quia confessio fidei sine operibus non sufficit | ad eternam salutem, quia “talīs fides mortua est,” ideo dicit: “Non omnis, qui dicit michi Domine Domine, intrabit in regnum celorum, sed qui facit vo-
 30 luntatem Patris mei, qui in celis est,” scilicet fidem catholicam ore confitendo, corde credendo et opere adimplendo, “ipse intrabit in regnum celorum.” Et sic patet ewangelium.

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6 Carissimi. Quicumque voluerit facere aliqua bona opera Deo grata et accepta et sibi ipsi fructuosa, debet habere quattuor condiciones ad modum boni arboris fructum bonum facientis.

7 Primo, bona arbor debet esse firmiter radicata, quia quanto profundius radices habet in terra, tanto firmitus stat contra ventum. Ita homo volens facere bona opera

23 qui AB : que ut vid. F

2–3 Mt 7:15 14 Mt 7:16 16–17 Mt 7:16 19 Mt 7:17 20–21 Mt 7:17
 22 Mt 7:18 22–23 Mt 7:19 26 Mt 7:20 28 Cf. Jac 2:26 28–31 Mt 7:21

debet esse firmiter radicans in humilitate et diuina caritate, sine qua nullum opus bonum potest placere Deo. Cor. 13: "Si distribuero in cibos pauperum omnes facultates meas, et si tradidero corpus meum, ita vt ardeam, caritatem autem non habeam, nichil michi prodest." Ideo dicit Ephe. 3^o: "In caritate radicati et fundati," vt fructificetis in omni opere bono et Dei dilectione, quia sicut fructus a radice procedit, sic omne opus bonum a diuina caritate.

8 Secundo, bona arbor debet esse recta non habendo multas reflexiones. Sic homo debet esse rectus per rectam et bonam intencionem, scilicet vt omnia bona, que facit, et cetera omnia ad laudem, gloriam et honorem Dei faciat, non ad humanam laudem et inanem gloriam, sicut ypocrite faciunt. Ideo dicit apostolus: "Omnia, quecumque facitis in verbo aut opere, omnia in laudem Dei facite." Et Christus Matthei v: "Attendite, ne iusticiam vestram faciatis coram hominibus, vt videamini ab eis; alioquin mercedem non habebitis apud Patrem vestrum, qui in celis est."

9 Tercio, | arbor bona debet esse alta et habere ramos sursum erectos. Sic homo debet esse altus per vite eminenciam et bonam conuersacionem et sursum eleuare cor suum, celestia contemplando. Et, quia "non habemus manentem locum, sed futurum requiramus," et apostolus: "Nostra conuersacio in celis est," ideo, licet hic in mundo sumus corpore, tamen debemus esse in celo mente et corde, illam gloriam sanctorum affectando, que Deus preparauit et promisit omnibus, qui eum toto corde diligunt et fideliter seruiunt.

10 Quarta arbor bona debet esse iuxta aquas plantata, vt plus fructum afferat. Sic homo debet esse plantatus et irrigatus aquis graciaram, vt fructus vberiores producere possit. Ps.: "Erit tamquam lignum, quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum, quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo." 11 Et, quia sine gracia Dei nichil boni potest homo cogitare, loqui vel operari, secundum quod Dominus per se dicit: "Sine me nichil potestis facere," ideo, si volumus graciaram Dei habere, fugiendum est ad virginem Mariam, que est mater omnis gracie. 12 Sicut ipsa dicit iiii^o libro 86: "Ego, inquit, sum simillima flori, de quo apes maxime trahunt dulcedinem, a quo, quantumcumque colligitur, nichillominus ei dulcedo remanet. Sic ego omnibus graciaram impetrare et dare possum et ego superhabundo." Ipsa enim habet manus suas apertas et extensas ad tribuendum munera graciaram et paracior est dare quam aliquid petere. Ideo, sicut largissima mater et pia clamat ad nos dicens Ecclesiastici 24: "Transite," inquit, "ad me omnes, qui concupiscitis me, et a generacionibus meis adimplemini," ergo etc.

13 "Attendite a falsis prophetis" etc. Dominus noster Ihesus Christus, qui omnia

38 sine] *add.* nullum *et del.* F 65 86] 76 *et add.* Revelacio in marg. F 67 et¹
CE: volentibus ABF 69 aliquid] aliquis F 70 24] 34 F

39–41 1 Cor 13:3 41 Eph 3:17 47–48 Cf. 1 Cor 10:31 49–50 Mt 6:1
53–54 Hebr 13:14 54 Phil 3:20 60–61 Ps 1:3 63 Jo 15:53 65–67 S. Bir-
gitta, *Reuelaciones* 4.86, §§ 2–3 (ed. Hans Aili, *Samlingar utgivna av Svenska Fornskrift-
sällskapet*, ser. 2, VII:4 [Göteborg, 1992], 267) 70–71 Eccli 24:26

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75 nouit, scilicet preterita, presencia et futura, preuidit et presciuit, que et quanta mala deberent insurgere in ecclesia, et quod multi venirent, | qui multos errores inducerent et falsas doctrinas in populo seminarent et multas animas occulte et publice defraudarent, eas verbo et opere et malo exemplo a cultu diuino retrahendo, ideo saluator noster Ihesus Christus, qui diligentem sollicitudinem de salute anime nostre semper habet, sicut pius et caritativus pater voluit nos precautare, ne ab eis deciperemur. Ideo dicit verba preallegata "Attendite" etc.

80 14 Sciendum est, quod multi sunt, a quibus cauere debemus. Specialiter quinque, de quibus nunc dicendum est.

15 Primi falsi prophete sunt heretici, scismatici et sacre Scripture falsarii. Isti enim falsificant et corrumunt litteras regis celestis, id est sacram Scripturam, quam Ihesus Christus Dei filius personaliter dictauit et scribi mandauit et v sigillis sigillauit, id est per sua v vulnera, firmiter tenendam et seruandam, roborauit. Et ideo, sicut falsarii litterarum legalium secundum leges humanas sunt grauiter puniendi, sic omnes sacre Scripture falsarii in inferno eternaliter punientur, nisi se corrigant et per veram obedienciam ecclesie se subiciunt. 16 Quia quamdiu in sua malicia perseuerant, numquam gratiam Dei et misericordiam consequuntur, sed sunt separati a Deo et ab omnibus bonis, que fiunt in ecclesia Dei, et sunt quasi membra abscisa a corpore, que nullam affluentiam recipiunt a corpore. Sunt eciam excommunicati a Deo et a toto celesti exercitu. Ps.: "Maledicti, qui declinant a mandatis etc."

17 Vnde habemus exemplum de Arrio heretico, qui ecclesiam inugnans multos errores et falsas doctrinas introduxit et quam plurimos seduxit, quem Dominus Ihesus Christus personaliter excommunicari precepit. Vnde legitur, quod cum hereticus Arrius per episcopum Alexandrie, nomine Petrum, excommunicatus fuisset et degradatus, quadam nocte apparuit ei Dominus Ihesus Christus indutus collobio lineo et candido, sed conscisso a summo vsque | deorsum, et ambabus manibus coniungebat illud circa pectus, quodammodo cooperiens nuditatem suam. 18 Cui dixit episcopus: "Quid est, Domine, quod video tunicam tuam scissam a summo vsque deorsum?" Cui respondit Dominus: "Arrius hoc fecit, qui separauit a me populum hereditatis mee, quem proprio sanguine comparaui. Quapropter precipio tibi, vt sicut tu eum excommunicauisti, sic precipias duobus presbiteris tuis Achille et Alexandro, vt ipsi post te ipsum excommunicent." Quod et factum est et modicum post, mala morte expirauit, cuius animam demones ad inferni supplicia deportauerunt.

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19 Ita fiet omnibus hereticis, nisi se emendent et ecclesie obediant. Ergo attendendum est a talibus falsis prophetis, scilicet hereticis, qui iam multiplicati sunt super terram et, sicut lupi rapaces oues Christi lacerant, si copia eis detur nocendi, ideo ait apostolus Act. 20: "Scio," inquit, "quod post decessum meum intrabunt in vos lupi rapaces non parcentes gregi." Ideo tales tamquam diaboli sunt vitandi. Et prius de-

81 est] *add.* quinque sunt falsi prophete *in marg. F* 92 celesti exercitu *ex exercitu celesti corr. F* 93 exemplum *iter. in marg. F* Arrio] *add. ex et del. F* 108 detur *ex datur corr. F*

beremus vitam nostram exponere et in mortem ire quam eorum sectis et persuasionibus assentire etc.

20 Secundi falsi prophete, a quibus cauendum est, sunt inepti predicatores, animarum seductores, qui Scripturam et verba Dei secundum veritatem debito modo
115 non exponunt.

21 Quidam hoc faciunt ex ignorancia, qui Scripturam in vero sensu non intelligunt et seipsos et alios seducunt, Luce vi, quia "si cecus ceco ducatum prebet, ambo in foueam cadunt." 22 Quidam autem Scripturam intelligunt, sed ex timore veritatem occultant nolentes audacter arguere peccata, de quibus Ps.: "Trepidauerunt timore, vbi non erat timor." Ideo dicit Christus cuilibet predicatori vi libro, 8:
120 "Loquere fiducialiter excessus eorum, scilicet quomodo michi ex diuturnitate peccati nimis | abhominabiles sunt. Et dicito eis, nisi se emendauerint, tam velox et seuerus veniam eis, quod omnes, qui audierint, ingemiscunt; omnes, qui experiuntur, deficient. Quia sicut pius Pater monui eos et non audierunt. Ostendi eis verba mea, et ipsi spreuerunt. Si enim misissem verba mea gentilibus, recepissent forsitan et peniterent." 23 Quidam eciam tacent veritatem nolentes reprehendere scelera et hoc propter fauorem, quia volunt placere hominibus. Contra hoc monet Dominus quemlibet predcatorem dicens Ysaie 58: "Clama ne cesses, quasi tuba exalta vocem tuam et annuncia populo meo scelera eorum."
125

24 Quidam dixit quodam priori in claustrum: "Si sic duriter predicaueritis, scandalizantur homines et ab eis necessaria non habetis." Respondit prior: "Nos habemus horreum, quod numquam timet sterilitatem nec cellari^{um} siccitatem. Hoc est noster pius Deus, qui est preuisor noster. Ergo veritatem numquam tacemus."
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25 Predicatores possunt dicere, vt in ewangelio dicitur Luce v^o: "Preceptor, per totam noctem laborantes nichil cepimus." Predicatores Dei vocantur piscatores et venatores. Primum fuerunt piscatores, quia vno tractu rethis, id est predicacionis, multitudinem piscium, id est hominum, capiebant, id est conuertebant. Modo sunt venatores, quia cum multis et clamoribus et laboribus vix capiunt vnam feram, id est animam conuertunt ad Dominum. Que est causa, nisi peccata nostra, quia in quolibet statu homines deuiant? Tamen non est tacendum etc. 26 Vt prima Thymothei v^o: "Peccantes coram omnibus argue, vt ceteri audiant et timorem habeant." Augustinus: Felix religio christiana, que omnia possidet in omnium possessore. Vnde Ysidorus: "Sacerdotes peccatis populorum dampnantur, si eos aut peccantes non arguunt aut eos ignorantes non instruant."
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116 vero AB : vno F 120 8] add. Reuelacio in marg. F 122 et] add. fe et del. F
125 recepissent ABCE : recipissent F 138 quia] add. clamant et exp. F 141 Peccantes] add. contra et del. F Augustinus iter. in marg. F 142 omnia] add. laudet et del. F

117–18 Cf. Lc 6:39 119–20 Pss 13:5; 52:6 121–26 S. Birgitta, *Reuelaciones* 6.8, §§ 4, 7, 10 (ed. Birger Bergh, Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien [Stockholm, 1991], 67) 128–29 Is 58:1 134–35 Lc 5:5 141 1 Tim 5:20 143–44 Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiarum libri tres* 3.46 (PL 83:714)

145 27 Tercii falsi prophete sunt ypocrite, qui simulant se, quod non sunt, qui in ha-
bitu et conuersatione videntur simplices, humiles, deuoti, | iusti coram hominibus, 383r
cum tamen sunt pleni superbia, inuidia et malicia interius. Et si aliqua bona faciunt,
illa faciunt ad laudem humanam, vt a populo maiori reuerencia habeantur. 28 Sed
Christus tales grauiter reprehendit Matthei 23: "Ve vobis Pharisei ypocrite. Similes
150 estis sepulchris dealbatis, que foris apparent hominibus speciosa, intus vero sunt
plena ossibus mortuorum." Tales "veniunt in vestimentis ouium, intrinsecus autem
sunt lupi rapaces."

29 Quarti falsi prophete sunt adulatores, detractores, proditores, mendaces et bi-
lingues, qui bona loquuntur de hominibus in presencia et mala in absencia. Tales
155 "veniunt in vestimentis ouium, intrinsecus etc.," quia suis blandis sermonibus de-
cipiunt proximum suum. Ps.: "Loquuntur pacem cum proximo suo, mala autem in
cordibus eorum." 30 Reuera, tales sunt socii Iude proditoris, qui per osculum pacis
tradidit Dominum suum. Sic isti produnt proximum suum, scilicet in facie adulando
et postea turpiter conuitiando, famam et honorem sibi mendaciter auferendo. Isti
160 comparantur serpenti. Serpens est venenosum animal, in silencio hominem nocendo.
Sic tales etc.

31 Quinti falsi prophete sunt malifici diuinatores, incantatores et omnes sacre fi-
dei violatores. Tales non sunt prophete Domini sed diaboli, quia de spiritu eius lo-
quuntur. Vnde, sicut prophete habent prophetias suas a Spiritu sancto, sic econuerso
165 isti habent a spiritu maligno. 32 Ergo, qui eos credunt et consenciant, peccant mortaliter
et sunt maledicti, nisi se emendauerint, cum vero proposito non recidiuandi.
Ergo attendite ab istis falsis prophetis, ne suis malificiis et erroribus vos seducant.

33 Item sunt alii falsi prophete, qui per suas prophetias totum mundum decipiunt
et sibi attrahunt et vltimum progredior ad infernum perducunt. Hii prophete sunt dia-
170 bolus, mundus et caro.

34 De hiis, primus hostis est diabolus, qui semper hominem in pugnat et laqueos
suos ei pretendit et ad malum suggerit, et habet in exercitu suo superbiam, iram,
inuidiam, rixas, detractiones etc. Iste hostis quasi "leo | rugiens circuit querens,
quem deuoret." 1^a Petri 5. Et tam callidus est, et tot modos et artes habet ad temp-
175 tandum, quod, nisi homo sit illuminatus gracia Dei, vix potest euadere eius temp-
tationes, quin ab eo decipiatur. 35 Diabolus semel a quodam sancto adiuratus fuit,
quale nomen haberet. Respondit: "Ego vocor mille artifex, quia infinitos modos ha-
beo temptandi, fallendi et nocendi." 36 Gregorius: Aduersarius vester astutus est,
quia per multa tempora in certamine exercitatus est. Gregorius dicit: "Diabolus
180 vnus cuiusque mores intuetur, cui vicio sunt propinqui, et illa ante faciem ponit, ad

146 videntur male scr. sed postea corr. F 156 pacem cum ex cum pacem corr. F
177 Ego] add. habeo et del. F 178 Gregorius iter. in marg. F 179 Gregorius iter. in
marg. F

- que facilius mentem nouerit inclinare.” Vnde Leo papa: “Nouit diabolus, cui adhibeat cupiditatis estus, cui gule illecebras ingerit, cui luxurie, cui inuidie, omnium discutit consuetudines, ventilat curas, scrutatur affectus et ibi causas querit nocendi, vbi quemlibet viderit studiosius occupari.” 37 Et ideo neccessaria homini est in spiritali certamine diligens cautela, vt homo fraudis diabolice astucias preuideat et a suis occultis insidiis precaueat, vt euadat. Bernardus: “Demonum est malum suggere, nostrum est non consentire. Quotiens enim resistimus, demones superamus, angelos letificamus et Dominum honoramus. Deus enim nos incitat, vt pugnemus, adiuuat, vt vincamus,” solidat et confortat, ne in pugna deficiamus. 38 Videmus enim, quod qui debet corporaliter pugnare, necesse habet de armis sibi competentibus preuidere. Non enim securum est sine armis bellum ingredi. Sic, qui vult contra diabolum pugnare, debet arma assumere, quibus se potest viriliter defendere, vnde apostolus hortatur dicens: “Accipite armaturam Dei, vt possitis stare aduersus insidias diaboli.” Notandum, quod vii sunt arma assumenda, que diabolum vincunt et expellunt.
- 39 Primum est deuota oratio. Iacobi 4^o: “Resistite diabolo,” scilicet per internam et deuotam oracionem, “et fugiat a vobis.” 1^a Petri v^o: “Vigilate” in oracionibus, “quia aduersarius diabolus tamquam leo rugiens circuit querens, quem deuoret, cui resistite in fide” et oracione deuota.
- 40 Secundum est cordis contritio. | Tantum enim diabolus odit cordis contritionem et lacrimarum deuotionem, quod mallet omne tormentum inferni sustinere quam videre hominem vnam lacrimam pro peccatis effundere. Bernardus: Vna lacrima de corde contrito prolata plus diabolum cruciat quam iehenna.
- 41 Tercium est pura confessio. Augustinus: “Acriorem diabolo dolorem non infligimus, quam cum plagas peccatorum nostrorum per veram confessionem sanamus.”
- 42 Quartum est ieiuniorum afflictio. Dicit enim Ambrosius: “Sicut sputum hominis ieiuni serpentem interficit,” sic ieiunium diabolum occidit. Marci ix. Discipuli Domini semel non potuerunt diabolum eicere, quibus respondit Dominus: “Hoc genus” demoniorum “non eicitur nisi ieiunio et oracione.”
- 43 Quintum est elemosinarum largicio. Nam elemosina, que datur cum hilaritate et caritate, multum displicet diabolo, quia ipse est plenus inuidia et malicia. Ideo, non potest videre, quod homo proximo suo exhibet opera caritatis. Augustinus: “De

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185 fraudis diabolice ex diabolice fraudis *corr. F* 194 expellunt] *add. Nota septem arma, id est contra diabolum in marg. F* 197 querens *AB: om. F* 203 Augustinus *iter. in marg.* 206–7 hominis] *add. ieiunii et del. F* 212 Augustinus *iter. in marg. F*

Magnus, *Moralia in Iob* 14.13.15 (ed. M. Adriaen, CCL 143A [1979], 706.24–26) 181–84 Leo Magnus, *Tractatus septem et nonaginta* 27.3 (ed. A. Chavasse, CCL 138 [1973], 134.63–69) 186–89 Ps.-Bernardus, *Meditationes piissimae de cognitione humanae conditionis* 12 (PL 184:504) 193 Cf. Eph 6:11 195–96 Jac 4:7 196–98 1 Petr 5:8–9 203–5 Augustinus Hipponensis, *Sermo* 351.4.6 (PL 39:1542) 206–7 Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *Exameron* 6.4.28 (ed. C. Schenkl, CSEL 32.1 [1897], 223.13–14; cf. Petrum Comestorem, *Historia scholastica, lib. Genesis*, c. 23 (PL 198:1074) 208–9 Cf. Mc 9:27–28

nullo sic vincitur diabolus sicut de misericordia” et misericordie operibus, que procedunt ex diuina caritate.

215 44 Sextum est vera humiliacio. Superbia enim est caput serpentis infernalis, scilicet diaboli, cuius caput tunc conteritur, quando humilitas sibi obicitur. Genesis 3^o: “Ipsa,” scilicet humilitas, “conterat caput tuum.”

45 Septimum est Dominice passionis recordacio. Gregorius: Mors et passio Christi est peccatoribus summum remedium, refugium et auxilium contra temptaciones diaboli.

46 Ecce homo, hec sunt arma, quibus omnis temptacio et potestas diabolica est vincenda. Sed heu, multi sunt inermes et debiles ad pugnandum. Ideo, faciliter permittunt se vinci a diabolo. Ymo, quod deterius est, ipsi preueniunt temptaciones diaboli, ita quod velociores sunt ad peccandum quam diabolus ad temptandum, recedendo a Deo suo et voluntatem diaboli in omnibus faciendo. 47 Vnde queritur Christus iiii libro celesti xxii capitulo dicens: “Si turbari possem, merito nunc dicere possum: Penitet me fecisse hominem. Nam homo est modo sicut animal, quod sponte currit in retia. Quantumcumque enim inclamatur, nichilominus suum sequitur appetitum sue voluntatis. Nec iam omnino imputandum est diabolo, quod violenter trahit hominem. Ymo homo ipse preuenit maliciam eius. Sicut canes venatici, qui | primo ducuntur copulis, inde tamen assueti capere et deuorare animalia, quod eciam in accelerando ad predam preueniunt ductorem, sic iam homo assuetus et fascinatus in peccato promptior est ad peccandum quam diabolus ad temptandum.” Ideo, quia diabolus intelligit peccatorem ad opus viciosum posse faciliter inclinari, trahit infinite multos de via Dei, eos in peccatis mortalibus profundissime dimergendo.

48 Ergo karissimi, nolite locum dare diabolo suis suggestionibus obediendo, sed “resistite fortiter et fugiet.” Gregorius: Facile est certare contra diabolum quamuis; licet crudelis et callidus sit ad temptandum, tamen ita debilis est, quod non potest aliquem vincere nisi volentem ei obedire. 49 Wersus:

240 Demon non ledit, nisi cum temptatus obedit.
Est leo, si cedit. Si stat, quasi musca recedit.

Ergo, vt canit ecclesia: “Estote fortes in bello et pugnate cum antiquo serpente et accipietis regnum eternum.”

50 Secundus hostis est mundus, de quo Bernardus dicit: Pericula huius mundi probat transeuncium raritas et pereuncium multitudo, quia inter multos vix transit vnus securus, qui non perit in periculis huius mundi, quia “multi sunt vocati, pauci

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228 suum sequitur ex sequitur suum corr. F 235 dimergendo] add. et in hiis quattuor maxime quosdam enim trahit et del. F 244 Bernardus iter. in marg. F

212–13 Petrus Lombardus, *Commentarius in Psalm.* 143.3 (PL 191:1255) 217 Gen 3:15 226–33 S. Birgitta, *Reuelaciones* 4.22, §§ 1–3 (ed. Aili, 121–22) 237 Cf. Jac 4:7 242–43 Antiph. ad fest. S. Michaelis et ad Comm. apostolorum (ed. R.-J. Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium officii* 3 [Roma, 1968], no. 2684)

- vero electi." Bernardus: "Heu michi, quia vndique mala, vndique bella, vndique tela michi volant, vndique temptamenta, vndique pericula. Quocumque me vertam, nulla securitas; et que mulcent et que molestant, timeo. Esuries et refectio, sompnus, 250 vigilie et requies militant aduersum me. Non minus est michi susceptus iocus quam ira." Cum ergo tot pericula sunt in hoc mari, paucissimi transeunt, qui non periclitantur. 51 Item mundus in pugnat hominem et suadet ei appetere honores, dignitates, prelationes, dominaciones, diuicias, aurum et argentum et cetera huiusmodi. Sequaces sui sunt cupiditas, auaricia, fraus, vsura, furtum. 52 O, quam multi sunt, qui 255 ab hoc inimico deuincuntur et decipiuntur! Augustinus: Mundus | ab origine in se sperantes fefellit et in se credentes decepit et sibi seruientes morti tradidit. Mundus est similis Iude proditori, qui dixit Iudeis: "Quemcumque osculatus fuero," id est honoribus mundanis sublimauero, "ipse est, tenete eum" et ducite caute non inferendo ei aliquas molestias vel tribulationes.
- 260 53 Ecce quomodo mundus decipit et ad interitum deducit, vnde filius Dei loquebatur beate Birgitte: "Filia, quomodo stat mundus?" Quere in sermone dominice prime post trinitatis "Homo quidam erat diues" etc.
- Igitur karissimi, sicut dicitur 1^a Iohannis 2^o: "Nolite diligere mundum neque ea, que in mundo sunt." Nam mundus omnes diligentes se decipit et eternum supplicium 265 tribuit pro mercede. Sunt autem tria, quibus debemus vincere mundum et eius concupiscencias.
- 54 Primum est iugis mortis meditatio, que facit hominem omnia contempnere et quasi nichilum reputare. Ieronymus: "Facile contempnit omnia, qui semper se cogitat moriturum." Cum enim quis cogitat, quod omnia, que in mundo sunt, tam 270 breuiter relinquat et nichil secum reportet nisi opera sua, que eum secuntur, non multum de terrenis diuiciis curat. Ideo pisces et aues reguntur cauda. Sic homo consideratione finis, scilicet mortis, se regat et defendat a mundo et eius concupiscencia.
- 55 Secundum est Dominice paupertatis consideratio. Bernardus: "Magna siquidem abusus est, quod diues velit fieri vermiculus, pro quo pauper voluit fieri Deus." 275 Licet enim Deus esset Dominus omnium rerum celestium et terrestrium, paupertatem tamen in summo sibi assumpsit. Fuit namque pauperrimus omnium creaturarum. Cuilibet enim creature prouisus est a Deo locus sue naturalis quietis, quod solus

247 quia in marg. add. et hic inser. F 251 qui] que F 254 furtum AB : fructum
 F 255 Augustinus iter. in marg. F 260–61 loquebatur] add. sponse et del. F
 261 Birgitte] add. Reuelacio in marg. F quomodo] add. stadh et del. F 265–66 concupiscencias] add. 1. Nota tria, per que vincitur mundus in marg. F 273 Bernardus iter. in marg. F 275 et sub lin. F 277 enim supra lin. F

246–47 Mt 20:16 247–51 Heu . . . aduersum me (250): Bernardus Claraeuellensis, *Sermo de voluntate diuina* (ed. J. Leclercq & H. Rochais, *S. Bernardi Opera* 6.1 [Roma, 1970], 38); Heu . . . ira: Ps.-Bernardus, *Meditationes* 12 (PL 184:504) 257–58 Mt 26:48
 261 S. Birgitta, *Reuelaciones* 4.37, § 1 (ed. Aili, 148) 263–64 1 Jo 2:15 268–69 Hieronymus, *Ep.* 53.11 (ed. I Hilberg, CSEL 54 [1910], 465.8–9) 273–74 Cf. Bernardum Claraeuellensis, *In resurrectione Domini Sermo* 3.1 (ed. Leclercq & Rochais, *S. Bernardi Opera* 5 [Roma, 1968], 104.9–11)

Christus non habuit. Vnde ipse Matthei 8: “Vulpes foueas habent et volucres celi nidos, filius autem hominis non habet, vbi caput suum reclinet.”

280 56 Tercium est eternarum diuiciarum consideracio. Gregorius: “Si consideremus, que et qualia sunt, que nobis promittuntur in celis, vilescunt animo omnia, que habentur in terris.” Ps.: “Gloria | et diuicie in domo eius.” 57 De quibus dicit Christus 385v 2° libro capitulo iiii°: “Diuicie mee sunt vita eterna et gloria indicibilis. Has ego promisi christianis et prebui tamquam filiis. Si me imitarentur et verbis meis crederent, sine fine eas possiderent. Sed promissionem meam habent pro nichilo et diuicias meas. Quid ergo faciam eis? Vtique, quia filii nolunt habere hereditatem, extranei, id est pagani, recipient. Quid autem faciam filiis regni? Faciam eis sicut sapiens figulus, qui materiam, quam de luto prius fecit, non prospexerit eam honestam et aptam, deprimit eam ad terram et comminuit. Sic ego christianis faciam, 285 qui cum mei esse deberent, quia eos ad ymaginem meam formaui et per sanguinem meum redemi, sed deformati sunt contemptibiliter. Propterea sicut terra conculcabuntur et in infernum deprimentur.” Ecce, hec est victoria, que vincit mundum et eius concupiscenciam.

58 Tercius hostis, qui in pugnat hominem, est caro. Ad Galatas v°: “Caro concupiscit aduersus spiritum, spiritus autem aduersus carnem. Hec enim sibi inuicem aduersantur.” Caro namque suggerit homini delicate comedere, superflue bibere, diu in mensa sedere, vaniloquiis intendere, iocari, inebriari, luxuriari, molliiter iacere, suauiter dormire et, quidquid natura appetit, sibi ad libitum tribuere. 59 O, quot multa milia hominum ab hoc hoste deuincuntur et prosternuntur sequendo omnem 300 sue carnis voluptatem! Prouerbiorum vii: “Multos vulneratos deiecit,” scilicet caro, “et fortissimi quique ex ea interfecti sunt,” scilicet Sampson, Dauid et Salomon et alii innumerabiles. Carnales enim homines nichil cogitant, nichil loquuntur, nichil aliud agunt quam opera carnis, et magis volunt carere Deo et amittere regna celestia et obligare se ad eterna supplicia, quam relinquere carnis sue inordinatam voluptatem, de quibus Christus queritur multociens in Reuelacionibus. Vnde apostolus | 305 Rom. vi: “Si secundum carnem vixeritis, moriemini.” 60 Si ergo vis vincere carnis voluptatem, fac sicut rex, qui obsidet castrum. Conatur quantum potest, vt posset tollere alimenta tenentibus castrum, vt tandem vrgente fame faciliter vincat castrum. Sic tu, subtrahe carni delicias et superflua in cibis et potibus et tempera eam ieiuniis

385v

386r

283 iiii°] *add.* Reuelacio in marg. F 291 sunt AB : estis F 304–5 voluptatem]
add. qui (cf. quibus) et del. F 305 apostolus] *add.* Romanos sexta in ima pag. F
 306 vincere] *add.* carnem et del. F 306–7 carnis voluptatem ex voluptatem carnis corr.
 F 309 et³] *add.* tempore et del. F

278–79 Mt 8:20 280–82 Gregorius Magnus, *XL homiliae in euangelia*, lib. 2, hom. 37.1 (PL 76:1275A) 282 Ps 111:3 283–92 S. Birgitta, *Reuelaciones* 2.4 (ed. Bartholomeus Ghotan [Lübeck, 1492]). Cf. translationem suecanam, *Heliga Birgittas uppenbarelsen* 1 (ed. Gustav Edvard Klemming, Samlingar utgivna av Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet 14:1 [Stockholm, 1857–58], 229.3–26) 294–97 Gal 5:17 300–301 Prov 7:26 306 Rom 8:13

310 et discretis abstinenciis et, gracia Dei cooperante, carnem cicius vincere possis. Gregorius: Nichil gloriosius quam carnem vincere et nichil turpius quam a carne vinci.

61 Ecce karissimi, hii sunt hostes nostri, qui cotidianis impulsibus grauiter nos in-
pugnant. Qui igitur de hiis victoriam habuerit, coronam glorie in celis feliciter
optinebit. Vnde Iacobi 1^o: "Beatus vir, qui suffert temptationem, quoniam cum pro-
315 batus fuerit, accipiet coronam vite, quam Deus promisit diligentibus se." 62 Pugne-
mus igitur, karissimi, viriliter contra inimicos nostros, scilicet diabolum, mundum et
carnem, eis fortiter resistendo, vt, victoria optenta, mereamur in celestibus corona
glorie feliciter coronari.

Quod nobis prestare dignetur Ihesus Christus, qui est benedictus in secula. Amen.

314–15 Jac 1:12

National Archives, Stockholm.

MANUSCRIPT CONTEXTS OF MIDDLE ENGLISH PROVERB LITERATURE

Cameron Louis

ONE of the most neglected areas of Middle English literature is the works which consist of proverbs and moral sayings. Here we are not dealing with proverbs and precepts as they are used within the texts of other literary works such as those of Chaucer or Lydgate, but rather the body of works which are either individual moral injunctions and so-called proverbs, or poems or treatises made up of lists of them. Sometimes these lists are set within a sketchy narrative framework, such as that of a parent addressing a child, as in *How the Wise Man Taught His Son* (IMEV 1877, 1891, and 1985),¹ or *Ratis Raving* (IMEV and SIMEV 2235). In other works, the morality as a whole is attributed (usually without much historical foundation) to one named personage, as in the “ABC of Aristotle” (IMEV and SIMEV 471, 3793, and 4155), or each injunction in a list is assigned to a different sage, as in the *Summum sapientiae* (IMEV and SIMEV 3487) or the prose *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*. Often these works are also tied together as poems with some overall verse form. But in some works, there is no narrative or other framework at all, and the only thing binding the sentences together is rhyme or another feature of verse form, as in the “Precepts in -ly” (IMEV and SIMEV 317, 324, 799, 2794.8, 3087, and 3102), or some sort of alphabetical order, as in the ABC poems (e.g., IMEV 430 and SIMEV 312.5). In other cases, the proverbial sayings may just exist as brief individual texts embodying a proverb or moral saying. These works are often not explicitly Christian, and in fact, many of the proverbs are falsely attributed to pagans such as Seneca and Julius Caesar, and many derive from the late classical *Disticha Catonis*, as well as from the Bible and the church fathers. The proverbs are also usually not highly philosophical, but instead concentrate on practical moral guidance for everyday living. These sayings, however, were usually not the same as the proverbs which came from

¹ All Middle English poems are identified by their listing in Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins, *The Index of Middle English Verse* [IMEV] (New York, 1943); and Rossell Hope Robbins and John L. Cutler, *Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse* [SIMEV] (Lexington, Ky., 1965). When referring to texts in specific manuscripts, I cite only the IMEV and SIMEV numbers relevant to the version in the manuscript under discussion.

oral tradition and had a somewhat ambiguous morality,² although folk proverbs do occur in some proverb lists, particularly in those used in education, as we shall see. The neglect of this material in the twentieth century is not surprising, since sententiousness and moralizing do not appeal to modern sensibilities, and proverbs suggest to us both lack of sophistication and moral conservatism. The fact remains, however, that this body of literature in Middle English is an extensive one, which appears to have been a large part of medieval culture.

I have elsewhere made a comprehensive list and summary of these texts, documenting the known manuscript sources for each.³ Here I would like to analyze a selection of the manuscript contexts in which Middle English proverb literature occurs in order better to understand the ways in which they were read and regarded in their own times. Learned and folk proverbs appear in a variety of different manuscripts, but their inclusion in each type of document has different implications. I propose to examine seven different classes of manuscripts which include proverb literature, with a view to seeing what such inclusion tells us in each instance: 1) literary anthologies; 2) religious miscellanies; 3) ecclesiastical collections used for preaching; 4) manuscripts with educational functions; 5) commonplace books; 6) manuscripts with incidental proverbial texts; and 7) manuscripts consisting mostly of proverbial material. In an eighth section, I will examine evidence for non-manuscript usages of proverbial works, namely on the walls of buildings, and also in songs. However, a comprehensive classification of the more than 350 manuscripts containing proverbial texts is beyond the scope of this paper, and since these texts occur in almost every type of manuscript,⁴ the classification presented here is not meant to be exhaustive.

1. LITERARY ANTHOLOGIES

Literary anthologies, unlike most of the other types of manuscripts considered here, survive from the early years of the Middle English period. These manuscripts were usually compiled by professional scribes for the amusement and edification of wealthy patrons. As such, they provide some insights into the

² On the relationship between the folk proverb and the learned proverb in this period, see Cameron Louis, "The Concept of the Proverb in Middle English," *Proverbium* 14 (1997): 173–85.

³ Cameron Louis, "Proverbs, Precepts, and Monitory Pieces," in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050–1500*, vol. 9, ed. Albert E. Hartung (New Haven, 1993), 2957–3001. See also my "Authority in Middle English Proverb Literature," forthcoming in *Florilegium*.

⁴ A good example of the use of manuscript context for the study of another genre of Middle English literature is Julia Boffey, *Manuscripts of English Courtly Love Lyrics in the Later Middle Ages*, Manuscript Studies 1 (Woodbridge, 1985).

tastes of the upper echelons of society, and also can serve as an index to the canon of respected literary works of the time. In one important early Middle English manuscript, we see the learned proverb located quite comfortably among what we might consider more prestigious literary texts, especially religious ones. Oxford, Bodleian Library Digby 86 was once called a "Friar miscellany,"⁵ and more recently has been classified as "a layman's common-place book or miscellany."⁶ It is, however, quite unlike the much more casually compiled commonplace books of the late Middle Ages and shows signs of being professionally created as an anthology. It has a notably heavily religious emphasis, but its contents are, as Karl Reichl remarks, well within the bounds of good middle-class taste.⁷ It includes the *Proverbs of Hendyng* (IMEV and SIMEV 1669), an excerpt from *The Proverbs of Alfred* (IMEV 2093), and the French *Les proverbes del vilain*, along with monitory pieces like "The Sayings of St. Bernard" (IMEV and SIMEV 3310 and 2865). The non-proverbial entries include extensive prayers in French and Latin, collections of psalms in Latin, romances and fables in French, a life of the Virgin in French, and the English fables *The Fox and the Wolf* (IMEV and SIMEV 35) and *Dame Sirip* (IMEV and SIMEV 342). The proverb material, however, constitutes a very large proportion of the English material in the volume.

When we turn to literary anthologies of the later Middle Ages, of course, we find that there are both more proverb texts and many more manuscripts extant, the latter perhaps numbering in the hundreds. Especially in the fifteenth century, we find numerous anthology manuscripts directed to wealthy middle-class readers, within the context of private life and the home. Noteworthy among these is Cambridge, University Library Ff.2.38, which is said to be "a good index to the religious and literary tastes and preoccupations of the bourgeoisie in the late fifteenth century."⁸ In fact, although this manuscript has widely varied contents, including religious and didactic works as well as romances, it has a focus on domestic virtues and piety. Of works of a proverbial nature, we have an excerpt from *How the Wise Man Taught His Son* (IMEV 1877) and *The Proverbs of Salamon* (IMEV 3861). The other contents include several religious enumerations (e.g., the Seven Deadly Sins, the Ten Commandments, the Seven Sacraments), the *Pety Job* (IMEV and SIMEV 1854), saints' lives, and

⁵ Rossell Hope Robbins, *Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1955), xvii-xviii.

⁶ Judith Tschann and M. B. Parkes, intro., *Facsimile of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86*, EETS, s.s., 16 (Oxford, 1996), xi.

⁷ Karl Reichl, *Religiöse Dichtung im englischen Hochmittelalter: Untersuchung und Edition der Handschrift B. 14. 39 des Trinity College in Cambridge* (Munich, 1973), 78.

⁸ Frances McSparran and P.R. Robinson, intro., *Cambridge University Library MS Ff.2.38* (London, 1979), vii.

works on the Blessed Virgin. However, this manuscript also contains a great deal of secular material, including fantastic romances like *Bevis of Hampton* (IMEV and SIMEV 1993), *Octavian* (IMEV 1918), and *Guy of Warwick* (IMEV 3146).

The manuscripts compiled by John Shirley were directed at a wealthy London audience, and in general they tend to be dominated by the more sophisticated and urbane work of Lydgate and Chaucer; but they still have room for proverbial poems, as the *Summum sapientiae* (IMEV and SIMEV 3487) appears in two Shirley manuscripts, Oxford, Bodleian Library Ashmole 59 and London, British Library Harley 2251.⁹ Ashmole 59 also contains a text of the ubiquitous "Precepts in -ly" (IMEV and SIMEV 317), which by modern standards are hardly a poem or literary text but rather a list of injunctions tied together only by a weak rhyme on -ly. As well, the manuscript includes "Pe seyinge of wysemen," a versified series of injunctions concerning behaviour towards other people (IMEV 328). Another fifteenth-century manuscript in which we find proverbial literature keeping company with Lydgate and Chaucer is Cambridge, Trinity College R.3.19, which contains *The Wise Man's Proverbs* (IMEV and SIMEV 3502) and *How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter* (IMEV and SIMEV 671).¹⁰ A similar combination of romances, pious works, and proverbial and instructional pieces from about the same time is found in Oxford, Bodleian Library Ashmole 61. This manuscript contains texts of *How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter* (IMEV and SIMEV 1882) and *How the Wise Man Taught His Son* (IMEV 1985) and two versified courtesy books (IMEV 1694 and 4127), as well as the *Stations of Jerusalem* (IMEV and SIMEV 986), Rolle's *Prick of Conscience* (IMEV and SIMEV 3428), and a *Life of St. Margaret* (IMEV and SIMEV 2673).

Similarly, amongst immediately postmedieval anthologies which nevertheless include much of the Middle English canon, the Bannatyne Manuscript (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland Adv. 1.1.6, dated 1568) is surely one of the most ambitious attempts to record all the literary texts of its time. It includes many short poems of moral advice, with an emphasis on practical guidance for everyday conduct, especially in the second section, which the scribe

⁹ Eleanor Prescott Hammond, "Two British Museum Manuscripts (Harley 2251 and Add. 34360)," *Anglia* 28 (1905): 1–28, and "Ashmole 59 and Other Shirley Manuscripts," *Anglia* 30 (1907): 320–48. See also Julia Boffey and John J. Thompson, "Anthologies and Miscellanies: Production and Choice of Texts," in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375–1475*, ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge, 1989), 279–315.

¹⁰ Felicity Riddy has argued that the inclusion of the latter poem in this manuscript indicates a desire of the bourgeois female household manager to maintain control over the behaviour of female servants. See her "Mother Knows Best: Reading Social Change in a Courtesy Text," *Speculum* 71 (1996): 66–86.

labels as "wisdome and moralitie." Examples are *IMEV* and *SIMEV* 4116 and 4083 (on doing well), 3079.7 (on speaking well), 1640.5 (on money), 3256.6 (on time), 3960.5 (on friends), and 3087 ("Precepts in -ly," again). In a way, the tendency to select such verse is not surprising, as the manuscript, being written "in tyme of pest," has a heavily religious and moral emphasis. Interestingly the antifeminist poems "O Wicket Wemen" (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 2580) and "Allace! So Sobir is the Micht" (*SIMEV* 158.7), which are also extremely moralistic, are included in the section called "ballates of luve." Other sections of the manuscript contain religious poetry, songs, complaint literature, and secular narrative poems. Many of the same texts, including the moralizing poems, are also in the Maitland manuscript, Cambridge, Magdalene College Pepys 2553.

We can thus see that in the Middle English period proverb literature was included in many of the most elegant and costly literary anthologies, alongside much more predictable works of religion and romance, and canonized writers. It is clear from these manuscripts that proverb literature was throughout the Middle English period seen very much as part of the canon of respected mainstream literature which was read by aristocrats and wealthy members of the middle class. The proverbial material, even when it consists of very short texts, does not appear in these anthologies as random jottings or space fillers or pen-trials, but rather as texts that are as respectfully recorded as other genres of writings, like romances and religious narratives. It is relevant that Julia Boffey and Carol M. Meale have noted one carefully inscribed section of Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawl. C. 86 (from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century), which contains a few proverbial verses as well as other short pieces like geographical notes and recipes. They regard this "curiously formal treatment of essentially informal pieces" as an indication that professional scribes included such texts "on a speculative basis rather than at the request of a commissioner," but nevertheless thought it worthy of placement in formal anthologies.¹¹

2. RELIGIOUS MISCELLANIES

The religious miscellanies were also compiled by professional scribes but almost totally exclude secular materials. Nevertheless, some of these manuscripts include proverbial literature, much of which is not directly related to

¹¹ Julia Boffey and Carol M. Meale, "Selecting the Text: Rawlinson C.86 and Some Other Books for London Readers," in *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*, ed. Felicity Riddy (Woodbridge, 1991), 148, 168.

Christian teachings. Two of the largest anthologies of Middle English religious verse and prose, the Vernon and Simeon manuscripts (Oxford, Bodleian Library Eng. poet. a. 1 and London, British Library Add. 22283, respectively), both date from the late fourteenth century.¹² They are dominated by somewhat austere longer religious collections, such as the *Southern Legendary*, the *Miracles of Our Lady*, and the *Northern Homilies*,¹³ as well as numerous mystical and devotional works. However, they both also contain texts of *The Distichs of Cato* (IMEV and SIMEV 247 and 820) and *Proverbs of Diverse Prophets and of Poets and Other Saints* (IMEV and SIMEV 3501). These manuscripts thus associate proverb literature with some of the most respected and profound religious works of the Middle Ages.

A less elegant example is London, British Library Add. 37049, which is predominantly made up of explicitly religious material like a meditation on the Last Judgment (IMEV 4030), a versified Ten Commandments (IMEV 804), a poem on the wounds of Christ (IMEV and SIMEV 1735), and the *Quia amore langueo* (IMEV and SIMEV 1460), many of which are accompanied by relevant coloured drawings. The manuscript also includes a versified list of 103 moral distichs on fols. 85r–86r (IMEV 558),¹⁴ as well as an “ABC of Aristotle” on fol. 86v (IMEV and SIMEV 3793). It is clear as well that the proverbial material is an integral part of the manuscript, and was not entered as an afterthought, for the distichs are laid out carefully in columns, and they are accompanied by coloured drawings of clerics talking to students. For instance, the “ABC of Aristotle” is written next to a picture of a clerical scribe (writing with *both* hands). Another religious miscellany is the late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century manuscript Windsor Castle, St. George’s Chapel E.1.1, which mainly consists of Rolle’s *Emendatio vitae*, Maydenstone’s version of the Seven Penitential Psalms (IMEV and SIMEV 3755), and fragments of Hales’s life of the Virgin and the *Meditationes vitae Christi*. But this manuscript also includes two separate proverb collections in the same hand, one with corresponding Latin and English versions of each proverb (IMEV and SIMEV 1539), and the other in English alone.¹⁵ It is, however, not clear that the proverbs here were a part of the original manuscript, as both sets are written in a hand different from the rest of the manuscript, and the second one is entered in the mar-

¹² A. I. Doyle, “The Shaping of the Vernon and Simeon Manuscripts,” in *Chaucer and Middle English Studies in Honour of Rossell Hope Robbins*, ed. Beryl Rowlands (London, 1974), 328.

¹³ These collections are listed under many different numbers in IMEV and SIMEV.

¹⁴ Karl Brunner, “Me. Disticha (aus Hs. Add. 37049),” *Archiv für das Studium der neuen Sprachen und Literaturen* 159 (1931): 86–92.

¹⁵ Sarah M. Horrall, “Latin and Middle English Proverbs in a Manuscript at St. George’s Chapel, Windsor Castle,” *Mediaeval Studies* 45 (1983): 343–84.

gins. Mention should as well be made of the fourteenth-century manuscript London, Lambeth Palace 853, which includes an "ABC of Aristotle" (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 4155), *How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter* (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 671), a "Precepts in -ly" (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 3087), and as a Courtesy Book (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 2233); the rest of the manuscript contents are almost entirely religious verse.

The inclusion of proverb literature in miscellanies that are otherwise religious suggests that its origins may have been within the church, probably with clerical authors. The manuscripts thus may provide evidence that the learned proverbs of the period were an attempt by the church to appropriate the form or concept of the folk proverb for its own ideological purposes. Proverb literature moreover was perceived as primarily religious material even though it emphasizes practical advice rather than theology. In this way, the church's attempt to control behaviour reached into areas other than the obviously religious ones.

3. ECCLESIASTICAL COLLECTIONS USED FOR PREACHING

We can more directly see this extension of church control over proverbial language in manuscripts which are ecclesiastical in origin and which apparently were compiled as collections of preaching material. These manuscripts are much fewer in number, but they exist even from the early Middle English period. *The Proverbs of Alfred* (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 433), for example, are found in the thirteenth-century manuscript Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.39, which Reichl calls a Franciscan *Predigerbuch*, a term which he believes accounts for the diverse nature of the contents.¹⁶ These include prayers, stories, saints' lives, and a debate between the body and the soul (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 1461). Significantly, *The Proverbs of Alfred* are also contained in the thirteenth-century manuscript Oxford, Jesus College 29, part 2, for which Reichl also suggests a strong probability of a Franciscan origin.¹⁷ The fact that the learned proverb is found in such manuscript contexts from an early period suggests that at this time it already had had a long history within the church and was looked upon as a legitimate source for sermon material and religious instruction. In some of these early Middle English manuscripts of ecclesiastical origin we also see evidence of the process of creating learned proverbs. It is true, of course, that the sources of most English learned proverbs (unlike those of most folk proverbs) are written sources in other languages. Translating pro-

¹⁶ Reichl, *Religiöse Dichtung*, 55.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 72.

verbal material from older Latin sources appears to have been part of the process of attempting to create acceptable vernacular sayings for the guidance of the people of the Middle Ages. Some manuscript entries in fact embody this process, consisting of Latin sayings, followed by vernacular translations, which are usually more elaborated and specific than their original texts. For example, in Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.39, fols. 26r–27r, there is a poem (*IMEV* 1405) made up of Middle English rhymed stanzas which translate and expand upon a pithy Latin text from the Vulgate. For example,

alle þat leued on god almitte
 godes word hit scal hem litte
 ant bringen hem to heuenric blisse
 þat he sculen haue ioie ant lisse
 launterne hit is to monnes fote
 ant of sunnes hit deyd bote
 lucerna pedibus meis [*sic*] verbum tuum & lumen (fol. 26ra).

We can see here that a verse from Ps 118:105 (incompletely transcribed) is rendered into a much longer and more explicit Middle English stanza, probably with the intent of making it easy to remember.

Some fourteenth-century preaching manuscripts also demonstrate the process by which vernacular proverb materials were used for doctrinal purposes. One such manuscript is Cambridge, University Library Ii.3.8, which is dated ca. 1400. Peter Erb has shown that the otherwise wholly Latin sermons in this manuscript preserve the English texts of lyrics, proverbs and special phrasings, which often serve structural purposes in sermons. This may be the result of a desire to preserve the exact wording of vernacular phrases and poems which were thought to have a special status as verbal constructs.¹⁸ If this indeed is the reason for this bilingualism, it suggests a respect for the vernacular that is restricted to texts like proverbs and short lyrics. Significantly, the proverbs that appear in these sermons are typically introduced with the phrase “vulgariter dicitur,” thus demonstrating an acknowledgment by the authors of the sermons, of the power of popular sayings and a respect for their effectiveness as they are phrased in their original linguistic forms.

Another important ecclesiastical manuscript is Friar John of Grimestone’s preaching book (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland Adv. 18.7.21), dated

¹⁸ Peter C. Erb, “Vernacular Material for Preaching in MS Cambridge University Library Ii.III.8,” *Mediaeval Studies* 33 (1971): 63–84. See also Theo Stemmler, “More English Texts from MS. Cambridge University Library Ii.III.8,” *Anglia* 93 (1975): 1–16. Another example of an English lyric appearing in a collection of Latin sermons is the stanza on friendship, beginning “That in thi mischef forsakit the noȝth” (*IMEV* 3280), found in Cambridge, University Library Add. 5943.

1372. This is an alphabetically arranged collection of sermon material in Latin, English, and French. Of particular interest to us are the 246 lyrics and proverbs in English. For example, in the section of the manuscript dealing with the Seven Deadly Sins, under the heading *De accidia*, this four-line tag (*IMEV* 1431) appears amongst other entries in Latin and English:

3ef þu 3euest him eten inou, þanne must him slepen.
 3ef þu 3euest him hunger, þanne wil he wepen.
 3ef þu 3euest him richesse, þanne wil he rote;
 And 3ef þu 3ef him pouerte, þan can he don no note (fol. 16r).

Similarly, under the heading *De ingratitude* there appear the following lines (not listed in *IMEV* and *SIMEV*):

Wil þu art in welthe & wele
 þu salt hauen frendis fele
 3ef þu be pore & falle in wo
 Alle þi frendis willen fro þe go (fol. 68v).

Siegfried Wenzel suggests that this type of memorable saying and short verse in English was used to emphasize an especially trenchant point in sermons, or as a principle of organization, or as the main theme of the sermon itself. He also asserts that the lines were quoted in sermons with the hope that they would be remembered and re-used by the audience.¹⁹ As for the origin of the proverbial sayings in this manuscript and elsewhere, Wenzel believes that the majority were originally in Latin, and were translated into English for preaching purposes,²⁰ although against this argument we see that there are also some decidedly vernacular sayings directly from *The Proverbs of Hendyng* in Grimestone's manuscript. It perhaps is also significant that the vernacular lyrics and proverbs are only a small part of the preaching materials contained in the manuscript, which also includes more traditional quotations from the Bible, Cicero, Seneca, church fathers, and theologians.

The vernacular materials in medieval preaching books are not necessarily restricted to brief moral tags and sayings. In one case, a Franciscan manuscript contains an extended proverbial poem with an apparently secular (and female) audience: Felicity Riddy notes the surprising appearance of *How the Good*

¹⁹ Siegfried Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric* (Princeton, 1986), 115–26.

²⁰ Siegfried Wenzel, "Pestilence and Middle English Literature: Friar John Grimestone's Poems on Death," in *The Black Death: The Impact of the Fourteenth-Century Plague*, ed. Daniel Williman (Binghamton, N.Y., 1982), 140. See also Wenzel's *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric*, 101–73; and Edward Wilson, *A Descriptive Index of the English Lyrics in John of Grimestone's Preaching Book*, Medium Ævum Monographs, n.s., 2 (Oxford, 1973).

Wife Taught Her Daughter (IMEV and SIMEV 671) in the friar's book, Cambridge, Emmanuel College 106, although she suggests as an explanation a concurrence of interests between middle-class householders and elitist preaching friars in maintaining a certain order and social ethos; moreover, she argues that this manuscript context suggests the clerical authorship of domestic moral and instructional works.²¹

4. MANUSCRIPTS WITH EDUCATIONAL FUNCTIONS

A different perspective on the utility of proverbs comes from manuscripts which were used for pedagogical purposes. It is clear from the manuscripts that proverbs played an important role in medieval education, both as moral content, and as language exercises.²² In this context, a significant thirteenth-century document is Cambridge, Trinity College O.2.45 (said in James's catalogue to originate from Cerne Abbey), which has a Latin proverb collection on fols. 351r–366r. It appears that the scribe originally intended to translate these sayings into French or English, as space is left after each, but the project seems to have been abandoned, as only the first eighteen proverbs on fol. 351r are supplied with translations.²³ It would be easy to assume that what we have here is a series of learned proverbs of Latin origin being translated into the vernacular for the purposes of indoctrinating the laity, as was found in Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.39. However, this is a more complex case, which is difficult to interpret from the manuscript evidence. In fact, the proverbs may originate from an English oral tradition, rather than a Latin written one, for many of the English versions have the formal characteristics of the folk proverb, such as metaphor and parallelism, and many are also found in other sources and contexts (such as the works of Chaucer). Examples are “Cat lufat visch, ac he nele his feth wete” and “I-seli child is sone ilered.”²⁴ But if the originals for these proverbs were English, why are the Latin versions written first and more often? It appears that this may have been not an instance of original translation, but rather a pedagogical exercise. The Latin versions may have been written as texts for students to translate into English or French, with the hope that recognition of a familiar vernacular saying in an elegant Latin version would expedite translation, stimulate interest, and provide motivation,

²¹ Riddy, “Mother Knows Best,” 73–77.

²² C. E. Wright, “Late Middle English Parerga in a School Collection,” *The Review of English Studies*, n.s., 2 (1951): 114–20.

²³ Max Förster, “Frühmittelenglische Sprichwörter,” *Englische Studien* 31 (1902): 1–20.

²⁴ See Bartlett Jere Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings Mainly Before 1500* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), C93 and C219.

although the learning of Latin language was the primary goal. The contents of the rest of the manuscript are also suggestive of an educational function, including drawings of board games and mathematical puzzles.

Another pedagogical book is the fifteenth century manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawl. D. 328, which begins with a Latin text of the *Liber Catonis*. Although this Latin text is in a different hand from that in the rest of the manuscript and is written on different material (parchment rather than paper), it is quite relevant to the rest of the manuscript, as it probably was purchased as a text book, to which were attached papers with other relevant pedagogical material. Thus, the following part of the manuscript consists of Latin grammatical rules, religious entries, legal notes concerning ownership of land, charms, the courtesy book *Stans puer ad mensam* (IMEV and SIMEV 2233), "A litel boke of doctrine for yonge gentilmen," and other miscellaneous items. Like many educational manuscripts, this one has a list of proverbs (on fols. 140r-144v), which apparently served the purpose of a translation exercise, as the eighty-seven sayings are written first in Latin, then English.²⁵ An exception to this order of languages are the lines which are in fact the common "Precepts in -ly" (IMEV and SIMEV 3087), beginning

Serue god hertely
And þe worlde besely
Ete þi mete merely.

Below is written

Deo seruit potenter
Mundoque diligenter
Cum gaudio sibum [*sic*] tuum comede (fol. 143r).

The fourteenth-century manuscript London, British Library Add. 37075 is likewise a schoolbook, with Latin grammars and vocabulary lists, an English version of Donatus, and the *Disticha Catonis*. On fols. 70r-71r, there is a list of twenty-eight one-line proverbs, written first in English, then in Latin. For the most part, these proverbs seem to be of the traditional folk type, with the English probably being the original, and the Latin version forming the substance of the linguistic exercise.²⁶ Examples are "The blynd etyth many a flye" (translated as "Manducat muscas privatus lumine multas") and "Hyt ys not gold yat shynyth as gold" ("Non constat aurum totum quod splendet ut au-

²⁵ Sanford B. Meech, "A Collection of Proverbs in Rawlinson MS D 328," *Modern Philology* 38 (1940-41): 113-32.

²⁶ Bartlett Jere Whiting, "A Collection of Proverbs in BM Additional MS. 37075," in *Medieval and Linguistic Studies in Honor of Francis Peabody Magoun, Jr.*, ed. Jess B. Besinger, Jr., and Robert P. Creed (London, 1965), 274-89.

rum"). Educational manuscripts with proverbs used as translation exercises are not numerous, but other examples include London, British Library Harley 3362;²⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library Douce 52;²⁸ Manchester, John Rylands Library Lat. 394;²⁹ New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library 3 (34); and Oxford, Lincoln College Lat. 129 (E).³⁰ However, it also happens that lists of proverbs with translations into English or Latin occur in noneducational manuscripts, as we have seen in the religious collection Windsor Castle, St. George's Chapel E.1.1.

Proverbs as an educational tool suited the purposes of the church-run schools in many ways. For one thing, they were a useful device for combining moral content with linguistic instruction: the students would learn their Latin grammar and their morals at the same time. Moreover, the propagation of church-approved sentences among young people (usually without attribution) was, as Susan Deskis has perceptively argued, "an important step in the proverbialization of a quotation."³¹ The fundamental idea of the proverb as a useful linguistic device for learned people to use was of course being propagated at the same time. Most importantly, the classroom circumstance of the young learning wise sayings from their masters reinforced the politics of the proverb, as a means by which the young were put in their place as learners and their elders were put in their place of dominance and superiority. On the other hand, the church does not seem to have been afraid to use traditional folk proverbs in the educational setting as well.

5. COMMONPLACE BOOKS

The so-called commonplace books (which in England are few in number and extant only from the fifteenth century on) are distinguished by the fact that they are miscellaneous and seem to have been compiled for private purposes over an extended period of time, with the compiler's individual taste and needs as the

²⁷ Max Förster, "Kleinere mittenglische Texte 7. Mittelenglische Sprichwörter (15. jh.)," *Anglia* 42 (1918): 197–206.

²⁸ Max Förster, "Die mittenglische Sprichwörtersammlung in Douce 52," in *Festschrift zum XII. allgemeinen deutschen Neuphilologentage in München, Pfingsten 1906*, ed. E. Stollreither (Erlangen, 1906), 40–60.

²⁹ W. A. Pantin, "A Medieval Collection of Latin and English Proverbs and Riddles, from the Rylands Latin MS. 394," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 14 (1930): 81–114.

³⁰ On these last two manuscripts, see Nicholas Orme, *Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England* (London and Ronceverte, 1989), 73–112.

³¹ Susan E. Deskis, *Beowulf and the Medieval Proverb Tradition* (Tempe, Ariz., 1996), 144.

only guiding principles of selection.³² We must at the same time bear in mind that these manuscripts may well be collections of various booklets bound together at a later time, and thus it may not be fair to treat them in the holistic way that such definitions imply.³³ In any case, these commonplace books, which are usually identified with the rising middle classes, almost without exception show a great interest in proverbs and proverb literature, although A. G. Rigg also notes their tendency not to organize these proverbs systematically, in contrast to other manuscripts like anthologies and schoolbooks.³⁴ One example is London, British Library Sloane 775, which actually is predominantly legal notes and formulae. This document is of an extremely practical, middle-class character, so it is in some ways not surprising to find in it a text of the "Precepts in -ly" on fol. 54r (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 324). Another is the late fifteenth-century manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library Tanner 407, which was compiled by Robert Reynes of Acle. This manuscript, which atypically of commonplace books originates from a rural manor, includes Latin proverbs, another text of the "Precepts in -ly" (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 3087), and various other short moralistic pieces. The other contents of the manuscript include many of a practical nature (such as legal formulae and medical receipts), as well as literary pieces (such as a life of St. Anne, *IMEV* 3207) which evince a kind of traditional popular piety. Other manuscripts which have been called commonplace books, and which also contain proverbial material are Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales Porkington 10; Cambridge, Trinity College O.9.38; and New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library 365 (formerly the Brome Manuscript).

The most well-known commonplace books from the "early" early modern period are two originating from London, one associated with the mercer John Colyns (London, British Library Harley 2252) and the other with the grocer Richard Hill (Oxford, Balliol College 354). The former manuscript³⁵ was

³² On the term "commonplace book," see A. G. Rigg, *A Glastonbury Miscellany of the Fifteenth Century: A Descriptive Index of Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. O.9.38* (London, 1968), 24–26; Cameron Louis, *The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes of Acle: An Edition of Tanner MS. 407* (New York, 1980), 99–103; and Ulrich Frost, *Das "Commonplace Book" von John Colyns: Untersuchung und Teiledition der Handschrift Harley 2252 der British Library in London*, Europäische Hochschulschriften 186 (Frankfurt, 1988), 74–80.

³³ In fact, some manuscripts have for a long time been mislabeled "commonplace books" because signs of professional scribal compilation have not been noticed. Boffey and Meale ("Selecting the Text," 149) cite the case of London, British Library Egerton 1995.

³⁴ Rigg, *Glastonbury Miscellany*, 34–35.

³⁵ See Frost, *Das "Commonplace Book" von John Colyns*; also Carol M. Meale, "The Compiler at Work: John Colyns and BL MS Harley 2252," in *Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth-Century England: The Literary Implications of Manuscript Study*, ed. Derek Pearsall (Cambridge, 1983), 82–103.

clearly not compiled with elegance in mind, although most entries are written neatly. The proverbial material in the manuscript includes *A Father's Counsel to His Son* (IMEV and SIMEV 432), a "Precepts in -ly" poem (IMEV and SIMEV 109), and two poems on money, one beginning "He þat Spendes Myche And getythe nowghte" (IMEV and SIMEV 1163) and the other beginning "Sett and saue yf thou wylt haue" (IMEV and SIMEV 3088). The rest of the manuscript (apart from the Romances *Ipomydon* [IMEV and SIMEV 2142] and *Morte Arthur* [IMEV and SIMEV 1994], which were compiled separately) shows a markedly practical bent, particularly with regard to civic and political matters, although various lyrics and *exempla* are also included. Hill's commonplace book (dated 1536) is larger, and more varied and more literary in its contents, including a remarkable collection of songs and carols.³⁶ In the manuscript there are two extensive proverb collections, one a list of fifty-two proverbs in English, and the other a list of fifty-five in English, followed by a Latin version. Significantly, in other places in the manuscript there are several other lists of proverbs in Latin only, as well as a version of the "Precepts in -ly" (IMEV and SIMEV 3087) and a few rhymes on the subject of money (including IMEV and SIMEV 1163). London, British Library Lansdowne 762 is usually classified as a London commonplace book too, although it is written in several hands. This manuscript likewise has a very practical orientation, as it includes notes on purchasing land and on weights and measures, as well as information about history and geography. The proverbial material is largely in one section on fols. 91r-94r, in which Latin and English verses are formally laid out and inscribed. The careful writing and presentation of this section, and the segregation of the proverbial material are atypical of commonplace books, however, even though a text of the "Precepts in -ly" (IMEV and SIMEV 324) does occur earlier, on fol. 16v. In any case, these three manuscripts demonstrate the popularity of proverbial material among the rising urban bourgeoisie of the early Renaissance.

In general, the commonplace books demonstrate that collecting proverbs became a habit common amongst the laity, at least in the late Middle Ages, although the practice had begun within the church at a much earlier time. It is noteworthy, however, that the lay collectors gathered mostly the respectable, learned proverbs and poems, rather than the folk proverbs that they probably encountered in oral form. This may indicate a continuing tendency to leave the folk proverb in its oral form, as a result of a feeling that it was not worthy of being committed to writing.

³⁶ For a full list of contents, see Roman Dyboski, ed., *Songs, Carols, and Other Miscellaneous Poems from the Balliol MS. 354, Richard Hill's Commonplace-Book*, EETS, e.s., 101 (1908; rpt. Millwood, N.Y., 1973), xxxiv-lxx.

6. MANUSCRIPTS WITH INCIDENTAL PROVERBIAL TEXTS

Manuscripts from all periods often have proverb texts entered in an incidental way, frequently as pen-trials or doodles, but sometimes merely as later additions. In this case, examples are too numerous even to begin listing, but one interesting instance is Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 622, which mainly consists of a thirteenth-century Latin text of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De gestis Britonum* written in a text hand. In the leaves at the beginning and end of the manuscript are entered some short verses in English and Latin in an Anglicana hand of the fourteenth century. The English lines on a beginning flyleaf are moralistic lines on friendship:

That in thi mischef forsakit the noȝth,
 That in thi bonchef axit the noȝth,
 That wanne thou trespasset for-berit the noȝth,
 That in thi nede wernit the noȝth,
 He is thi Frende (fol. iii verso).³⁷

The poem on the last leaf (probably in the same hand as the poem on friendship) is on the vanity of riches (*IMEV* 3970). Similarly, Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 108 is an early fourteenth-century collection of saints' lives, but at the end of the manuscript in a different hand is written a rhyming list of injunctions beginning "Be þu nauȝt to bolde to blame" (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 477) and another short poem on deceit beginning "Allas diceyt þat in truste ys nowē" (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 145). An even more striking instance of a proverbial poem being written on a document intended for a very different purpose appears on the cover of Nottingham, Nottingham University Mi Dc 7, which is a list of the king's retinue on his expedition into France, dated 1492. Here there is an ABC poem (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 160) consisting of seventy-eight rhymed, one-line injunctions in alphabetical order.³⁸ As well, there is the last flyleaf of London, British Library Harley 116, which is otherwise a carefully laid-out and written parchment volume of longer fifteenth-century texts in English, such as Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes* (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 2229), various works by Lydgate, *Palladius on Husbandrie* (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 654), and both the *Cato major* (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 854) and the *Parvus Cato* (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 3955). On this leaf, there is a series of proverbial verses which are written possibly in the same hand as part of the rest of the manuscript, but very cursively,

³⁷ *IMEV* 3280, as printed in Thomas Wright and James Orchard Halliwell, *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, 2 vols. (London, 1845; rpt. New York, 1966), 2:18.

³⁸ Ed. W. H. Stevenson, *Historical Manuscripts Commission Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton* (London, 1911), 267.

and which have the appearance of doodles. Interestingly, here too many of the verses concern friendship, such as *IMEV* and *SIMEV* 1297:

I had my good And my ffrend
 I lene my good To my ffrend
 I askyd my good Of my ffrend
 I lost my good And my ffrend
 I made of my ffrend my ffo (fol. 170v).

These lines are laid out as a kind of doodle, with the words "good" and "ffrend" in the first four lines written only once but connected to their rightful places in each line by straight lines and brackets. Also entered on the page are *IMEV* and *SIMEV* 1149 ("he that hath a good neyghbourh hath a good morowe"), *IMEV* and *SIMEV* 68 ("A man may a while nature begile"), and *IMEV* and *SIMEV* 1139 ("He ys wyse that can be war or he be wo").

That this habit did not stop with the invention of printing is shown by the presence of handwritten moralistic verse in a copy of Caxton's *Meditationes circa septem psalmos poenitentiales* by Pierre d'Ailly, and in a copy of the *Cordiale quattuor novissimorum* in the British Library.³⁹ These poems include a version of the "Precepts in -ly" (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 324), a prose paragraph on "fower thynges to be marked of euery wyseman," a short poem beginning "Who þat makyth in Crystynmas a dogge to his lardere" (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 4106), a text of the well-known quatrain "ffer fro thi kynsmen caste the" (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 761), the stanza beginning "Who that buldyth his howse of sallowes" (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 4101; also in the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*), a saw on "Two wyffes in one howse" (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 3818), and another on "Who that manyth hym with his kyn" (*SIMEV* 4106.5). As Curt F. Bühler says, it is probable that these lines were copied from the *Boke of St. Albans*. Another example is the text of an "ABC Morality" (*SIMEV* 312.5) found in the margins of a copy of Bartholomeus Anglicus's *De proprietatibus rerum* in Oxford, Corpus Christi College.⁴⁰

It is remarkable that these incidental jottings so often take the form of proverbs and moral sayings. This phenomenon may be a sign of the long-term effect of the educational system, which as we have seen, gave young students a great

³⁹ Curt F. Bühler, "Middle English Apophthegms in a Caxton Volume: *Libri impressi cum notis manuscriptis—X*," *English Language Notes* 1 (1963–64): 81–84.

⁴⁰ J. G. Milne and Elizabeth Sweeting, "Further Marginalia from a Copy of Bartholomeus Anglicus," *The Modern Language Review* 40 (1945): 237–45. Tom Burton has suggested by correspondence that manuscripts (and perhaps early printings) of books of knowledge and encyclopedias may be especially likely to have proverbs recorded in the margins and flyleaves. He cites as examples two manuscripts of *Sidrak and Bokkus*: London, British Library Harley 4294 and Sloane 2232.

deal of practice in writing proverbs. It also may show the impulse to memorize and repeat these sayings, both as moral guidance to be followed in everyday life, and as an ornament to speech. The act of writing these sayings in itself may have become a kind of ritual which benefitted from repetition, like prayers.

7. MANUSCRIPTS CONSISTING MAINLY OF PROVERB MATERIAL

At this point one might well ask whether there are any Middle English manuscripts that are totally or nearly totally devoted to proverbial literature. In fact there are very few, the most notable being the fifteenth-century manuscript Cambridge, University Library Kk.1.5, part 6, which includes the "Ballad of Maxims" (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 687), Chaucer's "Truth" (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 809), *Ratis Raving* (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 2235), a poem on the virtues of work, beginning "Sen in waist natur na thinge mais" (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 3130), another short lyric on true virtue (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 3151), *The Foly of Fulys and the Thewis of Wysmen* (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 3154), *The Thewis of Gudwomen* (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 3362), and the *Consail and Teiching at the Vys Man Gaif His Sone* (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 4100). This manuscript also includes an explicitly religious text, a prose *Craft of Dying*. The purpose of this manuscript compilation is not altogether clear, however. It is carefully laid out and written, and appears to be the work of professional scribes, although most of the entries are written in the one hand. Another anthology which has an emphasis on proverbial and moralistic material is Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawl. poet. 32, which is dated in the second half of the fifteenth century, and includes a copy of Burgh's *Cato major* (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 854), the *Stans puer ad mensam* (*IMEV* 1501), *The Proverbs of Wisdom* (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 3502), and the prose *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*, as well as works by Lydgate, historical texts, and religious notes. It is, however, not possible to argue that this manuscript was as a whole inscribed with a proverbial bias in mind, for it in fact is a combination of six manuscripts bound together, even though it is a formally laid-out manuscript which is also likely to have been compiled by professional scribes. In any case, neither the Cambridge University nor the Rawlinson manuscript indicates much to us about attitudes to proverb literature, precisely because they display it out of the context of other works.

8. EVIDENCE FOR NON-MANUSCRIPT USAGES OF PROVERBIAL WORKS

We should also consider the evidence we have for the recording of proverbs on surfaces other than manuscripts. For one thing, it appears that proverbs were the most common type of text to be inscribed on the walls of buildings, probably even more frequently than is now obvious from second-hand manuscript sources. For example, the early fifteenth-century manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 315 records proverbial verses written in the hall of the Augustinian Canons' Priory at Launceston in Cornwall.⁴¹ Different verses were assigned to the tables of different officers of the priory; for example, above the table assigned to *garçiones* and *operarii*, the inscriptions read

In anoþer mannys hous
Ne be þou neuer coueytous
Miche desire for to haue
ffor þat is þe condicione of a knaue.⁴²

It is clear that such proverbial inscriptions were also found in secular dwellings. For example, on an inserted leaf in Oxford, Bodleian Library Lat. misc. c. 66, a text of the "ABC of Aristotle" (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 3793) is headed "These byn gode prouerbis to set in þe bordere of þe halle" (fol. 26v), thus indicating that the lines were or were intended to be inscribed on the walls of Humfrey Newton's estate at Pownall.⁴³ There is also a record of proverbs painted on the walls at the estate of Pengersick in Cornwall.⁴⁴

In this context, an especially valuable document is London, British Library Royal 18.D.ii, an illuminated manuscript compiled in the last half of the fifteenth century for the Percy family, which contains the texts of a series of proverbial verses inscribed on the walls of the family estates at Leconfield and Wressle (*IMEV* 321, 691, 730, 2785, and 2811),⁴⁵ and also specifies the original location of the lines. The headings are "The prouerbis of the garet over the bayne at lekingfelde" (fols. 195v–197v), "The prouerbis In the garet at the New lodge in the parke of lekingfelde" (fols. 198r–199v), "The prouerbis in the rooffe of the hiest chawmbre in the gardinge at lekingfelde" (fols. 201r–202r), "The prouerbis in the rouf of my lorde percy closett at lekyngfelde" (fols.

⁴¹ Rossell Hope Robbins, "Wall Verses at Launceston Priory," *Archiv für das Studium der neuen Sprachen und Literaturen* 200 (1964): 338–43.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 342.

⁴³ Rossell Hope Robbins, "The Poems of Humfrey Newton, Esquire, 1466–1536," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 65 (1950): 259–60.

⁴⁴ Robbins, "Wall Verses," 339.

⁴⁵ E. Flügel, "Die Proverbs von Lekenfield und Wresil (Yorks)," *Anglia* 14 (1892): 471–97.

202r–204r), “The prouerbes in the roufe of my lordis library at lekyngfelde” (fols. 204v–205v), “The counsell of Aristotell whiche he gauē to Alexander kinge of macedony in the syde of the garet of the gardynge in lekyngfelde” (fols. 205v–206v), “The prouerbis in the sydis of the Innere chamber aboue of the house in the garding at Wresill” (fols. 207r–209r), “The counsell of Aristotill which he gayfe to Alexander Kynge of massydony which ar writyn in the syde of the vitter chambre aboue of the house in the gardynge at wresyll” (fol. 209r), and “The proverbis in the syde of thutter chambre aboue of the hous in the gardyng at wresyll” (fols. 210r–211v). The verses themselves are quite varied, but all are sententious. For example, the lines “in the rooffe of the hyst chawmbre in the gardinge at lekingfelde” are a series of couplets exhorting the reader to “Esperaunce en dyeu,” as hope in all other things is vain. A couplet is devoted to each type of vanity, for example,

Esperaunce in the worlde nay
 The worlde variethe euery day
 Esperaunce in riches nay not so
 Riches slidithe and sone will go.

On the other hand, the ones in “the garet over the bayne at lekingfelde” consist of a dialogue between “The Parte sensatyue” and “The Parte intellectyue,” much to the advantage of the latter, and the ones “In the garet at the New lodge in the parke of lekingfelde” all concern music. “The prouerbis in the rouf of my lorde percy closett at lekyngfelde” are mainly about the folly of youth and the wisdom of age, and those “in the roufe of my lordis library at lekyngfelde” are really a list of one-line sayings tied together only by rhyme, including some of the standard “Precepts in -ly.” It is interesting that the rooms in which these sayings were written included both public areas and private quarters, perhaps indicating that they were intended for individual contemplation as well as public display. In addition to the privileged place these proverbial verses apparently held on the Percy estates, they are also given considerable status in the way they are recorded, as they are entered in an illuminated manuscript inscribed on vellum.

The practice of inscribing proverbs on walls, apparently for the most part in preference to other types of literature, appears to indicate a great respect for this kind of language and text amongst members of the aristocracy, not only the supposedly practical and sententious middle classes. Moreover, these proverbs were not looked upon as ephemera, or only as oral devices to be inserted in conversation, but also as words that bore great significance as written texts for display and meditation. In this sense, they truly were perceived as nominal or

“nounlike” sentences, objectified sayings, or frozen syntagms.⁴⁶ It is also clear that one of the purposes of having the proverbs on the walls was for memorization and repetition. But these proverbs were intended to be treated with considerable respect, even when used in conversation, as is made clear in a quatrain on the wall at Wressle:

Pronounce thes prouerbis indifferently
 Withe remors of reason and not sensually
 For as soundithe the instrument
 So shalbe Iudgede the entent (fol. 211v).

This injunction to speak proverbs “not sensually” may explain the paucity of evidence that they were sung. Two exceptions are the verses on friendship that begin “Wel were hym þat wylt” (*IMEV* and *SIMEV* 3892) and the poem against anger beginning “I rede þat thou be ioly and glad” (*IMEV* 1347). These are both found with musical notation in the early fifteenth-century song book that makes up part of Cambridge, University Library Add. 5943. But for the most part, moralistic and proverbial texts seem not to have formed the content of songs.

Thus the manuscript context in which we find proverb literature tells us much about contemporary attitudes towards it. More than anything else, we see that such literature was very much respected and canonized, and was not seen as a sign of a lack of sophistication or low social status. In fact, the manuscript evidence seems to indicate that proverbs were recorded for memorization and contemplation by all segments of society that had access to manuscript culture. We also see in the manuscripts signs of heavy involvement by the church in the creation and dissemination of proverb literature, and in the manifest attitude that such pieces were in fact part of the approved religious culture. By the end of the Middle Ages, it appears that the laity had indeed adopted the church’s attitude to proverb literature, and treated it as something to be revered, collected, remembered, and treasured.⁴⁷

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⁴⁶ See Judith H. Anderson, *Words That Matter: Linguistic Perception in Renaissance English* (Stanford, 1996), 23.

⁴⁷ I wish to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the President’s Fund of the University of Regina for financial assistance which greatly facilitated research for this article. I also would like to express gratitude to the staffs of the following institutions for their assistance and many courtesies: British Library, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library, Trinity College Cambridge Library, National Library of Scotland, John Rylands Library, Lambeth Palace Library, and Nottingham University Library. Tom Burton and Jonathan Black made many useful suggestions and corrections after reading an earlier draft of this article, but they are not implicated in any of its present shortcomings.

EARLY EVIDENCE FOR THE BENEVENTAN MISSAL: PALIMPSEST TEXTS (SAEC. X/XI) IN MONTECASSINO 271*

Virginia Brown

THE contributions of medieval southern Italy to the development of Mass-texts in late antiquity, especially regarding the sacramentary, lections, and gospels, are well known.¹ Equally significant from a liturgical point of view are those features indicative of the Beneventan rite which have been preserved in missals written in Beneventan script from the tenth century onwards. In such instances both text and music invite comparison with other liturgies.²

* I should like to thank don Faustino Avagliano, O.S.B., Archivist of Montecassino, for permission to publish the transcription and plates of the Beneventan palimpsest texts in Montecassino, Archivio della Badia 271. Without his generous cooperation this study would not have been possible. Prof. Richard F. Gyug kindly read an earlier draft and contributed valuable suggestions and cogent criticisms; I gratefully acknowledge his help.

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¹ No manuscript has yet been located of the sacramentary ascribed to Paulinus of Nola († 431), but some indication of its content may be detected in the frequent appearances of proper prefaces, the *oratio post euangelium* corresponding to the *oratio super sindonem* of the Ambrosian rite, and the *oratio super populum* in non-Lenten feasts. On this sacramentary, now apparently lost, see K. Gamber, "Das kampanische Messbuch als Vorläufer des Gelasianum: Ist der hl. Paulinus von Nola der Verfasser?" *Sacris erudiri* 12 (1961): 5–111.

The sixth-century Campanian epistle-list, copied in uncial and distinctly non-Roman in its arrangement, occurs as marginal notes and also constitutes a separate list in a manuscript of the New Testament copied for Victor, bishop of Capua ca. 546/547. This codex still survives and is now Fulda, Landesbibliothek Bonifatianus 1. Evidence for the Campanian gospel-list, also non-Roman, is found in later copies, namely, the Lindisfarne Gospels (London, British Library Cotton Nero D.iv, saec. VII–VIII) and two apographs (London, British Library Royal 1.B.vii, saec. VIII; and Rheims, Bibliothèque Municipale 41, saec. X). Both lists have been edited and studied several times; for these manuscripts as well as other testimonia to the early liturgy of Campania, see K. Gamber, *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Fribourg, 1968), 1:106–9 and 227–30, nos. 077 and 401–7; and C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, revised and translated by W. G. Storey and N. K. Rasmussen (Washington, D.C., 1986), 335–38.

² For example, the importance of regional texts for early Gregorian chant provided the impetus, beginning in the 1930s, for R.-J. Hesbert's editions and studies of Beneventan manuscripts.

For example, as in the early Roman and Milanese systems there are traces of a three-lection series in the Beneventan rite: the appearance of three readings has been noticed in some Beneventan manuscripts for the masses of Christmas, Sundays after Epiphany, Quinquagesima, first and third Sundays of Lent, Wednesday of Holy Week, the Transfiguration, Lawrence, some Sundays after Pentecost and the Sundays before and after the feast of Michael.³ Use of the Gospel of John for the second, third, fourth, and fifth Sundays of Lent, with the respective designations *de Samaritana*, *de Abraham*, *de caeco*, and *de Lazaro*, is another Beneventan feature, and this non-Roman practice is found also in the Milanese and Old Spanish liturgies.⁴ In musical texts, the indigenous Beneventan chant is found in masses of Christmas, Stephen, Benedict, Palm Sunday, Holy Thursday, the Easter Vigil, Easter, the Invention of the Cross, the Invention of Michael, Ascension, Pentecost, and a number of saints' feasts from John the Baptist to the apostle Andrew.⁵

Much, however, remains to be done even on a basic level. We must still ask how many missals in Beneventan script survive and, of these, what is the oldest. Such questions must be answered if the history of the missal in southern Italy is to advance.

The present study is concerned with the second query. A census of extant liturgical manuscripts in Beneventan undertaken for the Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana project⁶ has yielded Mass-texts which appear to be older than those previously known in Beneventan manuscripts: they survive in a fragmentary, palimpsest state in Montecassino, Archivio della Badia 271 and contain, with many lacunae, masses for the Lenten season (first Sunday of Lent-Passion Sunday) and for Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday after Easter Sunday. These Mass-texts are the work of two scribes. The second hand, using a slightly different format, copied the section with the Easter ferias, and so the change in scribe as well as the change of liturgical season is logically reflected in the headings Mc271a (Lent) and Mc271b (Eastertide) which

³ For a more detailed summary with references to pertinent manuscripts, see R. F. Gyug, ed., *Missale Ragusinum: The Missal of Dubrovnik* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Liturg. 342) (Toronto, 1990), 7-8 (part of his general discussion of "Old Beneventan Liturgy," 3-12).

⁴ R.-J. Hesbert, "Les dimanches de Carême dans les manuscrits romano-bénéventains," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 48 (1934): 198-222.

⁵ See T. F. Kelly, *The Beneventan Chant* (Cambridge, 1989), 250-56, for a repertory of Beneventan music for the Mass; and *Les témoins manuscrits du chant bénéventain*, Paléographie musicale 21 (Solesmes, 1992), for facsimiles of manuscripts with Beneventan chant.

⁶ The census has benefitted from the investigations of all members of the Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana équipe; V. Brown and T. F. Kelly are coordinating the data and plan to publish the results in a future article.

will be used from now on as a convenient method of grouping the palimpsest Mass-texts in Beneventan.

But they are not the only liturgical palimpsests in Montecassino 271. The codex has long been famous for the fragmentary lectionary/mixed sacramentary copied in uncial, saec. VII–VIII,⁷ and now overwritten with Beneventan. Since the uncial text has been studied frequently and in detail, it will not form the principal focus of our inquiry in what follows. Nonetheless, the presence in the same manuscript of a palimpsest “pre-Missal” and palimpsest Mass-texts in relatively early Beneventan raises the interesting question of how and why this is so. Although a definitive answer, of course, is impossible at present simply because the surviving evidence is incomplete, some cautious speculation will be advanced below.

Mc271a and Mc271b may be the oldest Mass-texts now known in Beneventan script. At the very least they are certainly to be placed among the earliest Beneventan missals. Palaeographical data assembled in part I below supports E. A. Lowe’s date of saec. X/XI as the *terminus ante quem* and is valid for both Mc271a and Mc271b even though he appears to have been aware of only Mc271a.⁸ On the basis of the same data, there is also the possibility of a slightly earlier date, i.e., the late tenth century. In any case, all things considered, both Mc271a and Mc271b seem to be somewhat older than Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare 33 (= Ben33), assigned to saec. X/XI or, more correctly in my view, to the early eleventh century.⁹

⁷ Gamber, *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores* 2:330, no. 701; for further bibliography, see n. 13 below.

⁸ E. A. Lowe (later Lowe), *The Beneventan Script: A History of the South Italian Minuscule* (Oxford, 1914), 347: “(ii) Second script, Beneventan, saec. x/xi. Missale plenum.” The same date and sketchy description of contents were retained in the second edition of *The Beneventan Script*, 2 vols., revised and enlarged by V. Brown (Rome, 1980), 2:79 (unless otherwise specified, reference will be made hereafter to the second edition). Lowe’s designation of the text as “Missale plenum” indicates a missal with neumes, and this must be our Mc271a since Mc271b lacks notation. In his monumental *Codices latini antiquiores* Lowe mentions the Beneventan palimpsest in an even more summary fashion, referring only to “a liturgical MS. in Beneventan saec. X–XI” (vol. 3 [Oxford, 1938], 32, no. 375).

⁹ Ben33 was assigned to saec. X/XI by Lowe in the first and second editions of *The Beneventan Script* (336 and 2:21 respectively). Scholarship has since wavered between a date at the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century. I agree with the date of saec. XI in., recently proposed by J. Hourlier and J. Froger, *Le manuscrit VI-33, Archivio Arcivescovile, Benevento. Missel de Bénévent (Début du XI^e siècle)*, Paléographie musicale 20 (Berne-Frankfurt, 1983), 17*: “Les divers auteurs qui ont voulu dater ce manuscrit ont parlé tantôt de la fin du X^e siècle, tantôt du début du XI^e. La différence n’est pas grande, tout au plus d’une génération. Si l’on ose préciser une date, on pencherait actuellement pour les premières décennies du XI^e siècle.”

For purpose of convenient reference, the Montecassino codex, when considered as a whole, will be referred to simply as Mc271. References to individual texts in Mc271a and Mc271b will be made according to the boldface serial numbers given in the edition on pp. 275–303 below.

I. CODICOLOGICAL AND PALAEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

Mc271 consists of 138 leaves now measuring 270 × 190 mm. and gathered according to the following scheme: 1–16⁸ + 17¹⁰. These quires were formed by regrouping palimpsest bifolia as well as others previously unused so that, after folding, some of the palimpsest bifolia retained the original textual sequence while others were inside out; many palimpsest bifolia are also placed upside down. Relevant to the discussion on pp. 255–58 below is the fact that one bifolium consists of two singletons which have been artificially joined.

The original foliation (1–138) was made with arabic numbers in brown ink placed in the outer margin opposite, usually, the first line of text on the recto; this has been superseded by pagination (1–276) added in pencil above or below the older folio numbers by Mauro Inguanez (1887–1955), O.S.B., a former archivist of Montecassino, and by an unknown hand. There are two ex-libris on p. 1: (top, saec. XIV, brown ink) “Lib(er) S. B(e)n(edict)i d(e) Cesamo”; (bottom, early saec. XVI, brown ink) “Iste liber est sac(r)i mon(aster)ii Casinen(sis) N^o. 274.”

Brown leather over stiff boards serves as the modern binding. Small repairs may have accompanied the rebinding of the codex, the entire process taking place apparently in the late 1940s or 1950s (*teste* Faustino Avagliano), to judge from the similar covers of other Montecassino manuscripts whose rebinding can be dated to that time. Now missing in Mc271 is the front flyleaf which contained fifteenth-century copies of various letters.¹⁰

¹⁰ These include a letter dated 8 January 1442, Vallerotonda, from a certain Antonius to the notary Johannes, the beginning of another letter apparently to the same notary, and a letter from Pirro Tomacelli, abbot of Montecassino (1414–37 [deposed]) to Benedictus, provost of Vallerotonda. The contents of this folio were transcribed by A. Caravita, *I codici e le arti a Monte Cassino*, vol. 2 (Montecassino, 1870), 50–51. There is a brief mention of the flyleaf in M. Inguanez’s description of Mc271; see his *Codicum casinensium manuscriptorum catalogus*, vol. 2 (Montecassino, 1928–34), 81–86, esp. 86. Abbot Pirro Tomacelli is also named in one of the vigorously erased entries in fifteenth-century writing added below the last line of text on p. 276 of Mc271. On this hapless figure, who died ca. 1442 a prisoner in the Castel S. Angelo, see T. Leccisotti, “Aspetti della crisi dell’età moderna a Montecassino,” in *Montecassino nel Quattrocento: Studi e documenti sull’abbazia cassinese e la ‘Terra S. Benedicti’ nella crisi del passaggio all’età moderna*, ed. M. Dell’Omo, *Miscellanea cassinese* 66 (Montecassino, 1992), 15–114.

All but pp. 193–260 and pp. 273–276 of Mc271 are palimpsest. In an effort to render the lower text more legible, reagent was applied at some point to pp. 1–61, 64–93, 97, 126, 137, 145, 148, 166, 167, 170–188, and 190–192. As a result, most of these pages are now totally brown, the exceptions being pp. 126, 137, 145, and 148 where the chemical was used only on selected passages.

Two texts written in uncial of slightly different dates are visible on the majority of erased pages as the original script. Naturally the presence of such a venerable hand has generated considerable interest in Mc271. Scholarly attention concentrated on the portions in uncial, particularly the liturgical fragments, with the result that the lower script in Beneventan remains unstudied. Like E. A. Lowe before him, Inguanez identified only one palimpsest work in Beneventan, our Mc271a (“Missale plenum”).¹¹ In fact, the following expanded list of contents for Mc271 shows three Beneventan scribes at work (nos. 4–6):

UPPER SCRIPT

(1) pp. 1–276: Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi*, books 1, 3, 4. Beneventan, saec. XI/XII.

LOWER SCRIPT

(2) pp. 1–16, 19–22, 27–30, 35–38, 43–46, 51–52, 61–62, 67–68, 77–78, 101–102, 107–108, 113–114, 117–118, 123–124, 127–130, 133–134, 139–140, 143–144, 147–158, 161–192: Augustinus, *Enarrationes in psalmos* 143–50 (cum lacunis). Uncial, saec. VII ex.¹²

(3) pp. 49–50, 63–66, 79–86, 91–96, 99–100, 103–106, 109–110, 115–116, 119–122, 125–126, 131–132, 135–138, 141–142, 145–146, 159–160, 261–262, 271–272: fragmentary lectionary/mixed Gelasian-Gregorian sacramentary (Fer. 4 Ebd. Maioris-Clement., cum lacunis; Canon missae; Commune sanctorum, etc.). Uncial, saec. VII–VIII.¹³

(4) pp. 33–34, 39–42, 47–48, 53–60, 69–76, 87–90, 97–98, 111–112: Mass-texts with neumes (Dom. 1 Quadr.–Dom. 5 Quadr., cum diebus ferialibus et lacunis). Beneventan, saec. X/XI *vel* saec. X ex. (= Mc271a)

¹¹ Inguanez, *Codicum casinensium manuscriptorum catalogus* 2:85: “3. Missalis pleni fragmenta: pp. 17–8; 23–6; 31–4; 39–42; 47–8; 53–60; 69–76; 87–90; 97–8; 111–2; 263–270.”

¹² Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores* 3:32, no. 375 (“Written in South or Central Italy”).

¹³ *Ibid.*, no. 376 (“Written doubtless in Italy”). For a study and edition, see A. Dold, *Vom Sakramentar Comes und Capitulare zum Missale: Eine Studie über die Entstehungszeit der erstmals vollständig erschlossenen liturgischen Palimpsest-texte in Unziale aus Codex 271 von Monte Cassino*, Texte und Arbeiten 34 (Beuron, 1943); for a detailed analysis of the contents and comparison with other sources, see A. Chavasse, “Les fragments palimpsestes du Casinensis 271 (sigle Z 6). A côté de l’Hadrianum et du Paduense, un collatéral, autrement remanié,” *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 25 (1983): 9–33.

(5) pp. 17–18, 23–26, 31–32: Mass-texts (Fer. 3–6 p. Pasch.). Beneventan, saec. X/XI *vel* saec. X ex. (= Mc271b)

(6) pp. 263–270: Homiliarium (pp. 263–266, Beda, *Comm. in Lucam* II (Lc 4:18–21; pp. 267–270, ?). Beneventan, saec. XI.¹⁴

At this point we can deal with a misapprehension in Lowe's characterization of Mc271 as *ter scriptus*. Normally this describes a situation in which three texts are written on the same leaf one below the other, and Lowe lists the various scripts in descending order.¹⁵ Such, however, is not the case in Mc271: in no instance are there more than two texts, i.e., the original script overwritten with Gregory's *Dialogi*. The designation of Mc271 as *ter scriptus* may stem from Lowe's tripartite division of the contents of Mc271 which he then applied to the disposition of the scripts themselves.

Mc271a.

Mc271a now comprises sixteen leaves. When they were prepared for reuse, the parchment was scraped with varying degrees of vigor. Apparently it was easier to remove the script on the flesh side: on pp. 34, 42, 47, 70, 71, 74, 75, 98, and 111 the text written there, if visible, can be read only in part with considerable difficulty. The writing, however, on the hair side usually remains quite visible and at least partly legible for most or all of the page without the help of ultraviolet light (especially on pp. 33, 40, 41, 48, 56, 57, 60, 69, 72, 73, 76, 88, 89, 97, and 112). The neumes, composed of thin, light strokes, were easy to remove on both hair and flesh side, and not many instances are left; they are most visible on pp. 33b, 41a, 42b, 47a, 48b (plate 3), and 69b.

After the process of erasure had been completed, the parchment was re-pricked and ruled for 23 lines (27–28 on pp. 241–276), with another vertical bounding line added on either side of the original text. Then the new text was written across the page in dark black ink parallel to the lower script in the same direction on five leaves (pp. 53–54, 71–74, 97–98, and 111–112) and upside down on the remaining eleven leaves (pp. 33–34, 39–42, 47–48, 55–60, 69–70, 75–76, and 87–90).

¹⁴ The lower script on pp. 263–270 has been vigorously erased; of the original 25 long lines, only scattered clusters of letters remain. The general palaeographical effect is that of a roundish Cassinese-style hand, with further description difficult because so little can actually be seen. In any case, this third Beneventan palimpsest does not have a demonstrably strict liturgical connection with the older Beneventan palimpsest Mass-texts which are the subject of the present study.

¹⁵ Lowe, *The Beneventan Script* 2:79: "(i) Upper script, Beneventan, saec. xi med. Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi*. (ii) Second script, Beneventan, saec. x/xi. *Missale plenum*. (iii) Lowest script, uncial, saec. vii/viii. Augustinus, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, *Missalis Gregoriani fragm.*"

No leaf in Mc271a now offers a complete text. The outer column is always cropped at line-end with varying loss of letters, and one or two lines have often been cut away at the bottom. Since at least three bindings may be presumed for the various texts making up Mc271,¹⁶ cropping(s) of Mc271a could have occurred sometime during this process. Not surprisingly, given the extent of the cropping, all indications of original pricking and catchwords have been lost.

Even in its fragmentary state Mc271a, the work of a more than competent scribe, still presents an imposing appearance. It exhibits the two-column arrangement commonly seen in large liturgical books intended for use.¹⁷ Single vertical bounding lines enclose a text originally written in dark brown ink with rubrics in orange.¹⁸ Ink of the same color seems to have been used as well for the musical notation written *in campo aperto*. The overall impression hints strongly at monumentality, an effect achieved by large-scale format and script (see plates 1–3).

To judge from surviving evidence, spacious margins must have been planned for the top, outer edge and bottom of each leaf; for example, on pp. 39–40, the

¹⁶ Hypothetically we can envisage (1) the initial separate bindings for Augustine's *Enarrationes in psalmos*, the lectionary/sacramentary and Mass-texts (perhaps bound together as suggested below), and the homiliary (Bede's *Commentarius in Lucam*; ?), (2) the first binding of Mc271 as a whole, which might have happened soon after the original texts had been erased and rewritten with the *Dialogues* of Gregory; and (3) the rebinding of Mc271 with the present modern covering. Of course there could have been other bindings as well.

¹⁷ Lowe, *The Beneventan Script* 1:290: "Large MSS. with pretensions to beauty, such as dedication copies, and especially large liturgical books, which rested on the lectern and were used in divine service, were quite certain to be written in two columns. It was easier for the lector to have a long line broken in two."

¹⁸ Normally the erasure of the rubrics is quite thorough, but a few indications survive (listed here with their serial numbers in the edition below and with the pages, columns, and lines on which they appear in the manuscript):

- 3 (p. 42b7) *Sec* (*ut uid.*) (= *Secreta*)
- 4 (p. 42b17) *pr̄efatio*
- 5 (p. 41a24) *Com* (*ut uid.*) (= *Communio*)
- 7 (p. 41b7, instructions to the rubricator placed in the inner margin and the intercolumnar space) *fer* (= *feria*) and *int.* (= *introitus*), respectively
- 9 (p. 41b19, intercolumnar space) *Lec* (= *Lectio*), with traces of orange for the rubric on line 19 still visible
- 11 (p. 97b7–8) traces of orange for the gospel rubric
- 21 (p. 40a, an instruction to the rubricator placed in the inner margin opposite the neumes above the first line of the introit whose text begins on p. 40a7) *fer v* (= *feria v*)
- 31 (p. 75a9) *Comp* (= *Complenda* or *Complendum*)
- 33 (p. 75a19) traces of orange for the rubricated name of the feast
- 49 (p. 56a1) traces of orange for the gradual rubric.

distance from the top edge of the leaf to the first ruled line is 40 mm.¹⁹ Despite the cropping, it is possible to determine with some assurance the dimensions of the written space. The height of both columns is complete on pp. 87 and 89 as is the height of the inner column on pp. 56a, 71a, 74a, 88a, and 90a. For non-musical texts, a line of 17–20 letters is standard. Hence we arrive at a written space of ca. 250 × estimated 196 mm. exhibiting two broad columns (width 84–90 mm.) separated by the relatively narrow space of 15–16 mm. A column of non-musical text normally comprises 27–28 lines placed 8–12 mm. apart.

This generous spacing continues within the line. Minims forming a letter are placed widely apart, *m* and *u* being particularly notable examples, and they are short (ca. 2–3 mm. high) in proportion to the tall ascenders and long descenders (both ca. 6–7 mm.).²⁰ Individual letters usually do not touch each other (even in the case of bows) except for the obligatory ligatures and the obvious linking possibilities offered by the headstroke of *t* and shoulder of *r*. The result is a certain “spread-out” appearance which makes for easy legibility.

Single letters have the following distinctive features:

the faint suggestion of a lozenge effect mostly achieved by the tiny feet which terminate minims;

open bowl of *b*;

approach stroke of *b*, *h*, *i*-longa and *l* which frequently slants upwards from left to right;

open and often angular bowl of uncial *d* which produces the effect of a triangle;

pinched bowls of *p*, *q* and straight *d* attached in a non-organic fashion to the vertical stroke;

medial *r* with straight or slanted or broken shoulder;

short final *r*, i.e., whose shaft does not go below the base line;

t with open or closed curve and (in final position) with headstroke which tends to ascend slightly towards the right;

u often with a squarish aspect and with the first minim sometimes shorter than the second so that what should be the curve of the first stroke is more usually a straight line contributing to a “pulled up” look.

The use and formation of ligatures is also worthy of note:

fairly straight descent of *i* in ligature below the base line;

sporadic use of the optional *st*-ligature;

¹⁹ Unfortunately, there is no evidence for the corresponding bottom margin since, even when the column is complete in terms of numbers of lines, the last line ends on what is now the bottom edge of the leaf and is often cropped.

²⁰ The scribe of Mc271a occasionally varied the size of the script by writing approximately 1 mm. larger on pp. 33, 48, 53–54, and 59–60. This, however, does not detract from the calligraphic effect which he doubtless intended.

soft *ti*-ligature with small upper loop, the entire ligature tending to be rather narrow; at least three instances of the optional *te*-ligature in non-musical texts (first or last word of the line);

numerous examples of the optional *tu*-ligature in initial, medial and final line-position in musical and non-musical texts.

Reinforcing the attempt at legibility and striving for monumentality are the decorated initials used at the beginning of new texts. Not all of them are still visible or even survive, but enough remains to show that each textual component was clearly indicated by this means.

Certainly majuscules at the beginning of lections and gospels were quite imposing, occupying at least 10–13 text lines in height (maximum 114 mm.). The examples which can be seen (38 *H* [plate 1], 50 *I*, 58 *I*, 87 *I* [plate 2]) are infilled with panels of thick cablework of the kind seen in ninth- and tenth-century Beneventan manuscripts, with pearls in the interstices, the whole embellished with swirls, spirals, and floral motifs.²¹ Especially distinctive is the shape of 38 *H* which is made up of two circles placed one on top of the other.

Smaller capitals with a height of 2–4 text lines were used to begin prayers (77 *M*, 78 *D*, 86 *P*); these were embellished with triangles at the extremities of straight strokes and extra undulating strokes for curves.

The smallest display letters were those used for the initial letter of neumed texts. Such instances are not easy to see simply because they consist of thin strokes easy to erase. A typical example is *S* (9.5 × 6 mm., ca. 1.5 text lines high) beginning the introit in 7.

Only faint traces of orange (6, 9, 70, 87) testify to the colors with which these letters at the beginning of texts must once have been decorated. It is likely that letters infilled with color were also used regularly at the start of sentences since 9 displays four instances (p. 97a3 “*Sic*,” 7 “*Et*,” 21 “*Quod*,” and 27 “*Et*”) of majuscules in this position with traces of orange.

Punctuation is often difficult to determine. The symbols were much smaller than text letters and so subject to more thorough removal. Consequently they

²¹ Similarly placed majuscules which have been cropped include the following: 9 *H* (now 37 × max. 27 mm., 4 lines high—the letter originally comprising two distinct parts, one placed on top of the other, with only the upper part of the uprights still preserved, and these consist of 4 lines each rising high like deer antlers); 23 *I* (now 49 × max. 10 mm., 5.5 lines high—thick cablework with apparent pearls in the interstices); 70 *F* (now 57 × 20 mm., ca. 6 lines high—rather thick interlace for the shaft and two considerably thinner horizontal strokes).

For ninth- and tenth-century examples of this cablework, see E. A. Lowe, *Scriptura beneventana: Facsimiles of South Italian and Dalmatian Manuscripts from the Sixth to the Fourteenth Century*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1929), plates 15 (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 3313, fols. ccxxv^v, ccxlviii^f, saec. IX in.), 23 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 335, fols. 31r, 106r, saec. IX), 32 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 335, fol. 139r, saec. X in.).

now survive in many places only as faint strokes which may also be mistaken for markings either inherent in the nature of the parchment or introduced when the text of Mc271a was scraped away. There could, of course, have been more symbols, but those listed below can be definitely seen.

final stop:

- ∴ (the normal form, with two points placed over a long comma swinging freely to the left)
- ∴ (used less often)
- ; and , (shortened versions used at line-end, as in 59 [pp. 57a1 and 58a5] and 61 [p. 87b22])

medial stop:

- ∴ (the point and hook used before conjunctions and after *dixit* and *ait* to introduce direct speech; the hook is usually a wavy, somewhat horizontal line rather than a real oblique)
- (used less often, before conjunctions)
- ∴ and ∴ (occasionally used after *dixit* and *ait* to introduce direct speech)

final interrogative stop:

- ∴
- ∴ (40 [p. 74a23, line-end]).

There do not seem to be any instances of the simple diagonal to mark lesser pauses.²² Nor are there any clear occurrences of the 2-sign placed over the interrogative word in a sentence.²³ The single instance of ∴ at the end of a question in 40 is unusual for a Beneventan manuscript.²⁴

Abbreviations are of the kind normally found in a liturgical text. In keeping with the requirements of display, they are neither exotic nor particularly numerous. Evidently the scribe must have tried to avoid shortening words since, more often than not, abbreviations are found at line-end. These general types have been noted:

; = -us
b; = -bus
q; = -que

²² We would not expect to find in Mc271a this refinement which appears in manuscripts produced saec. XI ex. and later.

²³ A possible instance of the suprascript 2-sign may be found over *quid* in 23 (p. 40a22) "dicens *quid* est quod inter uos parabolum . . .," but the reading is unclear.

²⁴ This symbol does not figure among those listed by Lowe, *The Beneventan Script* 1:244-45 as distinguishing the various phases in the development of the final interrogation-mark.

(normal symbols for *per*, *prae*, *pro*, *propter*)

\overline{au} = *autem*

\overline{c} = *con-*

discip̄ti, -os = *discipuli*, *discipulos*

\div = *est*

f̄rs = *fratres*

pop̄ts, -ti, -to, -tm = *populus*, -li, etc.

q̄(d, s) = *qui* (*quid*, *quis*)

q̄d = *quod*

q̄m = *quoniam*

q̄s = *quesumus*

sec̄dm = *secundum*

\overline{ms} = *meus*

n̄r, *n̄re*, *n̄ro*, *n̄ram*, *n̄ra*, *n̄ras*, *n̄ris* = *noster*, -*tre*, etc.

ur̄am, *ur̄a*, *ur̄os*, *ur̄as*, *ur̄is* = *uestram*, -*tra*, etc.

om̄us, *om̄e*, *om̄em*, *om̄s*, *om̄a*,

om̄ia, *om̄ium*, *om̄ib*; = *omnis*, -*ne*, etc.

om̄ps = *omnipotens*

Nomina Sacra

d̄s, *d̄i*, *d̄o* = *deus*, *dei*, *deo*

d̄ns, *d̄ni*, *d̄nm*, *d̄no*, *d̄ne* = *dominus*, *domini*, etc.

ihs, *īhm*, *īhu* = *iesus*, *iesum*, *iesu*

sc̄m, *sc̄am*, *sc̄a* = *sanctum*, *sanctam*, *sancta*

sp̄s, *sp̄m*, *sp̄u* = *spiritus*, *spiritum*, *spiritu*

x̄ps, *x̄pm*, *x̄po* = *christus*, *christum*, *christo*.

There is a single occurrence of *f̄rr* = *frater* (15, p. 112b5). This was also considered of interest by Lowe who found it in three eleventh-century manuscripts.²⁵

One usually frequent abbreviation is noteworthy by reason of its absence, namely, *ī* (short or tall) for *in*. This common word does not seem to be abbreviated in the surviving leaves of Mc271a. Moreover, the suprascript 3-sign for omitted *m* is comparatively seldom used; at least six times the scribe inserts the symbol at the end of words in positions other than line-end, but normally it is reserved for instances where space was at a premium, i.e., the last word in the line (sixteen occurrences). When the 3-sign for omitted *m* does appear, it is clearly articulated and placed over the middle of the vowel.

²⁵ Ibid. 1:181.

In orthographical matters, the text of Mc271a reflects the changes typical of medieval Latin in general. As in many other Beneventan manuscripts, the most frequent confusions are those of *b* and *u*, *d* and *t*, and *ch* for *h*.²⁶ The list below contains samples of the various medieval spellings in Mc271a, including those instances which are not immediately comprehensible. Angle brackets enclose letters now missing because of cropping or erasure.

b for *p*: "ob̄tata" (32, p. 75a17)

b for *u*: "obes" (9, p. 41b22); "nobissima" (15, p. 112a13–14); "ubam" (23, p. 40b1); "salutaberit" (87, p. 60b8–9)

u for *b*: "ciuis" (4, p. 41a10); "deuitori" (23, p. 40b22); "grauattum" (25, p. 76a18); "ciuūm" (36, p. 69a7); "lauorastis" (no. 36, p. 69b4); "uiuamus" (58, p. 55b17); "uaculum" (87, p. 87b5)

ch for *h*: "michi" (12, p. 98b25; 27, p. 76b2; 36, pp. 69b11, 70a25; 59, p. 58a12; 87, p. 60a27; 92, p. 33a8); "nichil" (23, p. 40b23; 59, p. 57b10; 72, p. 54b25; 92, p. 33a8)

d for *t*: "int(er)ficiad" (59, p. 88b23); "adque" (69, p. 72a11); "semedipso" (72, p. 54a18)

unnecessary insertion of *en*: "uenenerat" (72, p. 53a20)

unnecessary insertion of *h*: "his" (27, p. 76b8); "hab" (50, p. 56b15)

omission of *h*: "orum" for "horum" (59, p. 57b10)

t for *d*: "retd(ide)rit" (23, p. 40b22); "at" (87, p. 60a17)

uh for *hu*: "uhic" (15, p. 112a16)

x for *s*: "uix" (27, p. 76a11); "senex" (59, p. 58a22, b23).

Mc271b.

Part of a quire (the two innermost bifolia) is all that remains. The script has been erased so vigorously that little can be seen (for example, our plate 4). Enough of the text, however, survives on p. 18 to allow us to calculate the written space at 229 × ca. 151 mm., 2 columns, 25 lines, each column measuring ca. 70 mm. and separated by a space of ca. 15 mm. Text lines are placed ca. 9 mm. apart. The distance from the top, outer edge and bottom of the page to the nearest line of text is 25 (max.), 23 (ca.), and 24 mm. respectively. Text ink, now brown, may have originally been black.

²⁶ These observations accord with the conclusions of Lowe (ibid. 1:283): "The spelling found in the generality of Beneventan MSS. is commonplace and calls for no comment. It is scarcely distinguishable from that of other Italian MSS. . . . The orthographic features which may be regarded as in a measure typical of Beneventan MSS., since they form rather constant traits of their physiognomy, are the frequent confusion of *b* and *u*, *d* and *t*, and the spelling *michi* and *nichil*."

The upper script is written parallel to the lower script. On one bifolium (pp. 23–26) both upper and lower script run in the same direction; on the other bifolium (pp. 17–18, 31–32) the lower script is now upside down in relation to the upper script. Repricking and reruling of the leaves in preparation for the writing of the upper script has been described on p. 244 above.

The general palaeographical impression of the script of Mc271b is decidedly much less calligraphic than that of Mc271a. There is a pronounced slant to the right. Strokes forming individual letters are heavy with only a faint attempt at the lozenge effect. Descenders tend to end in a point instead of tapering off. Final *r* is short and the shoulder swings upward. Letters tend to be written fairly close together without actually touching. Minims have an average height of 2 mm. and, as in Mc271a, are relatively short in proportion to the tall ascenders (6–7 mm.) and long descenders (5 mm.). The writing is slightly smaller in those texts which were intended to be sung, but the layout of Mc271b shows that it was never meant to contain musical notation.

Remains can be seen of the large initial letters beginning epistles (105 and 125) and gospels (108 and 118). The majuscule survives more or less entire in 108, 118, and 125; while its height of ca. 56–65 mm. is imposing, the actual execution seems to have been considerably less impressive. The shaft in 125 consists partly of thick cablework and ends in a point at the bottom. Attached to the top of the shaft in 118 is the head of a small bird. 125 exhibits a faint trace of orange, the single color to survive a determined attempt to remove the text of Mc271b.

Doubtless a larger letter, perhaps infilled or edged with color, began texts that were sung. One example has been detected: in 113 *V*, measuring 5 × 6 mm., is written like broad *U* with the second upright very short.

There was surely more punctuation in Mc271b before erasure than can now be established. In 105, 110, 115, 120, 124, and 125, the final stop consists of *.,* (two points placed on the base line which surmount a long comma). Medial stops *.* and *✓* appear before relative or demonstrative pronouns beginning a new clause (105, 125), after a verb introducing direct speech (115, twice), and before conjunctions (125).

The few surviving abbreviations follow the pattern outlined for Mc271a:

(normal symbols for *per*, *prae*, *pro*, *propter*)

āu = *autem*

dīx = *dixit*

fṛs = *fratres*

q̄m = *quoniam*

uṛa = *uestra*

Nomina Sacra

ds, dt = *deus, dei*
ihs, ihm = *iesus, iesum*.

No orthographical notabilia have emerged from what little is seen of the text.

Dating and origin of Mc271a and Mc271b.

The situation is delicate. First, we are dealing with liturgical fragments, and the difficulties of dating both liturgical texts and fragments are well known.²⁷ Then there is the palimpsest problem. While slightly more than half of Mc271a is mostly, indeed easily, legible, a number of texts have had to be reconstructed, with the help of other Beneventan missals, from the scattered words or clusters of letters that remain. Consequently, the available evidence for dating Mc271a is restricted to more or less eight leaves. Much less remains of Mc271b and, of that, more than half the texts have been thoroughly erased. As noted above, general impression must serve here as the palaeographical starting point.

Obviously such caveats make it impossible to date, with absolute certainty, the Beneventan script of Mc271a and Mc271b. Given the evidence of what survives, both manuscripts appear to be roughly contemporary and to have been copied at least by saec. X/XI, possibly also during the late tenth century. Palaeographical data supporting this conclusion are the following:

- the overall aspect of the script whose dominant feature in Mc271a and Mc271b is the disproportion in height between ascender and minim and also between descender and minim;
- the use of short final *r* in both missals and, in Mc271a, some older abbreviation systems (*omis*, *ome*; and ÷ for *est*) and the placing of the suprascript 3-sign for omitted *m* over the middle of the vowel;
- the majuscules decorated in Mc271a and Mc271b with thick cablework of the kind found in other Beneventan manuscripts which can be definitely placed in the ninth and tenth centuries.

More uncertain than the date may be the center(s) in which Mc271a and Mc271b were copied. I have not been able to find a thoroughly convincing par-

²⁷ Ibid. 1:315–16 (chap. 13, “Dating”): “Another consideration to be borne in mind is the nature of the MS. Liturgical books are usually written with great care and, contrasted with contemporary MSS. of profane contents and less careful penmanship, seem more recent than the latter. Experience teaches that it is impossible to be certain of the date of a MS. from a specimen of one or two pages, since contemporary hands occasionally show in the same MS. so marked a difference in style and skill as to seem several generations apart.”

allel for Mc271a. The script is much more distinctive than that of Mc271b, even allowing for the vigorous erasure of the latter. Such erasure, at the same time, makes it difficult to locate a secure parallel for Mc271b.

Hence it is easier to say what the origin is *not*. Mc271a does not seem to have been copied at Montecassino or Benevento, nor does it exhibit any features of the Bari type. The low, broad appearance of the script is reminiscent of manuscripts produced at Naples;²⁸ unfortunately, the surviving texts of Mc271a contain no specifically Neapolitan associations (e.g., feasts of local saints). Consequently we must wait until more can be found of Mc271a before attempting a positive attribution. The same caveat is even more urgent in the case of Mc271b: until we can find additional fragments or, with the aid of increasingly sophisticated technology, read more than is now possible of the partial quire that now makes up Mc271b, serious discussion of its origin must be postponed.

Seemingly of little help in this matter are the ex-libris in Mc271 of S. Benedetto di Cesamo and Montecassino itself. Both entries are late (saec. XIV and early saec. XVI respectively). Presumably the volume came to Montecassino from its dependency, S. Benedetto di Cesamo, located near Presenzano and approximately thirty kilometers south of Montecassino.

Not much is known about S. Benedetto di Cesamo. First attested in documents of 1038 and 1047 and named in charters until 1548, the monastery may have been constructed after the land "de Cesima" was offered to Montecassino during the abbacy of Atenulf (1011–22).²⁹ This would mean, of course, that Mc271a and Mc271b (both saec. X/XI or late saec. X) could not have been copied at S. Benedetto di Cesamo itself.

Two other books exhibit a Cesamo ex-libris, namely, Montecassino, Archivio della Badia 543 (*Prophetæ maiores et minores*) and 760 (*Octateuch*). Intended as companion volumes, they were written by the scribe Iohannes in the mid-eleventh century and decorated rather handsomely.³⁰ The inventory of

²⁸ See Lowe, *Scriptura beneventana*, vol. 1, plates 47 (Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky VII A 16/9, saec. X², Livy) and 48 (Montecassino, Archivio della Badia 123, p. 130, saec. X², Josephus, *De bello iudaico*). It should be emphasized that this is a purely general resemblance; the scribes of the Prague fragments and Montecassino 123 achieved a much lighter script through the use of fine, thin strokes.

²⁹ H. Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1986), 1:239–40.

³⁰ The Cesamo ex-libris found in Mc271 was entered by the same hand at the top of p. 1 in Montecassino 543 and 760. For the text of the scribal colophons (MS 543, p. 407 and MS 760, p. 442), see Lowe, *The Beneventan Script* 1:325–26; and F. Newton, "Beneventan Scribes and Subscriptions, with a List of Those Known at the Present Time," *The Bookmark* 43 (1973): 20–21, no. 13.

Montecassino books compiled when Pope Paul II (1464–71) was commendatory abbot shows that Montecassino 543 had already reached Montecassino.³¹

A second reference to a Cesamo book in the same inventory is tantalizing: “Item aliud [sc. missale] antiquum non completum s. Benedicti di Cesamo inc. *In nomine sancte*.”³² Could this incomplete missal, now missing and apparently not palimpsest, have once formed part of the same manuscript as Mc271a or Mc271b? At present we cannot go farther than this since, unfortunately, the script is not specified for the Cesamo volume.

All three extant manuscripts with the Cesamo ex-libris—Montecassino 271, 543, and 760—contain texts which one would normally have expected to find in a monastery. But it is difficult to speak of a “Cesamo house style” even if we assume that the monastery had been able to establish a scriptorium of its own by the time MSS 543 and 760 were copied. Johannes’ rather broad hand is very different from the upper script of Mc271 with its narrow, spiky look despite some Cassinese influence; moreover, the majuscules at the beginning of books, chapters, and sentences in the upper script of Mc271 differ considerably in format and infilling (red and yellow) from the Cassinese model and those in Montecassino 543 and 760.³³ Probably, then, one or more of these three manuscripts came simply by chance (or may have been assigned by Montecassino) to S. Benedetto di Cesamo for the use of the monks. The monastery at Cesamo would have needed, conceivably, time to develop a scriptorium with a consistent and distinctive style of its own.

II. CONTENTS

Mc271a (1–100) begins with an incomplete gospel (Mt 4:3–11) for the first Sunday of Lent and continues, with many gaps, throughout the Lenten season before finally breaking off soon after the beginning of the gospel (100) for Pas-

³¹ M. Inguanez, ed., *Catalogi codicum casinensium antiqui*, Miscellanea cassinese 21 (Montecassino, 1941), 18 (and 72): “Item liber omnium prophetarum in litt. longob. Sancti Benedicti de Cesamo incipiens: *Nemo cum*” (i.e., the initial words of Jerome’s preface to Isaias which begin Montecassino 543). A Cesamo provenance is not mentioned for any Octateuch “in littera longobarda” listed in this inventory (*ibid.*, 18), and so it is difficult to identify Montecassino 760 with an individual entry.

³² *Ibid.*, 43, under the inventory heading “Libri qui tenentur in Ecclesia” (see also *ibid.*, 72).

³³ For photographic reproductions, see Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores* 3:32, nos. 375–76 (Mc271, upper script, details of pp. 181 and 84); and G. Orofino, *I codici decorati dell’Archivio di Montecassino*, vol. 2: *I codici preteobaldiani e teobaldiani* (Rome, 1996), 52–54 (MS 543) with color plates 36–38 (details of pp. 7, 95, 202, 356, 94, 213, 385, 391, 403, and 408) and 55–56 (MS 760) with color plates 39–40 (details of pp. 3, 90, 166, 215, 286, and 349).

sion Sunday (Jo 11:1–11). In fact, the only complete mass is that for Thursday of the third week of Lent (46–55); it consists of the introit, collect, epistle, gradual, gospel, offertory, secret, communion, postcommunion, and *oratio super populum*, with musical notation for the sung texts. Scattered remains of some of the same components for other days indicates that every mass preserved in Mc271a had, in all probability, a full complement of the necessary texts.³⁴ Except for 30, 62, 63, and 83 where the erasure was very thorough, every text in Mc271a has been identified and at least partly deciphered.

Mc271b (101–125) begins with an incomplete text of the communion for Tuesday after Easter and continues without interruption until it stops abruptly during the lection (Act 9:32[?]-37) in the mass for Friday after Easter. There are complete masses, then, for Wednesday (103–112) and Thursday (113–122); only a few texts can actually be deciphered for each mass, but the written space is sufficient to contain the other texts found on the same days in Ben33 especially since Mc271b had no musical notation. The final and initial texts surviving for Tuesday (101) and Friday (123–125) after Easter are too few to serve as indications of a full complement, and we can only presume that this was the case. Vigorous, systematic erasure has rendered illegible more than half of Mc271b (102–104, 106, 107, 109, 110, 114, 116, 117, 119, and 121–123).

Clearly, given their consecutive textual character, the four leaves now making up Mc271b are the two inner bifolia of a quire. As for Mc271a, even though Ben33 can serve as a model because of its relatively early date (p. 241 above) and shared texts not found in other Beneventan parallels, only a problematic reconstruction of the gatherings to which the sixteen folios of Mc271a once belonged can be achieved. Responsible for the difficulty are the numerous lacunae in Mc271a and the much smaller script and slightly larger format of Ben33 (two columns of 29 lines). A comparison of the same texts preserved in both manuscripts yields a ratio of ca. 5.2:8 for the written space. Naturally, there is always the possibility that the missing leaves of Mc271a contained additional or different texts whose length would then upset the calculated ratio.

Hence the following diagrams are intended to be provisional at best for Mc271a. The point of departure was the assumption that it was normal for hair side to be on the outside of the quire and for the disposition of leaves within the quire to follow the rule of Gregory (i.e., hair side faces hair side and flesh side faces flesh side). Considered in this framework, the textual remains and codicological facts suggest that Mc271a was composed of quaternions, quinternions,

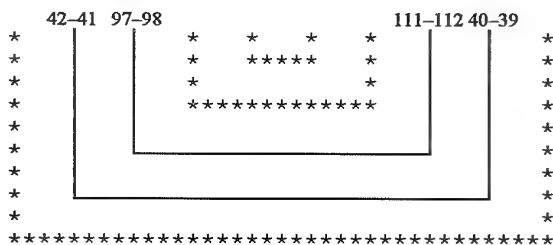
³⁴ There is no Alleluia, of course, in Lent, and the *Oratio super populum* is used, in accord with Roman practice, only on the Lenten ferias.

and probably a binion. Even if the quires were actually arranged somewhat differently, the estimate of the number leaves missing should be fairly accurate.

Mc271a

I
(quinternion)

Pp. 42–41, 97–98: Dom. 1 Quadr. (1, incomplete gospel)—Fer. 2 ebd. 1 Quadr. (12, incomplete offertory); pp. 111–112, 40–39: Fer. 4 ebd. 1 Quadr. (13, incomplete lection)—Fer. 5 ebd. 1 Quadr. (26, incomplete offertory).



II
(quaternion)

Pp. 76–75: Fer. 6 ebd. 1 Quadr. (27, incomplete gospel)—Sabb. ebd. 1 Quadr. (35, incomplete lection); pp. 70–69: Dom. 2 Quadr. (36, incomplete gospel—37, incomplete offertory).

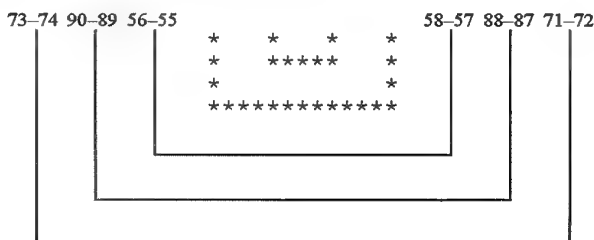


III

An estimated sixteen leaves are now missing; they contained the remainder of the offertory for Dom. 2 Quadr. through the end of the collect for Fer. 4 ebd. 3 Quadr.

IV
(quinternion)

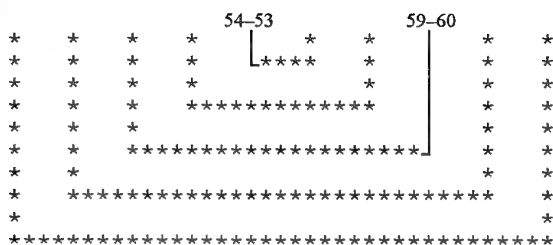
Pp. 73–74, 90–89, 56–55: Fer. 4 ebd. 3 Quadr. (38, lection)–Fer. 6 ebd. 3 Quadr. (58, incomplete lection); pp. 58–57, 88–87, 71–72: Sabb. ebd. 3 Quadr. (59, incomplete lection)–Dom. 4 Quadr. (70, incomplete lection).



V
(quinternion)

Pp. 54–53: Fer. 3 ebd. 4 Quadr. (71, incomplete gradual)–Fer. 4 ebd. 4 Quadr. (78, incomplete introit); pp. 59–60: Fer. 4 ebd. 4 Quadr. (79, incomplete gospel)–Fer. 5 ebd. 4 Quadr. (87, incomplete lection).

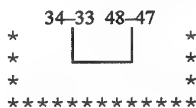
An estimated four leaves precede pp. 54–53, and two missing leaves separate p. 53 and p. 59. Two more missing folios complete the quire. Although pp. 54–53 and 59–60 now constitute a bifolium, it is clear that they are the surviving conjugates of separate bifolia and have been artificially joined; on pp. 54–53 the lower text is written parallel to the upper text in the same direction, but on pp. 59–60 the lower text is upside down.



VI
(binion, *ut uid.*)

Pp. 34–33, 48–47: Sabb. ebd. 4 Quadr. (88, Gradual)–Dom. 5 Quadr. (100, incomplete gospel).

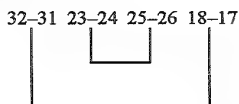
The bifolium comes from the middle of the quire. Our supposition that three leaves separate 59–60 (quire V) from p. 34 is based on the correspondence of hair- and flesh-sides and the assumption that the gospel (Jo 8:12–20), cued in Ben 33 50vb, was written out in full on a leaf now missing in Mc271a.



Mc271b

One quire
(undetermined number of leaves)

Pp. 32–31, 23–24, 25–26, 18–17: Fer. 3 p. Pasch. (101, incomplete communion)–
Fer. 6 p. Pasch. (125, incomplete lection).



From the liturgical viewpoint, these missal fragments offer interesting agreements and divergences with respect to Romano-Beneventan sources as well as tantalizing indications of practices characteristic of the local Beneventan rite. Indeed, one wishes that more had survived of Mc271a and Mc271b.

Mass-sets.

Mc271a. The Mass-sets (collect, secret, postcommunion, *oratio super populum*) of Mc271a generally accord with those of Ben33, probably the oldest most complete missal in Beneventan script, and the majority of Beneventan witnesses cited in the *apparatus locorum parallelorum* to the edition below. Sources of Ben33 have been generally characterized as a Roman-Frankish mixture, namely, the Sacramentarium Hadrianum (with variants), Benedict of Aniane's Supplement to the Hadrianum, and an unknown Eighth-Century Gelasian sacramentary which differs from any of the witnesses now known.³⁵

³⁵ Hourlier and Froger, *Le manuscrit VI-33*, 15*. Their brief introduction to the facsimile edition contains no further statement regarding the prayers in this missal. For shelf marks and editions of the various sources and parallels cited in the following discussion, see the list of abbreviations on pp. 270–74 below.

Certainly this is true insofar as Ben33 does contain elements from these various sacramentaries. But there is no exhaustive study and analysis of the kind demanded by a volume as important as Ben33.³⁶ Such an undertaking is a separate project in itself, and here we must be content with stopgap measures, namely, considerations of those instances in which Mc271a agrees with Ben33 against all or nearly all other witnesses and those in which Mc271a differs from Ben33.

Let us consider, first, the five instances in which Ben33 and Mc271a present a united front against other parallels, especially those in Beneventan script. 22 and 47 concern the Lenten masses for Thursday (originally aliturgical³⁷) of the first and third weeks, and 29, 31, and 32 involve Friday of the first week in Lent. These are the divisions between Ben33 and Mc271a on one side and the various parallels on the other.³⁸

(a) 22 *Deuotionem populi*, the collect in Ben33 and Mc271a for Thursday of the first week, appears on the same day in an Eighth-Century Gelasian sacramentary and in Gregorian and Ambrosian sources; other Beneventan parallels, however, preserve the prayer as the second collect for the preceding day, i.e., Ember Wednesday, the only exceptions being Ben29 (which agrees with Ben33 and Mc271a) and Ve (which exhibits a lacuna at this point).

(b) In accord with the Gelasian and Eighth-Century Gelasian tradition, 29 *Suscipe domine quesumus deuotorum* is the secret in Ben33 and Mc271a for Friday of the first week; Mc339 is the only Beneventan parallel in agreement.

(c) Mc271a and Ben33, together with a Gelasian, an Eighth-Century Gelasian, and a Gregorian sacramentary adapted for presbyteral use (Pa), give 31 *Presta quesumus domine spiritualibus* as the postcommunion for Friday of the

³⁶ The lack of detailed examinations of the main corpus of prayers in Ben33 and other Beneventan volumes like Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W 6 (missal, saec. XI ex.) and Montecassino, Archivio della Badia 339 (sacramentary, saec. XI ex.) is justifiably regretted by J. Boe in *Beneventanum troporum corpus II. Ordinary Chants and Tropes for the Mass from Southern Italy, A.D. 1000–1250*, part 3: *Preface Chants and Sanctus*, vol. 1 (Madison, Wisc., 1996), p. xx and nn. 29–30 on p. lvii.

³⁷ A. Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien (Vaticanus Reginensis 316). Sacramentaire presbytéral en usage dans les titres romains au VII^e siècle* (Tournai, 1958), 225, observes that a decree of Pope Gregory II (715–31) instituted the celebration of Mass on Thursdays in Lent.

³⁸ Masses for Thursday of the second week and Friday of the second and third weeks are now missing in Mc271a; consequently, it is not possible to determine whether or not the Mass-sets offered any anomalies vis-à-vis the parallels. It is likely, however, that there was variation of some kind since 86, the collect for Thursday of the fourth week and only component of the Mass-set to survive, differs from Ben33's collect for this mass.

first week; the single Beneventan parallel to record it on this day is a missal from Caiazzo (Ca) in which it appears as the *oratio super populum*.

(d) No parallels in Roman and other Beneventan sources have been found for 32 *Plebs tua*, the *oratio super populum* for Friday of the first week; here Ben33 and Mc271a follow the Gelasian and Eighth-Century Gelasian sacramentaries.

(e) Ben33 and Mc271a agree with the Gelasian, Ambrosian, and Eighth-Century Gelasian sacramentaries in recording 47 *Da quesumus domine rex eterne cunctorum* as the collect for Thursday of the third week in Lent; the only occurrence of this prayer on the same day in Beneventan sources is in a missal from Veroli (Ve) where it serves as the *oratio super populum*.

Now we must examine the differences between Ben33 and Mc271a with regard to prayers. There are seven instances. The majority (52, 54, 55, and 86) concern the Lenten masses for Thursday of the third and fourth weeks (and once again it is helpful to remember that Thursdays in Lent were originally aliturgical); as for the rest, one prayer (45) is used on Wednesday of the fourth week, and two (93 and 94) are used on the fourth Saturday:

(a) 45 *Defende domine plebem* is the concluding prayer (*super populum*) of the mass for Wednesday of the third week in Mc271a and the Gelasian and Eighth-Century Gelasian sacramentaries; although Ben33 does not have the prayer at all, a number of Beneventan parallels, some of them (Mc127, Mc339, Mc540, and McV) surely originating at Montecassino, report it as the *oratio super populum* for Thursday of the third week of Lent and exhibit Mc271a's variant "plebem" instead of the Gelasian "familiam."

(b) Instead of 52 *Deus de cuius* and 54 *Sacramenti tui*, respectively the secret and postcommunion for Thursday of the third week and found not only in Mc271a but also in the Gelasian, Ambrosian, Eighth-Century Gelasian, and every other Beneventan parallel, Ben33 has *Sacrificiis praesentibus* and *Supplices te*. In the Hadrianum, *Sacrificiis praesentibus* and *Supplices te* are used in Lent as the secret and postcommunion on the second and fourth Sundays of Lent; their appearance in Ben33 on Thursday of the third week for the same purpose must be considered as idiosyncratic.

(c) The Gelasians of the Eighth Century, in agreement with Mc271a, attest to 55 *Concede quesumus* as the *oratio super populum* on Thursday of the third week, while in Gregorian and all other Beneventan sources (including Ben33) it is the *oratio super populum* in the mass for Wednesday of the third week.

(d) The collect for Thursday of the fourth week is 86 *Presta nobis quesumus domine ut salutaribus*; it occurs in the same position in the Eighth-Century Gelasians and, in the older Gelasian (Va), on Friday of the fourth week. Ben33 agrees with Gregorian sources and other Beneventan witnesses in assigning this

prayer as the collect for Wednesday of the third week and also as one of the collects for Ember Saturday after Pentecost (the latter use in agreement with Eighth-Century Gelasians).³⁹

(e) 93 *Sacramenta que sumpsimus* is found in Gregorian, Gelasian, and Beneventan sources as the postcommunion on Wednesday of the fourth week. Its appearance in Mc271a as the postcommunion on Saturday of that same week is so far unparalleled.⁴⁰

(f) Finally, 94 *Plebem tuam* is reported as the *oratio super populum* on Saturday of the fourth week by Mc271a and the Gelasian and Eighth-Century Gelasian sacramentaries. The prayer is not found at all in Ben33 or the Hadrianum, which give, together with other Beneventan parallels, a different *oratio super populum* (Ha 284 *Deus qui sperantibus in te misereri*) for the same feast.⁴¹ Variant readings in 94, “quesumus domine” and “propitius inherere celestibus” (as opposed to “domine quesumus” and “potius inherere perpetuis” in the parallels), appear to be idiosyncratic.

Adherence, then, to a Gelasian tradition by Mc271a—either alone (45, 52, 54, 55, 86, 94) or in company with Ben33 (29, 31, 32, 47)—explains most of the differences and similarities of Mc271a’s prayers vis-à-vis those of Ben33 and other Beneventan parallels. 22 represents a later development on the part of younger Beneventan witnesses; Mc271a and Ben 33 follow the older Gregorian sources. Only in 93 does Mc271a diverge from all the parallels cited.

Mc271b. Unfortunately, only two prayers (112, the postcommunion for Wednesday after Easter, and 124, the collect for Friday after Easter) are still legible in Mc271b. In both cases there is nothing exceptional: the parallels record unanimously the same texts in identical positions. Moreover, it is unlikely that Mc271b contained any instances of an *oratio post euangelium*. Between what can be deciphered and what has been estimated, with the help of the parallels, to have once been there, the written space of Mc271b could not have accommodated even a single additional text.

³⁹ In Beneventan sources the collect for Thursday of the fourth week is normally Ha 273, Pa 242, and Ge 465 (“Item alia”) *Presta quesumus omnipotens deus ut quos ieiunia uotiuu castigant*; this prayer does not appear in the legible, surviving texts of Mc271a and Mc271b. We also lack a basis of comparison for Mc271a’s collect on Wednesday of the third week of Lent since this text was copied on a now missing leaf.

⁴⁰ Regrettably, none of the remaining traces of the postcommunion (83) in Mc271a for Wednesday of the third week of Lent can be deciphered with confidence; it would have been interesting to see what prayer was used in this instance.

⁴¹ Ha 284 *Deus qui sperantibus in te misereri* does not appear among any of the texts deciphered in what survives of Mc271a and Mc271b. The Beneventan parallels with this prayer are Ben29 108ra, Ben 33 51vb, DaB 89v, Mc127 123a, Mc339 93–94, Mc540 172, McV 85r, Ott 113v, and Ve 73v.

Beneventan features.

It is well known that the indigenous Beneventan rite displays a number of characteristics found also in the Gallican and Milanese liturgies. Some features were noted on p. 240 above, and it may be helpful to include them in the following more complete list: a series of three lections (Old Testament, epistle, gospel) in a single mass; lections drawn in some cases from saints' lives rather than the Bible; non-Roman Lenten gospels taken from John; *oratio post euangelium*; numerous prefaces; *oratio super populum* outside Lent; and regional melodies. Mc271b seems to have none of these distinctive traits, but Mc271a has the following:

(1) Three lections for the fourth Sunday of Lent.

Although the leaves containing the gospel and most of the epistle are missing, the beginning of the epistle (Gal 4:22–31) survives (70); it is preceded by a reading (69) from Deuteronomy 5:1–9, 22. In other Beneventan manuscripts with three lections, a gradual separates the Old Testament text from the epistle; in Mc271a the epistle begins immediately on the next line, and so there is no space for the gradual *Letatus sum* normally found in Beneventan sources⁴² and occupying approximately three lines of musical text. Mc271a's lection from Deuteronomy ends with the single word "uite" on p. 72b19. If a cued gradual text formerly occupied the rest of this line, no trace of it remains.

The testimony of Mc271a is important since it furnishes the first example we have of a third lection for the fourth Sunday of Lent. Witness to a third lection for the first and third Sundays of Lent (respectively, Ex 24, 34 cento and Dt 1:1, 6:4–7, 10–18) is provided by fragments written in Beneventan related to the Bari-type.⁴³ It is open to speculation whether or not Mc271a contained other instances of a third lection since masses for both the first and second Sundays of Lent in Mc271a begin with an incomplete text of the gospel, and the third Sunday is missing altogether. Enough remains of the mass for the fifth Sunday of Lent (95–100) to show that there was no third lection in Mc271a for this feast.

(2) Non-Roman Lenten gospels from John.

These are used in Ben33 and three other Beneventan manuscripts from Apulia and Dalmatia for the second (Jo 4:5–42), third (Jo 8:12–59), fourth (Jo

⁴² Ben19 270va; Ben29 96vb; Ben30 39r; Ben33 45va–b; Mc127 105a; Mc540 154; McV 76r; Ott 101r; Ve 64v–65r.

⁴³ Zürich, Zentralbibliothek Z XIV 4, fols. 2v, 3v, saec. XI; text edited by A. Dold, *Die Zürcher und Peterlinger Messbuch-Fragmente aus der Zeit der Jahrtausendwende im Bari-Schrifttyp mit eigenständiger Liturgie*, Texte und Arbeiten 25 (Beuron, 1934), 4, 6.

9:1–38), and fifth (Jo 11:1–54) Sundays of Lent.⁴⁴ For the part that survives, Mc271a agrees with these witnesses since its gospels for the second and fifth Sundays contain Jo 4:12–42 (36) and Jo 11:1–11 (100) respectively. At present we have no way of knowing what the gospels were for the other Sundays since the mass for the third Sunday is lacking completely and the extant portions of text for the fourth Sunday do not include the gospel.

(3) Prefaces.

Especially associated with the Beneventan-Campanian liturgy is the preface found in Ben33 for the first Sunday of Lent, and this also appears in Mc271a (4) with the more usual heading of *pr̄efatio* instead of the distinctive Beneventan *pr̄ex*.⁴⁵ Only the second Beneventan witness now known to contain the preface, Mc271a exhibits lacunae in similar positions for the second, third, fourth, and fifth Sundays of Lent, each of which has a preface in Ben33.

Idiosyncratic (?) lection.

Mc271b's lection (125) from Acts 9:32(?)–37 ff. for the Friday after Easter seems to be hitherto unattested. Early lectionaries⁴⁶ and the parallels cited for this feast have instead 1 Petr 3:18–22 *Christus semel*. The same sources are nearly unanimous in reporting other readings from Acts in the week after Easter on Monday (10:37–43 *Stans Petrus*), Tuesday (13:16, 26–33 *Surgens*

⁴⁴ The scriptural references in parentheses correspond to the texts found in Ben33; for a chart illustrating the slightly varying amounts of text (owing mainly to lacunae) found in the Apulian and Dalmatian manuscripts, see Gyug, *Missale Ragusinum*, 73.

⁴⁵ K. Gamber, "Die kampanische Lektionsordnung," *Sacris erudiri* 13 (1962): 344–45, links this preface with the Beneventan-Campanian region because it contains a passage based on a lection (first Sunday of Lent) in PuZ taken from the Vetus Latina translation of Exodus. Ben33's preface (designated as *prephatio* on fol. 23rb) is not notated and hence is not discussed by Boe, *Preface Chants and Sanctus*, who observes simply, "The MS has another lengthy preface for the first Sunday in Lent" (xxiv). For the significance of the rubric *pr̄ex*, see Dold, *Die Zürcher und Peterlinger Messbuch-Fragmente*, xxxiv–xxxvii.

⁴⁶ Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale 184, fols. 58r–74v, saec. VIII–IX, ed. A. Wilmart, "Le Comes de Murbach," *Revue bénédictine* 30 (1913): 42, no. LXXV;

Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale 553, saec. IX, ed. A. Wilmart, "Le lectionnaire d'Alcuin," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 51 (1937): 156, no. XCVIII;

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 9451, saec. VIII–IX, ed. R. Amiet, "Un 'Comes' carolingien inédit de la Haute-Italie," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 73 (1959): 350, no. 196;

Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek M.p.th.f. 62, fols. 2v–10v, saec. VIII–IX, ed. G. Morin, "Le plus ancien Comes ou Lectionnaire de l'Église romaine," *Revue bénédictine* 27 (1910): 55–56, no. XCI.

Paulus), Wednesday (10:34, 13:16, 3:13–15, 17–19 *Aperiens Petrus*), and Thursday (8:26–40 *Angelus domini*).⁴⁷

Evangelical communions.

Both Roman and Beneventan sources have a communion drawn from the gospel of the day on Saturday of the second week, Friday and Saturday of the third week, and Wednesday and Friday of the fourth week.⁴⁸ Mc271a in its fragmentary state preserves the relevant texts for only two of these feasts:

(1) 64 *Nemo te condempnauit* (Jo 8:10–11) is the communion for Saturday of the third week and corresponds to the gospel for that day (61 Jo 8:1–11). Both texts are found as well in the Roman and Beneventan sources cited as parallels.

(2) 82 *Lutum fecit* (Jo 9:6–7, 11) is the communion for Wednesday of the fourth week and, as such, appears in Roman and all Beneventan sources except for Ben33, which has *Hierusalem que* on fol. 49va.⁴⁹ But 82 does not correspond to Mc271a's gospel, namely, 79 Jo 6:13–14, preserved incomplete. Among the parallels this gospel is used for Wednesday of the fourth week only in Ben33, where it is found in its entirety (Jo 6:1–14) on fol. 49ra–va; Roman and other Beneventan sources report, for the same feast, Jo 9:1–38 (the gospel for the fourth Sunday in Ben33 and a few other witnesses, all of which have the corresponding communion *Lutum fecit*). The discrepancy in Mc271a between gospel and communion for Wednesday of the fourth week is worth noticing since it points to a conflation of Roman and Beneventan practice. Simply put, what Mc271a has done is to couple a Beneventan gospel (79) with a Roman communion (82). Unfortunately, the gospel and communion do not figure among Mc271a's few remaining texts of the mass for the fourth Sunday (67–70); it would have been interesting to see if we also had a hybrid combination here.

Musical items.

Given the presence of regional features in Mc271a, the thorough erasure of most of the musical notation in this missal is truly regrettable, especially since

⁴⁷ The exception is Ben33 83rb whose lection for Monday after Easter is Rom 6:3–5 *An ignoratis* (apparently a shortening of the Campanian Rom 6:3–11 for the same day; see Gamber, "Die kampanische Lektionsordnung," 332, no. 53).

⁴⁸ (R.-J. Hesbert) "La tradition bénéventaine dans la tradition manuscrite," in *Le codex 10673 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane. Fonds latin (XI^e siècle). Graduel bénéventain*, Paléographie musicale 14 (Solesmes, 1931; rpt. Berne, 1971), 225–34.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 220–21 (table).

no Lenten Mass-texts figure in the present repertory of Beneventan chant.⁵⁰ Until more sophisticated technology can be applied to the manuscript resulting, happily, in the recovery of further data, all that we can see now in some detail is the music for 2 *Scapulis suis* and 5 *Scapulis suis* (offertory and communion for the first Sunday), 37 *Patres nostri* (offertory for the second Sunday), 95 *Iudica me*, 98 *Eripe me*, and 99 *Sepe expugnauerunt* (introit, gradual, and tract for the fifth Sunday).

Generally speaking, there is a strong resemblance between Mc271a and Ben33 in the disposition of the music. This proved to be very useful in the decipherment of sung pieces: when the neumes could not be seen in Mc271a, the melodies of Ben33 functioned as guideposts, and it was often possible to decipher words or single letters in Mc271a through considerations of spacing.

Where the notation was visible, as in 2, 5, 95, 98, and 99, the shapes and placement of the neumes are similar to the music used for the same texts in Ben33. Ca was helpful in transcribing 37 since Mc271a and Ca appear to have used the same music in terms of both neumes and spacing; here Ben33 uses as an offertory the more usual *Domine deus salutis* with a different melody.

Naturally the close musical relationship between Mc271a and Ben33 does not imply that the music for the same texts was always identical. Nor do the many shared common features preclude the possibility that the missing leaves of Mc271a contained examples of the indigenous chant.

III. PALIMPSEST AND FRAGMENTARY STATE OF MC271A AND MC271B

The conservative nature of medieval liturgy usually meant that books destined to assist in the celebration of the Mass or recitation of the Divine Office would be used long after the actual date of writing, with, of course, additions to satisfy later developments. Why, then, were Mc271a and Mc271b erased so soon, i.e., approximately a century, after they had been copied? This removal of the text is especially troublesome because, in terms of size, neither Mc271a nor Mc271b was of the cheap, portable variety but, rather, a large book intended to remain in place and hence to serve a specific church. Indeed, given the care with which Mc271a was written and decorated, it is natural to suppose that these leaves could have once formed part of a display volume. Mc271b too

⁵⁰ Kelly, *Beneventan Chant*, 250–56 (tables). The fact that no masses with Beneventan chant pieces survive after the feast of Stephen (26 December) until Palm Sunday has been reckoned as an “accident of survival” rather than a deliberate exclusion (Gyug, *Missale Ragusinum*, 10). For the possibility that there once existed Lenten masses with Beneventan chant, see Kelly, *Beneventan Chant*, 67.

shows evident attempts at the production of an impressive volume although the scribe and artist were obviously less skillful.

The palimpsest puzzle gives rise to an even more basic query that must be considered first: could Mc271a and Mc271b have been used together to form parts of a single missal? It is curious that one manuscript, Mc271, should preserve the palimpsest remains of Mass-texts in three different hands: the two Beneventan missals and a lectionary/mixed sacramentary in uncial, saec. VII/VIII, which could function as a kind of primitive missal and was once described as such.⁵¹ The liturgical range afforded by these fragments suggests that the texts could have been used in combination even before the collation of the fragments as palimpsest leaves: Mc271a preserves the Lenten masses; the uncial text begins with Wednesday of Holy Week, and the first quire breaks off with the *Orationes sollemnes* on Good Friday; the next quire resumes with Easter Sunday and ends with the Octave of Easter, a period also covered in part by Mc271b, which provides the sung pieces (introit, gradual, Alleluia, offertory, and communion), albeit without neumes, for the ferias after Easter; the remaining five quires of the uncial fragment supply texts, with many gaps, for feasts occurring thereafter (from S. Maria ad Martyres to the Dedication of a church and marriage benediction). Texts from other parts of the year might have been supplied by leaves now missing from either the uncial or Beneventan fragments.

Any combination of the fragments would have had to be very patchwork, as homogeneity in script and other physical features would have been sacrificed for the sake of textual completeness, but there are examples in the Beneventan world of missals cobbled together with disregard for layout.⁵² In those instances, the combination of palaeographically distinct components—unless

⁵¹ A. Wilmart, "Un missel grégorien ancien," *Revue bénédictine* 26 (1909): 281–300. On Wilmart's assessment, see Dold, *Vom Sakramentar Comes und Capitulare*, 8–12.

⁵² Examples may be found in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Ottob. lat 576. Fols. 1r–v and 341r–377v are palimpsest, the lower script preserving Mass-texts without notation by two hands in Beneventan, saec. XI¹ (various feasts, with many lacunae, from Saturday after Easter to the Dedication of a church); see K. Gamber, "Fragmente eines Missale Beneventanum als Palimpsestblätter des Cod. Ottob. Lat. 576," *Revue bénédictine* 84 (1974): 367–72 (analysis and edition). The upper script, including the portion of the manuscript that is not palimpsest, is a missal copied in both the Cassinese- and Bari-type of Beneventan; Lowe, *The Beneventan Script* 2:166, dates fols. 2r–220v and fols. 1r, 221r–377v to saec. XII ex. and saec. XIII respectively, but the text remains consecutive when the hands change on fols. 2r and 221r, and I would suggest two contemporary scribes at work, saec. XII/XIII, with the Cassinese-style script recalling Beneventan as written in the Abruzzi.

Another example may be found in Zagreb, Metropolitanska Knjižnica MR 166: pp. 1–326 contain a missal copied in the Cassinese-type of Beneventan, saec. XII (Common of the saints, votive masses, etc.); pp. 327–354 contain a missal copied in the Bari-type of Beneventan, saec. XIII (Stephen–Ascension).

their presence under the same covers is owing merely to an accident of binding—gave the user the opportunity of consulting the same book for much of the liturgical year. Only the discovery of additional *membra disiecta* of Mc271a, Mc271b, and the uncial lectionary/mixed sacramentary could help us to decide whether they once constituted such a composite missal or whether they had been separate entities damaged independently and combined by chance as palimpsest leaves.

If we suppose that they had been combined by design, we can then envisage the following developments: the uncial lectionary/mixed sacramentary, complete when it was written (saec. VII–VIII), eventually lost a number of quires but remained useful since it still encompassed much of the liturgical year; even where it survived intact, however, the uncial text was not regarded as complete by later medieval southern Italian users because it lacked the sung pieces;⁵³ consequently Mc271a and Mc271b were commissioned to fill both textual and musical lacunae, and the whole was then kept together since the texts served a common purpose, namely, the celebration of the Mass. The supplementing process envisaged here could not have been perfect, since Mc271b repeats some of the same texts (105, 108, 112, 115, and 124) found in the uncial lectionary/mixed sacramentary. In fact, the presence, in Mc271b, of a previously unknown lection (125) for Friday after Easter suggests an attempt not only to supplement but to update.

We may now return to the question of why erasure of the uncial and Beneventan Mass-texts occurred. Doubtless there are many compelling reasons which could be suggested. Two possibilities are, perhaps, the most immediately obvious: the prohibition in 1058 of the local Beneventan rite by Pope Stephen IX, formerly Frederick of Lorraine and abbot (1055–58) of Montecassino, may have prompted the replacement of missals exhibiting local divergences from Roman practice; and the rise of a preeminent scriptorium such as Montecassino during the abbacy of Desiderius (1058–87) signified an opportunity to acquire a new missal with regulation contents and attractive contemporary format (e.g., homogeneity in layout and script, more fashionable decoration).⁵⁴ Viewed in this context, the Mass-texts in uncial and Beneventan

⁵³ Although the sung pieces could have been supplied in the margins of the uncial volume, such a measure may have been considered inappropriate and unsatisfactory in a large book destined for the altar. Furthermore, by the end of the tenth century there may not have been enough space in the margin because of successive trimmings.

⁵⁴ Beneventan chant had been used at Montecassino in the first half of the eleventh century and it was left to Desiderius, a native of Benevento and once a monk at Santa Sofia, to enforce the papal decree of his monastic predecessor. For the vigor with which Desiderius undertook this task, see Kelly, *Beneventan Chant*, 40: "Whatever his personal inclinations, however, by the height of Desiderius' abbacy the Beneventan chant had disappeared from

were prime candidates for palimpsesting, exhibiting as they did traces of the regional liturgy and a heterogenous appearance.

IV. EDITION OF THE PALIMPSEST TEXTS

Since every liturgical book is a unique artifact, ideally an editor should attempt to reproduce its format and contents as faithfully as possible. This is especially true in the case of palimpsests when neither the layout nor the text is consistently legible or easily visible to the reader who has not spent the many hours required to decipher the traces of script that remain. Unfortunately, palimpsests can be the least satisfying texts to edit, particularly if access to sophisticated technology such as the digitizing of images is lacking. In cases of vigorous erasure, then, it is impossible to determine, with absolute certainty, that the readings deduced from codicological information and textual probability were what the scribe actually wrote. Cropping compounds the difficulty since there is nothing even to be guessed at.

Not surprisingly, the edition of Mc271a and Mc271b is presented here with some diffidence. Texts were deciphered *in situ* with the aid of natural and ultra-violet light, and I believe that the liturgical order of the leaves has been correctly established and the transcriptions are generally accurate. If more sophisticated technology could be used, more could be read, e.g., the rubrics, and some doubtful instances resolved. Hence this edition is not intended to be definitive and final.

These editorial conventions have been adopted:

- the two-column format of Mc271a and Mc271b has not been reproduced, although column and page breaks have been indicated throughout;
- manuscript orthography has been preserved (see p. 250 above for typical and unusual examples); no examples of the use of the cedilla could be seen, and so *-ae* is rendered throughout as *-e*;
- doubtful readings are signalled by (?) immediately following the word in question;
- abbreviations in the text are expanded in accord with standard practice;
- angle brackets enclose cropped or illegible letters and words that have been supplied in accord with the reading of the parallels cited;
- ellipsis points (...) are used for texts in Mc271a and Mc271b which could not be supplied because they were completely illegible or the extent of cropping was too great;

Montecassino. . . . Many new liturgical books were made, and the old swept away: the Desiderian reform was so successful that no complete gradual or antiphoner survives from pre-Desiderian Montecassino."

—the Beneventan punctuation has been reproduced by means of the typographic forms used in the discussion on pp. 247–48 above.

Some special practices adopted for the sake of liturgical clarity and convenient reference need explanation:

(1) When the mass for a Sunday survives, the heading is given in full and “Quadragesime” added even though, for example, “Dom. I” would normally be used in the manuscript instead of “DOMINICA I QUADRAGESIME” given below at the beginning of the edition.

(2) Ferial days following the Sunday mass are designated simply as “Feria II,” “Feria III,” and so forth; the mass for the third Sunday of Lent is missing, and so complete headings precede masses to be said on Wednesday (38–45), Thursday (46–55), Friday (56–58), and Saturday (59–66) of this week, e.g., “FERIA IIII EBD. III QUADRAGESIME.”

(3) The rubric for each text, e.g., “INTROITUS,” “GRADUALE,” is always given, even though only a few instances still survive (listed on p. 245 n. 18 above), and the use of small capitals is intended to convey the sense of immediate legibility achieved originally by the use of color; abbreviated rubrics are expanded (e.g., in 5, where *Com* is expanded to “COMMUNIO”), although *Comp* in 31 and other instances where it was supplied has been left unexpanded since it was uncertain whether *Complendum* or *Complenda* was intended.

(4) The sung texts in Mc271a are printed in a smaller font and enclosed by J so as to draw attention to the manuscript layout (smaller script and musical notation).

(5) The *apparatus locorum parallelorum* below the text has, as its model in sigla and arrangement, Gyug, *Missale Ragusinum*, 197 ff.; it gives the biblical source first and then compares the text with a selection of early and later non-Roman and Roman sources as well as with all the major Beneventan sources (Beneventan manuscripts are cited with prefixes reflecting, when possible, their geographical origins). When the parallels report the same text for a different feast and this feast only, parentheses enclose folio or page numbers.

As is to be expected, Mc271a and Mc271b do not always present a strictly grammatical text. There is frequent confusion involving verbs and nouns: the third person singular subjunctive occurs instead of the infinitive; plural verbs are used with singular nouns and vice versa; the second person singular is used instead of the third person singular; the accusative case appears after a preposition normally followed by the ablative. Various other anomalies may be found in the text edited below.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Gyug, *Missale Ragusinum*, 187–91, describes similar phenomena. The following is a

SIGLA

LATER ROMAN LITURGY (= RL)

MRM = *Missale romanum Mediolani, 1474*, ed. R. Lippe, 2 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society 17, 33 (London, 1899, 1907).

SOURCES OF THE ROMAN LITURGY

Early Mass-Antiphonals (= AMS)

AMS = *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex d'après le graduel de Monza et les antiphonaires de Rheinau, du Mont-Blandin, de Compiègne, de Corbie, et de Senlis*, ed. R.-J. Hesbert (Brussels, 1935; rpt. Freiburg i. Br., 1985).

Early Lectionary (= LEC)

Z6: see below under *Gregorian Sacramentaries*.

Early Sacramentary (= SAC)

Va = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 316 + Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 7193, fols. 41r–56v. Saec. VIII med. Ed. L. C. Mohlberg, L. Eizenhöfer, and P. Siffrin, *Liber sacramentorum romanae aeclesiae ordinis anni circuli*, *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta*, Series maior, Fontes 4, 3d ed. (Rome, 1981).

Gregorian Sacramentaries (= GREG)

Ha = Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale 164 (with other MSS). Ed. J. Deshusses, "Hadrianum ex authentico ad fidem codicis Cameracensis 164," in *Le sacra-*

list of notable examples culled from the edition of Mc271a given below:

- 4 "esser" (for "esse")
- 6 "facias" (for "faciat")
- 8 "quadregesimalam" (for *-le*)
- 15 "ab hominem"
- 19 "ab hostibus . . . insidiis" (*rectius* "ab hostium . . . insidiis" in, e.g., Ben33)
- 23 "uobis ultram pa(ra)bola" (for "ultra uobis parabola"); "commederint," "dederint," and "custo(die)rint" (for *-rit*)
- 36 "de ciuitatem"
- 45 "deificoiter" (*ut uid.* for "difficulter"); "poteritas" or "potestitas" (for "potestatis")
- 47 "sincel(b?)ris" (for "sinceris")
- 48 "menendicibus" (for "mendacibus")
- 50 "E(xi)bat . . . demoni(a)" (for *-bant*)
- 58 "dimissa multitudinem" (*ut uid.*)
- 59 "Que(m?) est sermo" (for "Quis est sermo"); "accepta sententiam" (ablative absolute); "(am)moto eum" (ablative absolute)
- 69 "uimus" (for "uiuimus"); "sculptilem" (for *-le*)
- 74 "sacrificium celebrandum" (omitted); "sanctificent" (for *-cet*)
- 99 "a iuuentutem mea."

mentaire grégorien: Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits, 3 vols., *Spicilegium friburgense* 16, 24, 28 (Fribourg, 1971–82), vol. 1, pt. 1.

- Z6 = Montecassino, Archivio della Badia 271, palimpsest, lower script of pp. 49–50, 63–66, 79–86, 91–96, 99–100, 103–106, 109–110, 115–116, 119–122, 125–126, 131–132, 135–138, 141–142, 145–146, 159–160, 261–262, 271–272. Saec. VII–VIII. Fer. 4 Ebd. Maioris–Clement., cum lacunis; Canon missae; Commune. Ed. A. Dold, *Vom Sakramentar Comes und Capitulare zum Missale: Eine Studie über die Entstehungszeit der erstmals vollständig erschlossenen liturgischen Palimpsest-texte in Unziale aus Codex 271 von Monte Cassino*, *Texte und Arbeiten* 34 (Beuron, 1943).

Gelasians of the Eighth Century (= GEL8)

- Ge = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 12048. Saec. VIII ex. Ed. J. Deshusses and A. Dumas, *Liber sacramentorum gellonensis*, CCL 159–159A (Turnhout, 1981).
- Sg = St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 348, ca. 800. Ed. K. Mohlberg, *Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum in alamannischer Überlieferung*, 3d ed., *St. Galler Sakramentar-Forschungen* 1, *Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen* 1–2 (Münster, 1918; rpt. 1971).

AMBROSIAN SACRAMENTARY (= AM)

- Sb = Bergamo, Biblioteca di S. Alessandro in Colonna 242. Saec. IX med. or saec. IX². Ed. A. Paredi and G. Fassi, *Sacramentarium Bergomense*, *Monumenta bergomensia* 6 (Bergamo, 1962).

BENEVENTAN BOOKS (= BEN)

Benevento (prefix “Ben”)

- Ben19 = Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare 19 (= V 19). Saec. XII. Breviarium-Missale: Nicol.–Fer. 4 ebd. 4 Quadr. (ends incomplete on fol. 275vb [third reading for Nocturns] with Augustine, *Tractatus in Iohannem* 44.3 *Ipsa causam dicit quare ille caecus sit natus? Neque ic*). Origin: copied at Benevento, perhaps at S. Sofia (for the use of the Cathedral of Benevento). Unedited.
- Ben29 = London, British Library Egerton 3511 (*olim* Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare VI 29). Saec. XII. Missale: Dom. 1 Adv.–Dom. 26 p. Pent.; Commune (ends incomplete on fol. 290vb [Unius martyris] with Mt 10:35 *et nunc aduersus socrum*); there is a lacuna between fol. 67vb (Fer. 2 ebd. 1 Quadr. ends with Mt 25:40 *aut in carcere et uenimus ad te? Et*) and fol. 68ra (Fer. 4 ebd. 1 Quadr. begins with Mt 12:47 *foris stant querentes te*). Origin: copied at Benevento, apparently at S. Sofia, for the use of the monastery of S. Pietro intra muros, Benevento. Ed. E. Peirce, *An Edition of Egerton MS. 3511: A Twelfth Century Missal of St. Peter's in Benevento* (Diss. London, 1964).

- Ben30 = Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare 30 (= VI 30). Saec. XIII. Missale: Dom. 4 p. Oct. Epiph. (begins incomplete on fol. 1r with Jo 4:52 *eis in qua melius habuerit*)—IV Coronati (ends incomplete on fol. 213v with the secret *Benedictio tua domine larga descendat*); the Lenten ferias are not included. Origin: probably copied at Benevento or the region of Benevento. Unedited.
- Ben34 = Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare 34 (= VI 34). Saec. XII. Graduale: Dom. 1 Adv.—Dom. 23 p. Pent.; Commune; Kyriale. Origin: copied at Benevento. Facsimile edition, with introduction: J. Gajard, *Le codex VI.34 de la Bibliothèque Capitulaire de Bénévent (XI^e–XII^e siècle)*. *Graduel de Bénévent avec prosaire et tropaire*, Paléographie musicale 15 (Solesmes, 1937; rpt. Berne, 1971).
- Ben39 = Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare 39 (= VI 39). Saec. XI ex. Graduale-Troparium: Dom. 5 Quadr. (begins incomplete on fol. 1r with the antiphon *-tegat dextera tua ut uiuentes benedicamus te domine deus noster*)—Dom. 23 p. Pent.; Commune. Origin: copied at Benevento (perhaps at S. Sofia, seemingly for the use of the monastery of S. Pietro intra muros, Benevento). Unedited.
- Ben40 = Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare 40 (= VI 40). Saec. XI¹. Graduale-Troparium: Fer. 2 Ebd. Maioris (begins incomplete on fol. 1r with the introit psalm *persequuntur dic animae meae salus*)—Dom. 23 p. Pent.; Missae uotiuae. Origin: copied at Benevento (S. Sofia?). Facsimile edition in color, with brief introductory essays: N. Albarosa and A. Turco, eds., *Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare 40. Graduale* (Padua, 1991).

Dalmatia (prefix “Da”)

- DaB = Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz Lat. fol. 920. Saec. XII. Missale cum neumis: Dom. 1 Adv.—Fer. 6 p. Pent. (ends incomplete on fol. 169v with Joel 2:23 *et descendere faciet ad*). Origin: copied at Kotor. Ed. S. Rehle, “Missale Beneventanum in Berlin,” *Sacris erudiri* 28 (1985): 469–510.
- DaE = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz Theol. lat. quart. 278. Evangelistarium: Vig. Nat. Domini—Dom. 4 Adv. Saec. XI/XII. Copied at Zadar. Ed. R.-J. Hesbert, “L’Evangélaire de Zara,” *Scriptorium* 8 (1954): 177–204 and plates 20–21 (fols. 1v, 65r, 69r).
- DaO = Oxford, Bodleian Library Canon Liturg. 342. Missale cum neumis: Nat. Domini (begins incomplete on fol. 1r with Is 61:2 *deo nostro*)—Omn. Defunct. (ends incomplete on fol. 105v with Mt 25:46 *hi in supplicium*), with many lacunae; Commune; the Lenten ferias are not included. Saec. XIII ex. Origin: copied in Dalmatia (probably at Dubrovnik). Ed. R. F. Gyug, *Missale Ragusinum: The Missal of Dubrovnik (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Liturg. 342)*, Studies and Texts 103, Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana 1 (Toronto, 1990). (Texts cited by serial number in Gyug’s edition.)

Montecassino (prefix "Mc")

- Mc127 = Montecassino, Archivio della Badia 127. Saec. XI ex. Missale: Dom. 1 Adv.–Dom. 26 p. Pent.; Commune; Missae uotiuae. Saec. XI ex. Origin: copied at Montecassino and used at S. Maria de Albaneta. Unedited.
- Mc339 = Montecassino, Archivio della Badia 339. Saec. XI ex. Sacramentarium: Dom. 1 Adv.–Dom. 26 p. Pent.; Commune. Origin: copied at Montecassino. Unedited.
- Mc540 = Montecassino, Archivio della Badia 540. Saec. XI/XII. Missale cum neumis: Dom. 1 Adv.–Dom. in Palmis (ends incomplete on p. 190 after the aspersion and incensing of the palms with a prayer *Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui dispersa congregas et congregata conseruas qui populis obuiam iesu ramos portantibus bene-*). Origin: copied at Montecassino and used at S. Petronilla di Piumarola. Unedited.
- Mc546 = Montecassino, Archivio della Badia 546. Saec. XII/XIII. Graduale: Dom. 1 Adv.–Sabb. Sanct.; Commune, etc.; there is a lacuna between p. 80 (Fer. 6 ebd. 4 Quadr. ends with the gradual *Bonum est confidere in domino quam confidere in homine*) and p. 81 (Dom. in Palmis begins with the conclusion of the gradual versicle (*Quam bonus Israel deus rectis corde . . . pacem peccatorum ui*)dens followed by *Trac(tus). Deus deus meus respice in me*). Origin: copied at Montecassino. Unedited.
- McV = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 6082. Saec. XII². Missale cum neumis: Dom. 1 Adv.–Dom. 26 p. Oct. Pent.; Commune; Missae uotiuae. Origin: copied at Montecassino; perhaps intended for use at S. Vincenzo al Volturno. Partial edition by A. Dold, "Die vom Missale Romanum abweichenden Lesetexte für die Messfeiern nach den Notierungen des aus Monte Cassino stammenden Cod. Vat. lat. 6082," in *Vir Dei Benedictus. Eine Festgabe zum 1400. Todestag des heiligen Benedikt*, ed. R. Molitor (Münster i. W., 1947), 293–332.

Apulia (prefix "Pu")

- PuV = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 10673. Saec. XI in. Graduale: Septuag. (begins incomplete on fol. 1r with the tract versicle *qui sustinebit*)–Sabb. Sanct. (ends incomplete on fol. 35v with the Exultet of Holy Saturday *lustrata totius orbis se*); there is a lacuna between fol. 8v (Fer. 4 ebd. 1 Quadr. ends incomplete with the tract versicle *non erubescam neque irideant*) and fol. 9r (Dom. 3 Quadr. begins incomplete with the tract *-rum suorum*). Origin: copied in Apulia (*ut uid.*). Facsimile edition, with introduction: J. Gajard, ed., *Le codex 10 673 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane. Fonds latin (XI^e siècle). Graduel bénéventain*, Paléographie musicale 14 (Solesmes, 1931; rpt. Berne, 1971).

Other origins

- Ben33 = Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare 33 (= VI 33). Missale cum neumis: Vig. Nat. Domini (begins incomplete on fol. 1ra with Mt 1:19 *autem cum esset iustus et nollet eam traducere*)—Unius apostoli (ends incomplete on fol. 138vb with the postcommunion *Beati apostoli tui .N. domine quesumus*). Saec. XI in. Origin: uncertain. Provenance: perhaps the diocese of Salerno. Facsimile edition, with introduction: J. Hourlier and J. Froger, *Le manuscrit VI-33, Archivio Arcivescovile, Benevento. Missel de Bénévent (Début du XI^e siècle)*, Paléographie musicale 20 (Berne-Frankfurt, 1983). Ed. S. Rehle, "Missale Beneventanum (Codex VI 33 des Erzbischöflichen Archivs von Benevent)," *Sacris erudiri* 21 (1972–73): 323–405.
- Ben35 = Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare 35 (= VI 35). Saec. XII¹ (fols. 1r–201v). Graduale-Troparium: Int. Oct. Nat. Domini (begins incomplete on fol. 1r with the communion *-ni negotiatori querenti bonas margaritas*)—Dom. 26 p. Pent.; Commune; Kyriale. Origin: uncertain. Unedited.
- Ben38 = Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare 38 (= VI 38). Saec. XI¹ (fols. 1r–167v). Graduale-Troparium: Septuag. (begins incomplete on fol. 1r with the offertory versicle *Exaltabitur sicut unicorni cornu*)—Dom. 24 p. Pent.; Commune. There is a lacuna between fol. 24v (Sabb. ebd. 3 Quadr. ends incomplete with the gradual *Si am-*) and fol. 25r (Let. Mai. begins incomplete with the antiphon *peccaui domine miserere nobis*). Origin: uncertain. Unedited.
- Ca = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Barb. lat. 603. Saec. XII/XIII. Missale cum neumis: Vig. Nat. Domini (begins incomplete on fol. 3ra with the genealogy of Christ *Salomon autem genuit Roboam*)—Dom. 5 p. Pent. (ends incomplete on fol. 90vb with Lc 6:41 *Quid autem uides festucam in oculo*); there is a lacuna between fol. 42vb (Sabb. ebd. 3 Quadr. ends with Jo 8:10 *Mulier ubi sunt qui te accusabant? Nemo te*) and fol. 43ra (Dom. in Palmis begins incomplete with Mt 26:64 *uenientem in nubibus celi*). Provenance: Caiazzo. Unedited.
- Ott = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Ottob. lat. 576. Palimpsest, upper script, saec. XII ex. Missale cum neumis: Dom. 1 Adv.—Dom. 26 p. Pent.; Commune (the Missa generalis pro defunctis ends incomplete on fol. 377v with the postcommunion *Sumpta sacramenta quesumus domine omnia crimina nostra detergant omnemque prauitatem et infirmi-*). Origin: uncertain (Abruzzi, *ut uid.*). Unedited.
- Ve = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Barb. lat. 699. Saec. XII ex. Missale cum neumis: Dom. 1 Adv. (begins incomplete on fol. 1ra with Lc 21:30 *fructus suos quoniam prope est*)—Dom. 26 p. Pent.; Commune, etc. There is a lacuna between fol. 44v (Sabb. p. Caput Quadr. ends with Mc 6:56 *in uillas aut ciuitates in pla-*) and fol. 45r (Sabb. ebd. 1 Quadr. begins with 2 Mach 1:2–3 *fideliū et det uobis cor omnibus*). Saec. XII ex. Provenance (and probably origin as well): Veroli. Unedited.

〈DOMINICA I QUADRAGESIME〉

1

[*lac.*] -dens temptator dixit eiꝝ si filius <dei> es dic ut lapides isti panes fiant;ꝝ
 <Qui> resp<ondens iesus dixitꝝ scriptum estꝝ non in solo pane uiuit homo. set in
 <omni> uer<bo> quod proce<dit de ore dei;ꝝ> T<unc as>sumpsit <eum dia>bolus <in>
 sanctam ciuitate<m> . . . | et illi soli <seruiens;ꝝ> Tu<nc> reliquid eum diab<olusꝝ>
 et) ecce angeli accesser<unt et> ministrab<ant ei;ꝝ>

p. 42a

p. 42b

2

〈OFFERTORIUM〉 ♪ <Sca>pu<lis suis obum>brauit tibi dominus et sub pennis eius
 sperabis scuto circumdauit tē <ueritas eius.〉 ♪

3

SECRETA Sacrifi<cium> domine qua<dra>gesima<lis in>i<tii> sollem<niter> immola-
 mus <te domine deprec>antesꝝ ut cu<m> epularum) restri<ctione carnalium> a
 noxi<is quoque uolup>tatibus tem<peremur;ꝝ per.)

4

〈PR>EFATIO . . . etern<itatis esca> uirtutis;ꝝ; | Uerbum enim per quod <fac>ta
 sunt omnia non so<lum> humanarum men<ti>umꝝ set ipsorum quoque pa<nis> est
 angelorum;ꝝ Huius <pa>nis alimento moyses <fa>mulus tuusꝝ quadra<gin>ta die-
 bus hac noctibus <leg>em suscipien<s> ieieuna<uit> et a carnalibus ciuis. <ut> tue
 suauitatis ca<pa>cior esset abstinuit;ꝝ <U>nde nec famem corpo<ris> sensitꝝ et
 terrenarum <est o>blitus escarum;ꝝ Quia <illum> et glorie tue clarifica<ba>t as-
 pectusꝝ et influen<te s>piritu dei sermo pascebat;ꝝ <H>unc panem etiam <nob>is
 ministrare non desi<na>sꝝ quem ut indefi<cient>er esuriam<us> orta<ris.〉 per
 iesum christum dominum nostrum. <qu>em llaudant <ut uid.〉

p. 41a

1 Mt 4:3–11. RL: MRM 56–57 (Mt 4:1–11 *Ductus est Iesus in desertum*). AM: Sb 83r–v. BEN: Ben19 217ra–b; Ben29 66rb–vb; Ben30 32v–33r; Ben33 23ra–b; Ca 23rb–va; DaB 50v; DaE 29r–30r; DaO 132; Mc127 51b–52a; Mc540 101–102; McV 50r; Ott 63v–64r.

2 Ps 90:4–5. RL: MRM 57. AMS: 40b. BEN: Ben19 217rb; Ben29 66vb; Ben30 33r; Ben33 23rb; Ben34 66v–67r; Ben35 31r; Ben38 8r; Ca 23va; DaB 50v; DaO 133; Mc127 52a; Mc540 102; Mc546 52; McV 50r–v; Ott 64r; PuV 6v–7r.

3 RL: MRM 57. SAC: Va 106. GREG: Ha 167; Pa 137. GEL8: Ge 297; Sg 273. BEN: Ben19 217rb; Ben29 66vb–67ra; Ben30 33r–v; Ben33 23rb; Ca 23va; DaB 50v; DaO 134; Mc127 52a–b; Mc339 64–65; Mc540 102; McV 50v; Ott 64r.

4 BEN: Ben33 23rb–va (*VD in quo ieiunantium fides alitur*).

5

COMMUNIO ♪ (S)capulis suis obumbravit tibi et sub pennis eius sperabis scuto circumdavit te ueritas eius.) ♪

6

p. 41b

♪ (COMP.) Tui nos domine sacramenti libatio sancta retarentur et a uetustate purgatos in mysterii salutaris facias transire consortium; per.

FERIA (II)

7

(INTROITUS) ♪ Sicut oculi seruatorum in manibus dominorum suorum ita oculi nostri ad (do)minum deum nostrum donec misereatur nobis miserere nobis domine miserere nobis. ♪

8

(ORATIO) Conuerte (nos deus sa)lutaris noster et u(t) nobis ieiun(i)um quadragisimalem proficiat mentes nostras celestibus instrue disciplinis(;;) per(.)

9

p. 97a

(LECTIO EZECHIELIS PROPHETE) Hec dicit dominus deus. ecce ipse requiram obes meas et ui . . . | -dio ouium suarum dissipa(tarum;) Sic uisitab(o ou)es (meas et liberabo eas de omnibus locis in quibus disperse fuerant in di)e (nubes cali)ginis. Et educam eas de p(opulis) et congregabo eas de terris et inducam eas in ter(r)am suam et pascam (e)as in montibus israhel in riuis et in cunctis sedibus terre; In pascuis uberrimis pascam eas et in montibus israhel

5 Ps 90:4-5 RL: MRM 57. AMS: 40b. BEN: Ben19 217rb; Ben29 67ra; Ben30 33v; Ben33 23va; Ben34 67r; Ben35 31r-v; Ben38 8r; Ca 23va; DaB 50v; DaO 135; Mc127 52b; Mc540 102; Mc546 52; McV 50v; Ott 64r; PuV 7r.

6 RL: MRM 57. GREG: Ha 168; Pa 139. GEL8: Ge 299; Sg 275. BEN: Ben19 217rb-va; Ben29 67ra; Ben30 33v; Ben33 23va; Ca 23va; DaB 50v-51r; DaO 136; Mc127 52b; Mc339 65; Mc540 102; McV 50v; Ott 64r.

7 Ps 122:2-3 RL: MRM 57. AMS: 41. BEN: Ben19 219vb-220ra; Ben29 67ra; Ben33 23va; Ben34 67r-v; Ben35 31v; Ben38 8r-v; Ca 23va-b; DaB 51r; Mc127 52b; Mc540 102; Mc546 53; McV 50v; Ott 64v; PuV 7r.

8 RL: MRM 57. SAC: Va (1170). GREG: Ha 171; Pa 142. GEL8: Ge 306; Sg 279. AM: Sb 285. BEN: Ben19 220ra; Ben29 67ra; Ben33 23va-b; Ca 23vb; DaB 51r; Mc127 52b; Mc339 65; Mc540 102; McV 50v; Ott 64v.

9 Ez 34:11-16 RL: MRM 58. AM: Sb 84r-v. BEN: Ben19 220ra-b; Ben29 67ra-va; Ben33 23vb-24ra; Ca 23vb-24ra; DaB 51r; Mc127 52b-53a; Mc540 102-103; McV 50v-51r; Ott 64v.

e(runt) pascua eorum; Ibi requiescent (in) herbis uirentibus. et pascuis pin-
guibus pascentur super montes israhel; Ego pascam oues meas(;) et accubare
eas faciam dicit dominus deus; Quod perierant requira(m); et quod abiectum
fuerat reduca(m); et quod confractum fuerat; alligabo; et quod infirmum
fuerat; consolidabo; et quod pingue et forte custodiam; Et pascam illas in
iudicio et iustitia(;) dicit dominus omni)p(otens);

10

| (GRADUALE) ♪ Protector noster a(spice deus et) resp(ice super seruos tuos. V Do-
mine) deus uirtutum exa(u)di preces ser(uorum) tuorum. ♪

p. 97b

11

(SEQUENTIA SANCTI EUANGELII SECUNDUM MATHEUM) (In illo) tem-
po(re). (dixit) iesus discip(ulis suis); cum uene(rit) filius hominis in m(a)iestate
sua; et om(nes an)gel(i) cum eo; tunc (sede)bit super sedem ma(iesta)tis sue;
Et cong(rega)buntu(r) ante eum (omnes) gentes(;) et separa(bit) eos ab in_{ed}
(ui)cem; sic(ut) pastor (se)gregat o(ues) ab hedi(s;); Et statu(et) ouos quidem a
dext(ris) suis; hedos autem a sin(is)tris; Tunc dicet r(ex) his qui a dextris eiu(s)
erunt; uenite ben(edic)ti . . . (ti)bi p(otum) . . . a me maledicti in ig(nem) . . .
| . . . his . . .

p. 98a,b

12

(OFFERTORIUM) ♪ Leua(bo oculos) meos (et) cons(idera)bo mi(ra)bilia tua domine
ut do(c)e(as) me iustitia tua da michi intellectum ut dis- ♪ [*lac.*]

FERIA (IIII)

13

[*lac.*] | surrexisset; com(edit) et (bibit. et) ambulauit (in fortitudine cibi illius)
quadraginta (diebus et quadraginta noctibus usque ad montem dei oreb;)

p. 111a

10 Ps 83:10, 9 RL: MRM 58. AMS: 41. BEN: Ben19 220rb; Ben29 67va; Ben33 24ra; Ben34 67v; Ben35 31v; Ben38 8v; Ca 24ra; DaB 51r; Mc127 53a; Mc540 103; Mc546 53; McV 51r; Ott 65r; PuV 7r.

11 Mt 25:31-46 RL: MRM 58-59. BEN: Ben19 220rb-221ra; Ben29 67va-b (*des. mutil.*); Ben33 24ra-b; Ca 24ra-b; DaB 51r-v; Mc127 53a-54b; Mc540 103-104; McV 51r-v; Ott 65r-v.

12 Ps 118:18, 68, 73 RL: MRM 59. AMS: 41. BEN: Ben19 221ra; Ben33 24rb-va; Ben34 67v-68r; Ben35 31v; Ben38 8v-9r; Ca 24rb; DaB 51v-52r; Mc127 54b; Mc540 104; Mc546 53; McV 51v; Ott 65v; PuV 7r-v.

13 3 Reg 19:8 RL: MRM 62 (3 Reg 19:3-8 *Venit Elias in Bersabee Iudae*). AM: Sb 85v. BEN:

14

⟨TRACTUS⟩ ♪ (De necessita)t(ib)us m(eis) e(ripe m)e d(omin)e . . . peccata . . . ⟨V . . . confunda(ntur omnes) cogitantes uana. ♪

15

- p. 111b ⟨SEQUENTIA SANCTI EUANGELII SECUNDUM MATHEUM | In illo tempore⟩
accesserunt ad iesum ⟨scribe⟩ et pharisei dic(entes magister.) uolu(mus a te
signum uidere; Qui respond)ens a(it illis: generatio m)ala (et adultera signum)
que(rit et signum non dabi)tur (ei: nisi signum) ione prophet(e; S(icut enim)
fuit iona(s in uentre ceti) tribus (diebus et tribus noctibus: sic erit filius hominis
in cord)e te(rre) tri(bus di)ebus et (tri)bu(s noctibus; Viri niniui(te surgent in
iu)dicio cum g(enera)tion(e ista): et conde(mnabat) ea(m) quia penit(entiam
egeru)nt in (predi)ca(tione ione prophete: et ecce plus quam iona hic; Regina
austri surget in iudicio cum generatione ista): et c(ondem)nauit eam: quia
p. 112a ue(nit) a finibus terre audire s(a)pientiam salomonis; | (Et ecce plus quam
salomon hic; Cum autem immundus spiritus exi(e)rit ab hominem: ambu(l)at
per loca arida querens (r)equiem et non inueniet; Tunc dicen(t): reuertar (i)n
domum meam unde (e)xiui. et uen(ien)s inuenit (e)am uacantem(: scopis
(m)undata(m:) et ornatam; Tunc uadit et adsumit (s)eptem alios spiritus secum
ne(q)uiiores se: et ingress(i) habi(t)ant ibi. et (fiant n)obissi(m)a hominis illius
pe(io)ra (p)rrioribus; Sic erit et ge(n)erationi uhic pessime(: Adhuc illo lo-
quente ad (turb)as: ecce mater eius (et fratre)s stabant foris que(re)ntes loqui
ei; Dixit (a)utem ei quidam: ecce mater tua. et fratres (tui) foris (stant)
(q)uerentes te(: A(t) ille res(pond)ens (dicenti) s(ibi) ait: (que (est) mater mea
p. 112b et qui (su)nt fratres mei. Et exten(d)ens manus in discipulos | (suos dixit. ecce
mater) mea et fratres mei; Quicumque enim fecerit uoluptatem patris mei qui
in celis. ipse meus frater: et soror. et mater est;

16

⟨OFFERTORIUM⟩ ♪ Meditabor in mandatis tu(is que di)lexi ualde et leuabo manus
meas ad mandata tua que (di)le(xi.) ♪

Ben19 224rb–va; Ben33 25va–b; Ca 25va; DaB 53v; Mc127 57a–b; Mc540 107; McV 53r,
Ott 67v–68r.

14 Ps 24:17–18, 3–4 RL: MRM 62. AMS: 43a (Grad. cum vers.). BEN: Ben19 224va; Ben33
25vb; Ben34 69v–70r; Ben35 32v–33r; Ben38 10r–v; Ca 25va–b; DaB 53v–54r; Mc127 57b–
58a; Mc540 107–108; Mc546 55–56; McV 53r; Ott 68r; PuV 8v.

15 Mt 12:38–50 RL: MRM 62–63. BEN: Ben19 224vb–225ra; Ben29 68ra (*inc. mutil.*);
Ben33 25vb–26rb; Ca 25vb–26ra; DaB 54r–v; Mc127 58a–59a; Mc540 108–109; McV 53r–v;
Ott 68r–69r.

16 Ps 118:47–48 RL: MRM 63. AMS: 43a. BEN: Ben19 225ra–b; Ben29 68ra; Ben33 26rb;

17

⟨SECRETA⟩ Hostias tibi domine placa⟨ti⟩onis et laudis offerimusꝫ ut delicta nostra miseratu⟨s⟩ absoluas. et nutantia ⟨c⟩orda tu dirigas. per⟨.⟩

18

⟨COMMUNIO⟩ ♪ ⟨Intellege clamorem meum intende uoci orationis⟩ mee rex meus et deus m⟨e⟩us quoniam ad te orabo ⟨domine.⟩ ♪

19

⟨COMP.⟩ Tu⟨i⟩ domine perceptione sacramenti⟨ꝫ⟩ et a nostris mundemur occultisꝫ et ab hostibus liberemur insidiisꝫ; per.

20

⟨ORATIO SUPER POPULUM⟩ | Mentis nostras quesumus domine lumine tue claritatis inlustraꝫ ut uidere possimus que agenda sunt. et que recta sunt agere ualeamusꝫ; per.

p. 40a

FERIA V

21

⟨INTROITUS⟩ ♪ Confessio et pulcritudo in conspec⟨tu⟩ eius sanctitas et magnificentia in sanctificatione eius⟨.⟩ G⟨l⟩oria seculorum amen; ♪

Ben34 70r-v; Ben35 33r; Ben38 10v; Ca 26ra; DaB 54v; Mc127 59a; Mc540 109; Mc546 56; McV 53v; Ott 69r.

17 RL: MRM 63. SAC: Va (1370). GREG: Ha 181; Pa 152. GEL8: Ge (208); Sg (195, B 58). AM: Sb 297. BEN: Ben19 225rb; Ben29 68ra; Ben33 26rb; Ca 26ra; DaB 54v; Mc127 59a; Mc339 67; Mc540 109; McV 53v; Ott 69r.

18 Ps 5:2-4 RL: MRM 63. AMS: 43b. BEN: Ben19 225rb; Ben29 68ra; Ben33 26rb; Ben34 70v; Ben35 33r-v; Ben38 11r; Ca 26ra; DaB 54v; Mc127 59a; Mc540 109; Mc546 56; McV 53v-54r; Ott 69r.

19 RL: MRM 63. GREG: Ha 182; Pa 153. GEL8: Ge 322; Sg 295. AM: Sb 299. BEN: Ben19 225rb; Ben29 68ra-b; Ben33 26rb; Ca 26ra-b; DaB 54v; Mc127 59a; Mc339 67-68; Mc540 109; McV 54r; Ott 69r.

20 RL: MRM 63. GREG: Ha 183; Pa 154. GEL8: Sg (565). BEN: Ben19 225rb; Ben29 68rb; Ben33 26rb; Ca 26rb; DaB 54v; Mc127 59a; Mc339 68; Mc540 109; McV 54r; Ott 69r.

21 Ps 95:6 RL: 63. AMS: 44. BEN: Ben19 226rb-va; Ben29 68rb; Ben33 26rb; Ben34 70v; Ben35 33v; Ben38 11r; Ca 26rb; DaB 54v; Mc127 59a; Mc540 109; Mc546 56; McV 54r; Ott 69r.

22

⟨ORATIO⟩ Deuotionem populi tui quesumus domine benignus intende(⟨) ut qui per abstinentiam macerantur in corpore per fructum boni operis efficiantur in mente. per(⟨.)

23

p. 40b

⟨LECTIO EZECHIELIS PROPHETE⟩ In diebus illis(⟨ factus est sermo domini ad me dicens(⟨ quid est quod inter uos parabolam (uertitis) i(n prouer)b(ium) . . . | ubam acerbam (et den)tes filiorum obstupuerunt(⟨;) Uiuo ego dicit domin(us(⟨ si) erit uobis ultram pa(ra)bolam hec in prouerbi(um) in israhel(⟨; Ecce omnes a(nime) mee sunt(⟨ ut anim(a) patris. ita et anim(a) fili(i) mea est(⟨; Anim(a que) peccauerit(⟨ ipsa m(ori)etur(⟨; Et uir si fuerit (ius)tus(⟨ et fecerit iudici(um) et iustitiam. in mon(tibus) non commederint(⟨ a(d) idola domus israhel ocul(os) suos non lebauerit. et uxorem proximi sui n(on) uiolauerit(⟨ et ad m(uli)erem menstruatam (non) accesserit(⟨ et homi(nem) non contristaberit(⟨ pignus deuitori retd(ide)rit(⟨ per uim nichil rapuerit(⟨ panem suum esurienti dederint(⟨ nud(um) . . . | -perit ab iniquita(te) auerterit manum (s)uam et iudicium uerum (fecerit) inter uirum et uirum (in pre)ceptis meis ambulauerit et iudicia mea custo(die)rint(⟨ ut faciat ueri(tat)em(⟨; Hic iustus est uita (uiu)et(⟨ et non morietur. ait (dominus) omnipotens(⟨;

p. 39a

24

⟨GRADUALE⟩ ♪ (Custodi me domine ut pu)pillam ocu(li) sub umbra ala(rum tu)arum protege me. V) De uultu tuo iudicium meum (pro)deat o(culi) me(i) uideant equitatem. ♪

25

p. 39b

⟨SEQUENTIA SANCTI EUANGELII SECUNDUM MATHEUM⟩ In illo tempore(⟨ e)gressus (iesus sece)ss(it in par)tes ty(ri et) sydonis(⟨ et) ecce . . . | (mei) domine fili dauid(⟨ filia (mea male a demonio uexatur(⟨; Qui non respondit ei) uerbum(⟨;

22 RL: MRM 63. GREG: Ha 184; Pa 189. GEL8: Ge 325; Sg (292). AM: Sb 300. BEN: Ben19 (225rb–va); Ben29 68rb; Ben33 26rb–va; Ca (25va); DaB (53v); Mc127 (57a); Mc339 (67); McV (53r); Ott (67r).

23 Ez 18:1–9 RL: MRM 63–64. AM: Sb 88r–v. BEN: Ben19 226va–b; Ben29 68rb–vb; Ben33 26va–b; Ca 26rb–va; DaB 54v–55r; Mc127 59a–60a; Mc540 109–110; McV 54r; Ott 69r–v.

24 Ps 16:8, 2 RL: MRM 64. AMS: 44. BEN: Ben19 226vb–227ra; Ben29 68vb; Ben33 26vb; Ben34 70v–71r; Ben35 33v; Ben38 11r; Ca 26va; DaB 55r; Mc127 60a; Mc540 110; Mc546 56–57; McV 54r–v; Ott 69v–70r.

25 Mt 15:21–28 RL: MRM 64. BEN: Ben19 227ra–b; Ben29 68vb–69ra; Ben33 26vb–27ra; DaB 55r–v; Mc127 60a–b; Mc540 110; McV 54v; Ott 70r.

Et accedent(es discipuli eius) rogab(ant eum dic)entes (dimitte eam quia clamat) post (nos. Ipse autem respondens) ait: (non sum missus nisi ad) oues que peri(erunt domu)s (israhel; At illa uenit et ad)orau(it eum dicens: domine) adiu(ua me; Qui respon)dens ait: (non est bonum sume)re panem filio(rum et) mittere canibus(; At illa dixit: etiam) domine. nam (et catelli edunt) de m(icis que cadunt de men)sa dominorum su(orum; Tunc (respon)dens ait (illi i)esus: o mulier. ma(g)na est fides (tua: fi)at tibi s(icut uis; Et) sanata est fi(lia) e(ius in illa hor)a;

26

(OFFERTORIUM) ♪ (Inmittet angelum dominus in) circui(tu timentium eum et e)ripiet ♪ [*lac.*]

(FERIA VI)

27

[*lac.*] | descendisset post motionem aque: sanus fiebat a quocumque detinebant languore; Erat autem homo (ibi) triginta oc(to) annos habens in infirmitate s(ua); Hu(m)an(c)um cum uidisset iesus iacentem: et cog(nouisset) quia iam m(u)ltum tem(pus) habet: dicit ei: uix sanus fieri: respondit ei languidus: domine hominem non habeo: ut cum turbata fuerit (a)qua mittat me in piscinam; Dum uenio enim (*add. in marg.*) (eg)o: alius ante me descendit; Dicit ei iesus: surge tolle grauattum tuum. et ambula; Et statim sanus factus est homo. et substulit gra(uattum) suum et a(m)bulat; Erat autem sabbatum in illa die; Dicebant (ergo) iude(i) illi qui sanat(us) fuerat sabbatum est. non) licet tibi tollere grabattum (tuum; Respondit eis: | qui me fecit sanum:) ille michi dixit: to(lle) grauattum tuu(m) et) ambula; Interr(oga)uerunt ergo eum: (quis est) ille homo qui dixit (tibi:) t(o)lle grauattum t(uum) et (am)bula. his autem (qui) s(an)us fuerat eff(ectus) nes(cie)bat quis ess(et; Iesus a(utem) declinauit turbam constitut(am) in loco; Postea in(uenit) (eu)m iesus in templo: (et dixit) illi: e(cc)e sanus fac(tus es) iam noli peccare (ne deterius) tibi aliquid (con)tin(gat; Abiit i(lle) h(omo) et nuntiauit (iudeis) quia iesus esse(t) qui f(ecit) eum sanum;

p. 76a

p. 76b

26 Ps 33:8 RL: MRM 64 (Ps 33:8–9). AMS: 44. BEN: Ben19 227rb; Ben29 69ra–b; Ben33 27ra; Ben34 71r–v; Ben35 33v–34r; Ben38 11r–v; Ca 27ra; DaB 55v; Mc127 60b; Mc540 110; Mc546 57; McV 54v; Ott 70r.

27 Jo 5:4–15 RL: MRM 65–66 (Jo 5:1–15 *Erat dies festus Iudaeorum*). AM: Sb 89r–v. BEN: Ben19 228vb–229rb; Ben29 70ra–va; Ben33 27va–28ra; Ca 27va–b; DaB 56r–v; Mc127 62a–63a; Mc540 112–113; McV 55r–v; Ott 71r–v.

28

⟨OFFERTORIUM⟩ ♪ Benedic anima mea do⟨minum⟩ et noli ⟨o⟩bliuisci omnes re-
tr⟨ibutiones⟩ eius et renobabitur si⟨cut a⟩quile iuuen⟨tus tua⟩ ♪

29

p. 75a

| ⟨SECRETA Suscipe domine quesumus deuotorum munera famulorum; et tuis
diuinis purifica seruientes pietate mysteriis; quibus⟩ etiam ⟨iustifi⟩cas ign⟨o-
ran⟩tes⟨. per⟩

30

⟨COMMUNIO⟩ . . .

31

COMP. ⟨Pre⟩sta ⟨quesumus domine spirita⟩libus gau⟨diis nos reple⟩ri; ut que
ac⟨tu⟩ geri⟨mus;⟩ mente ⟨sectemur;⟩ per⟨.⟩

32

⟨ORATIO SUPER POPULUM Pl⟩ebs tua ⟨quesumus domine⟩ bene⟨dictionis sanc⟩te
munus a⟨ccipiat per quo⟩d; et noxia ⟨queque decli⟩net; et obtata ⟨repperiat;⟩
per⟨.⟩

(SABBATO)

33

⟨INTROITUS⟩ ♪ ⟨Intret⟩ oratio mea i⟨n conspectu tuo incli⟩na aurem tuam ⟨ad precem⟩
meam domine. ⟨PSALMUS⟩ Domine deus s⟨aluti⟩s⟨.⟩ ♪

28 Ps 102:2, 5 RL: MRM 66. AMS: 45a. BEN: Ben19 229rb; Ben29 70vb; Ben33 28ra; Ben34 72r-v; Ben35 34r-v; Ben38 12r-v; Ca 27vb; DaB 56v; Mc127 63a; Mc540 113; Mc546 57-58; McV 55v-56a; Ott 71v.

29 SAC: Va 126. GEL8: Ge 332; Sg 305. BEN: Ben33 28ra; Mc339 69.

30 [illegible]

31 SAC: Va 127. GREG: Pa 162. GEL8: Ge 334; Sg 307. BEN: Ben33 28ra; Ca 28ra (*Oratio super populum*).

32 SAC: Va 128. GEL8: Ge 335; Sg 308. BEN: Ben33 28ra.

33 Ps 87:2 RL: MRM 67. AMS: 46a. BEN: Ben19 230ra; Ben29 70vb; Ben33 28ra; Ben34 73r; Ben35 34v; Ben38 12v; Ca 28ra; DaB 57r; Mc127 63a; Mc540 113; Mc546 58; McV 56r; Ott 72r.

34

⟨ORATIO⟩ | P⟨opulum tuum⟩ domine ⟨quesumus propitius respi⟩ce' ⟨adque ab eo p. 75b
fla⟩gella ⟨tue iracundie clementer auerte; per⟩

35

⟨LECTIO LIBRI DEUTERONOMII⟩ ⟨In diebus illis orauit moyses ad dominum
dice⟩ns; . . . corde tuo. . . et mandata ⟨ad⟩que i⟨udicia. et obbedias eius im⟩-
peri⟨o⟩; Et dominus elegit ⟨te hodi⟩e [lac.]

⟨DOMINICA II QUADRAGESIME⟩

36

[lac.] | istum' et ipse ex eo uiuit' et filii eius. et pecora eius; Respondit ei p. 70a
iesus et dixit' omnis . . . ⟨ora⟩uerunt. et uos dicitis quia in hie'rusolimis ⟨est⟩
locus ⟨ubi⟩ adorare ⟨o⟩portet; Dicit ei' iesus' mulie'r crede michi ⟨quia uenie⟩t
⟨ho⟩ra quando ⟨neque⟩ in ⟨mo⟩nte hoc' neque in h'ieruso'limis ⟨adorabitis
patrem; Vos ad⟩oratis quod nescit(is' nos) . . . ⟨ciuitatem'⟩ et dicit illis p. 70b
⟨hominibus'⟩ uenite ⟨et uidete⟩ hominem qui dixit ⟨michi omnia quecumque feci.
| num⟩quid ipse est christus; ⟨Exier⟩unt ergo de ciuitatem ⟨et ue⟩niebant ad p. 69a
eum; In⟨terea ro⟩gabant ⟨eum⟩ discipuli ⟨d⟩icentes; rābbi man⟨duca⟩' ille autem
dixit eis' ego ci'uum habeo mandu⟨care⟩ quem uos nescitis; ⟨Dice⟩bant ergo
discipuli ⟨adin⟩uicem' numquid ⟨aliqui⟩d adtulit ei mandu⟨care;⟩ Dicit eis
iesus; meus ⟨ciuius⟩ est ut faciam uolun⟨tate⟩m eius. qui misit me ⟨ut perfi⟩ciam
opus eius; ⟨Nonn⟩e uos dicitis. quia ⟨adh⟩uc quadtuor menses ⟨sunt'⟩ et messis
uenit; ⟨Ego⟩ dico uobis' leuate ⟨oculo⟩s uestros et uidete regio⟨nes.⟩ quia albe
sunt iam ⟨ad m⟩essem; Et qui me⟨tit' m⟩ercedem accipit' ⟨et⟩ congregat fruc-
t⟨um in uitam e⟩ter⟨nam. ut et qui sem⟩inat simul gaudeat et qui metit; In hoc
⟨enim est uerbum uerum.⟩ | quia alius est qui seminat et alius est qui metit; p. 69b
Ego misi uos metere quod uos non lauorastis' alii lauorauerunt' et uos in
lauores eorum introistis; Ex ciuitate autem illa' multi crediderunt in eum

34 RL: MRM 67. GREG: Ha 192; Pa 164. GEL8: Ge 336; Sg 309. AM: Sb 309. BEN: Ben19 230ra; Ben29 70vb–71ra; Ben33 28ra–b; Ca 28ra; DaB 57r; Mc127 63a–b; Mc339 70; Mc540 113; McV 56r; Ott 72r.

35 Dt 26:15–18 RL: MRM 67 (Dt 26:15–19 *Respice domine de sanctuario*). BEN: Ben19 230ra–b; Ben29 71ra–b; Ben33 28rb; Ca 28ra–b; DaB 57r; Mc127 63b–64a; Mc540 113–114; McV 56r; Ott 72r–v.

36 Jo 4:12–42 RL: MRM 94–95 (Jo 4:5–42 *Venit dominus in ciuitatem Samariae*). AM: Sb 92v–94r. BEN: Ben33 30rb–31rb; DaB 60r (incipit added in marg.); DaE (34v); DaK 18r–19v; DaO 142.

s(am)aritanorumꝫ propter uerbum mulieris <te>stimonium perhibentisꝫ quia dixit michi omnia quecumque feci (*corr. ?*); Cum uenissent ergo ad illum sama(rita)ni roga(ueru)nt eum ut ibi maneret(;); Et mansit ibi duobus diebusꝫ et multo plures crediderunt in eum propte(r) sermonem eiusꝫ et (*canc. ?*) Et mulieri diceba(n)tꝫ quia iam non propter (t)uam loquellam credimusꝫ Ipsi enim aud(iuim)usꝫ et scimus qu(ia hic est uere s)aluator mundiꝫ

37

<OFFERTORIUM> ♪ Patres nostri in egipto non intellexerunt mira(bilia) tua ♪ [*lac.*]

<FERIA IIII EBD. III QUADRAGESIME>

38

p. 73a

[*lac.*] | Hec dicit dominus(<ꝫ) h(ono)ra pa(tr)em tuum et matrem tua(mꝫ ut) s(i)lon(ge)uus sup(er) te)rram quam dominus deus tu(u)s d(abi)t tibiꝫ Non <occidesꝫ non> mechaberis(<ꝫ) non f(urtum) faciesꝫ non loqueris <con)tra prox(im)um primum tu(um) fals(um) te>stimonium(<); Non <co)ncupis(ce)s domum proxim(i) tui(<) nec d(e)s(i)d(erabi)s uxorem eiusꝫ Non seruum(<ꝫ) non a(nci)ll(amꝫ) n(on) bobem. non as(inumꝫ) nec omnia que <illius sunt;> C(un)ctus a(utem) populus uidebat uoces et <la)mpades et sonitum buccine. montemque fumigantem et perterriti ac pauore concussiꝫ steterunt procul dicentes moysiꝫ | loquere tu nobis c(un)cta(?) et audiemus. n(on) loqua)tur nobis dominus ne fo(r)te mo)riamurꝫ Et ait (moyses) ad populum. nolite t(imere) ut enim probaret u(os uenit) deusꝫ et ut terror illi(us esset) in uobis et non pe(ccare)tisꝫ Stetitque (populus) de longeꝫ moyse(s autem) ac)cessit ad caligin(em in) qua erat deusꝫ D(ixit) preterea dominus ad m(oysen. h)ec dicens filiis israh(el. uos) uidetis quod de ce(lo) locu)tus sum uobisꝫ no(n facie)tis mecum deos a(r)genteos.) nec <deos> aureos fa(cietis uo)bisꝫ Altare d(e) terra) facietis michi(<ꝫ) et offere)tis super (eo) holo(causta) et pacifica uestra(. oues) uestras et bobes in o(mni loco) in quo memoria <fue)rit nominis me(i;>)

p. 73b

39

p. 74a

<GRADUALE> ♪ (Miserere michi domine quoniam | infirmus sum) sana me domine. (V Conturbata sunt omnia) ossa mea <et anima mea turbata est ualde.) ♪

37 Ps 105:7 BEN: Ben30 35r, Ben34 75v–76r, Ben35 36v, Ben38 15v, Ca 30rb.

38 Ex 20:12–24 RL: MRM 90. AM: Sb 108r–v. BEN: Ben19 258vb–259rb, Ben29 88rb–vb, Ben33 41rb–va, Ca 38vb–39ra, DaB 72v–73r, Mc127 91b–92a, Mc540 141–142, McV 70r, Ott 92r–v, Ve 58v–59r.

39 Ps 6:3–4 RL: MRM 90. AMS: 56. BEN: Ben19 259rb, Ben29 88vb, Ben33 41va, Ben34

40

⟨SEQUENTIA SANCTI EUANGELII SECUNDUM MATHEUM⟩ I⟨n illo tempore⟩
 . . . trans⟨grediun⟩tu⟨r⟩ traditionem ⟨seni⟩or⟨um. non enim lauant m⟩anus s⟨uas
 cum panem⟩ ma⟨nducant⟩; Ipse⟨ autem r⟩espondens a⟨it i⟩llis; quare et ⟨uos
 tr⟩an⟨sgr⟩edimi⟨ni mand⟩a⟨tu⟩m dei propter ⟨traditio⟩nem uestram.⁜ ⟨Nam dix⟩it
 deus⁹ honora ⟨patrem t⟩uum et ma⟨trem⁹⟩ et qui maledixe- | . . . procedit ex ore p. 74b
 ⟨hoc coin⟩quina⟨t⟩ h⟨ominem⁹⟩; Tunc ⟨a⟩cc⟨edentes⟩ dis⟨ci⟩puli dixerunt ⟨ei⁹⟩ | p. 90a
 scis quia ⟨farisei audito uerbo scandalizati sunt⟩; At ille respondens ⟨ait⁹ omnis
 planta⟩tio quam ⟨non plantauit⟩ pater meus ⟨celestis e⟩radica⟨bitur⁹⟩; Sinite illos⁹
 ceci sunt et duces cecoru⟨m⟩; ⟨Ce⟩cus autem si ⟨ceco ducatum⟩ pres⟨tet⁹⟩ ambo
 in foueam ca⟨dunt⁹⟩; R⟨esponde⟩ns autem ⟨dixit ei⁹ edi⟩ss⟨e⟩r⟨e nobis parabo-
 lam ist⟩am; ⟨At ille dixit⁹ adhuc⟩ et uos si⟨ne intell⟩ec⟨tu⟩ estis⁹⟨ non ⟨intelle-
 gitis quia⟩ omne ⟨quod in os intra⟩t in ⟨uentrem uadi⟩t in s⟨ecessum emi⟩tti⟨tur⁹⟩;
 Que autem ⟨procedunt de⟩ ore⁹; De corde enim exeunt cogit⟨ationes⟩ ⟨ma⟩le⁹
 homicidia⁹⟨ ad⟨ulteria⁹⟩ fornicationes⁹⟨ furta f⟨alsa testimonia⟩⁹ blasphemie⁹⟨
 hec sunt ⟨que coinquinant hominem⟩; Non lotis autem manibus | manducare p. 90b
 non ⟨coin⟩quinan⟨t⟩ hommine⟨m⟩;⟩

41

⟨OFFERTORIUM⟩ ♪ Domine fac mecum ⟨misericordiam tu⟩am propter nomen
 ⟨tuum⟩ quia sua⟨uis⟩ est ⟨misericordia tua⟩ ♪

42

⟨SECRETA Suscipe quesumus domine prece⟩s p⟨opuli⟩ t⟨ui cum oblationibus⟩
 host⟨iarum⁹⟩ et tua myste⟨ria⟩ celebrante⟨s⁹⟩ ⟨ab⟩ omnibus ⟨nos defende
 peric⟩ulis. ⟨per⟩

85v; Ben35 42r-v; Ben38 22v; Ca 39ra; DaB 73r; Mc127 92a; Mc540 142; Mc546 71; McV 70r; Ott 92v; PuV 10v-11r; Ve 59r.

40 Mt 15:1-20 RL: MRM 90-91 (*Quare discipuli tui transgrediuntur traditionem*). BEN: Ben19 259rb-vb; Ben29 88vb-89va; Ben33 41va-42ra; Ca 39ra-b; DaB 73r-v; Mc127 92a-93b; Mc540 142-143; McV 70r-v; Ott 92v-93v; Ve 59r-v.

41 Ps 108:21 RL: MRM 91. AMS: 56. BEN: Ben19 260ra; Ben29 89va; Ben33 42ra; Ben34 85v-86r; Ben35 42v; Ben38 22v-23r; Ca 39rb; DaB 73v; Mc127 93b; Mc540 143; Mc546 71; McV 70v; Ott 93v; PuV 11r; Ve 59v.

42 RL: MRM 91. SAC: Va (1339). GREG: Ha 241; Pa 214. GEL8: Ge 423; Sg 373. AM: Sb 370. BEN: Ben19 260ra; Ben29 89va; Ben33 42ra; Ca 39rb; DaB 73v; Mc127 93b; Mc339 82; Mc540 143; McV 70v; Ott 93v; Ve 59v.

43

⟨COMMUNIO⟩ ♪ No(tas michi fecisti uias uite adimplebis me letitia cum uultu tuo domine.) ♪

44

⟨COMP. Sanctificet nos domine qua pa)sti sumus m(ensa celestis. et) a cum(ctis erroribus ex)piatos. su(pernis promissionibus) re(ddat) ac(ceptos; per.)

45

p. 89a

⟨ORATIO SUPER POPULUM⟩ D(e)nde domine pleb(em tu)am. et toto t(ibi) corde prostrat(um ab ho)stium tu(ere formidine nec | b)ona tua deificoiter (inu)eniat pro quibus et (sancti t)ui. et angelice tibi (sup)plicant poteritas. per

⟨FERIA V EBD. III QUADRAGESIME⟩

46

⟨INTROITUS⟩ ♪ (Salus) populi ego sum dicit domi(nus de qu)acumque tribula(tione) clama(uerint a)d me exaudiam eos et ero illo(rum d)ominus in perpetuum. (Gloria se)culorum amen(;) ♪

47

⟨ORATIO D)a quesumus domine rex eterne cunctorum(;) ut sa(c)ro nos purifi-cante (iciu)nio(sincel(b?)ris quoque (men)tibus ad sancta uen(tura nos) facias peruenire. per.

48

⟨LECTIO HIEREMIE PROPHETE I)n diebus illis factum (e)st uerbum domini ad

43 Ps 15:10 RL: MRM 91. AMS: 56. BEN: Ben19 260ra; Ben29 89va; Ben33 42ra; Ben34 86r; Ben35 42v; Ben38 23r; Ca 39rb-va; DaB 73v; Mc127 93b; Mc540 143; Mc546 71; McV 71r; Ott 93v; Ve 59v.

44 RL: MRM 91. GREG: Ha 242; Pa 215. GEL8: Ge 424; Sg 374. AM: Sb 372. BEN: Ben19 260ra; Ben29 89va; Ben33 42ra; Ca 39va; DaB 73v; Mc127 93b; Mc339 82-83; Mc540 143; McV 71r; Ott 93v; Ve 59v.

45 SAC: Va 214. GEL8: Ge 425; Sg 375. BEN: DaB (74v); Mc339 (84); Mc127 (95b); Mc339 (84); Mc540 (145); McV (71v-72r); Ott (95r).

46 RL: MRM 91. AMS: 57a. BEN: Ben19 260vb; Ben29 89vb; Ben33 42ra; Ben34 86r-v; Ben35 42v; Ben38 23r; Ca 39va; DaB 73v; Mc127 94a; Mc540 143-144; Mc546 72; McV 71r; Ott 93v; PuV 11r; Ve 59v-60r.

47 SAC: Va (206). GEL8: Ge 426; Sg 376. AM: Sb 373. BEN: Ben33 42ra; Ve 60v (*Oratio super populum*).

me dicens: Sta in porta domus domini et predica in ea uerbum istud; Audite uerbum domini omnis | iuda qui ingredimini per portas has. ut adoretis dominum; Hec dicit dominus exercituum deus israhel. bonas facite uias uestras et studia uestra et habitabo uobiscum in loco isto; Nolite confidere in uerbis mendicibus dicentes: templum domini templum domini templum domini; Quoniam si bene dixeritis uias uestras et studia uestra si feceritis iudicium inter uirum et proximum (eius.) ad(uene) et pupillo non feceritis calumniam et sang(ui)nem in(nocent)em non effuderitis in loco hoc et post eos alienos non ambulaueritis in malum uobismetipsis ha)bitabo uobiscum in loco isto in terra qua(m) dedi patribus (uestri)s a seculo usque in secul(um) ait dominus omnipotens;

p. 89b

49

(GRADUALE) | ♪ Oculi omnium in te sperant domine et tu das illis escam in tempore oportuno. (V) Aperis tu ma(num) tu(am) et imple omne animal benedictione.) ♪

p. 56a

50

(SEQUENTIA SANCTI EUANGELII SECUNDUM LUCAM) I(n illo) tempore. surgens iesus de synagoga introybit in domum symonis socrus autem symonis tenebatur magnis febribus; Et rogabant illum pro ea et stans super illam imperauit febribus et dimisit illam; Et continuo surgens ministrabat illi; Cum sol autem occidisset. omnes qui habebant infirmos uariis languoribus ducebant illos ad eum (at i)ll(e manus singu)l(is) | manus inponen(s) curabat eos; E(x-)ibat autem demoni(a a) multis. claman(tia et) dicentia quia tu (es fili)us dei et increpa(ns) non sinebat ea loq(ui.) quia sciebat ipsu(m es)se christum; Facta a(utem die) egressus ibat in de(ser)tum locum. et turb(e re)quirebant eum e(t) uenerunt usque ad (ipsum.) et tenebant illum (ne di)scederet hab eis et qu(ibus) ille ait quia et a(liis) ciuitatibus opor(tet) me eduangeliza(re) regnum dei; Quia (ad hoc) missus sum et era(t) predicans in synag(ogis) galilee.

p. 56b

48 Ier 7:1–7 RL: MRM 92. AM: Sb 109r–v. BEN: Ben19 260vb–261ra; Ben29 89vb–90ra; Ben33 42ra–b; Ca 39va–b; DaB 74r, Mc127 94a–b; Mc540 144; McV 71r, Ott 94r, Ve 60r.

49 Ps 144:15–16 RL: MRM 92. AMS: 57a. BEN: Ben19 261ra; Ben29 90ra; Ben33 42rb; Ben34 86v; Ben35 42v–43r; Ben38 23r–v; Ca 39vb; DaB 74r, Mc127 94b; Mc540 144; Mc546 72; McV 71r–v; Ott 94r, PuV 11r, Ve 60r.

50 Lc 4:38–44 RL: MRM 92. BEN: Ben19 261ra–b; Ben29 90ra–va; Ben33 42rb–va; Ca 39vb–40ra; DaB 74r–v, Mc127 94b–95a; Mc540 144–145; McV 71v, Ott 94r–v.

51

p. 55a

⟨OFFERTORIUM⟩ ♪ Si ambulabero in me⟨dio⟩ tribulationis uiuifica⟨bis me domine et super iram | inimic⟩orum meorum ex⟨tendens ma⟩num tua⟨m⟩ et s⟨aluum⟩ me ⟨feci⟩ dextera tua⟨.⟩ ♪

52

⟨SECRETA Deus de⟩ cuius gratie rore descendit⟨.⟩ ut ad mysteria tua purga⟨tis s⟩ensibus accedamus⟨. presta quesumus⟩ ut ad eorum tra⟨diti⟩one⟨m⟩ sollemniter ho⟨no⟩randa⟨m⟩. competens ⟨defer⟩amus obsequium. per.

53

⟨COMMUNIO⟩ ♪ ⟨Tu⟩ mandasti mandata tua custodiri ⟨nimis utinam dirigantur uie mee ad custo⟩diend⟨as iustificationes tu⟩as. ♪

54

⟨COMP. S⟩acramenti tui domine ⟨ueneranda perceptio. et mystico nos mundet effectū.⟩ et ⟨perpetua uirtute defendat. per.⟩

55

p. 55b

⟨ORATIO SUPER POPULUM Concede quesumus omnipotens deus. ut qui pro⟩tec⟨tionis tue gratiam querimus liberati a malis⟩ | omnibus segura tibi mente ser⟨uia⟩mus. per.

⟨FERIA VI EBD. III QUADRAGESIME⟩

56

⟨INTROITUS⟩ ♪ Fac mecu⟨m do⟩mine sig⟨num in bonu⟩m ut uideant ⟨qui me oderunt

51 Ps 137:7 RL: MRM 92. AMS: 57a. BEN: Ben19 261rb–va; Ben29 90va; Ben33 42va; Ben34 86v–87r; Ben35 43r; Ben38 23v–24r; Ca 40ra; DaB 74v; Mc127 95a–b; Mc540 145; Mc546 72; McV 71v; Ott 94v; PuV 11r–v; Ve 60v.

52 SAC: Va (212). GEL8: Ge 428; Sg 378. AM: Sb (374). BEN: Ben19 261va; Ben29 90va; DaB 74v; Mc127 95b; Mc339 83–84; Mc540 145; McV 71v; Ott 94v–95r; Ve 60v.

53 Ps 118:4–5 RL: MRM 93. AMS: 57b. BEN: Ben19 261va; Ben29 90va; Ben33 42va; Ben34 87r; Ben35 43v; Ben38 24r; Ca 40ra; DaB 74v; Mc127 95b; Mc540 145; Mc546 72–73; McV 71v; Ott 95r; PuV 11v; Ve 60v.

54 SAC: Va (208). GEL8: Ge 430; Sg 379. AM: Sb 377. BEN: Ben19 261va; Ben29 90va–b; DaB 74v; Mc127 95b; Mc339 84; Mc540 145; McV 71v; Ott 95r; Ve 60v.

55 RL: MRM (91). GREG: Ha (243); Pa (216). GEL8: Ge 431; Sg 380. BEN: Ben19 (260ra); Ben29 (89va–b); Ben33 (42ra); Ca (39va); DaB (73v); Mc127 (94a); Mc339 (83); Mc540 (143); McV (71r); Ott (93v); Ve (59v).

et confundantur quo)nia(m tu domine adiuuasti me et consolatus) es me. (Ps. Inclina d(omine.) ↓

57

⟨ORATIO⟩ Ieiunia ⟨nostra⟩ quesumus domine beni(gno fauore pro)sequere: ut sicut ab alimento in corpore ita a uitiis iei(une)mus in mente; per.

58

⟨LECTIO LIBRI NUMERI⟩ In diebus illis conuenerunt ⟨filii⟩ israhel ad moysen et aaron. et uersi in seditionem dixerunt. da nobis aquam ut uiuamus: ingressique moyses et aaron: dimissa multitudinem ad tauernaculum federis. corruerunt proni in terra: clamaueruntque ad [lac.]

⟨SABBATO EBD. III QUADRAGESIME⟩

59

[lac.] | -rerunt ad eam. et dixerunt; Ecce ostia pomerii clausa sunt(:) et nemo ⟨nos⟩ uidet(.) quam ob rem assentire nobis(.) et commiscere nobiscum; Quod si nolueri(s: dice)mus testim(onium contra) te(:) quod ⟨fuerit tecum iuue)nis: et ob h(anc c)ausam emiseris puellas a (t)e:; Ingemuit susa(nn)a et ait(:;) angustie michi sunt undique(.) si e(nim) h(oc egero: mo)rs michi (e)st. si ⟨autem⟩ no(n egero: non ef)fugia(m) manus uestras; ⟨Sed m)elius ⟨est michi absque opere⟩ incidere ⟨in manus uestras): qua(m pecca)re in conspectu ⟨domini:; Et ⟨ex)clamaui uoce magna susanna: exclamauerunt autem et senex ad(uers)us eam; Cum autem aud(issent cla)morem in pomerio ⟨fa)muli domus: ⟨irruerunt⟩ per posticum: ut uiderent quis(nam esset:;) P(ostquam) | autem locuti sunt sen(ex:) erubuerunt serui uae(he)menter. quia nu(m)quam ⟨dictus fuerat serm)o huiusce-

p. 58a

p. 58b

56 Ps 85:17 RL: MRM 93. AMS: 58. BEN: Ben19 262rb; Ben29 90vb; Ben33 42vb; Ben34 87r-v; Ben35 43v; Ben38 24r; Ca 40rb; DaB 74v-75r; Mc127 95b; Mc540 145-146; Mc546 73; McV 72r; Ott 95r; PuV 11v-12r; Ve 60v.

57 RL: MRM 93. GREG: Ha 248; Pa 221. GEL8: Ge 432; Sg 381. AM: Sb 378. BEN: Ben19 262rb; Ben29 90vb; Ben33 42vb; Ca 40rb; DaB 75r; Mc127 95b-96a; Mc339 84; Mc540 146; McV 72r; Ott 95r; Ve 60v.

58 Num 20:2-3, 6 RL: MRM 93-94 (Num 20:2-3, 6-13). AM: Sb 110r-v. BEN: Ben19 262rb-vb; Ben29 90vb-91rb; Ben33 42vb-43ra; Ca 40rb-va; DaB 75r; Mc127 96a-b; Mc540 146; McV 72r; Ott 95r-v; Ve 60v-61r.

59 Dan 13:19-62 RL: MRM 96-98 (Dan 13:1-62 *Erat uir in Babylone*). BEN: Ben19 265ra-266vb; Ben29 93rb-95va; Ben33 43va-45ra; Ca 41va-42va; DaB 76v-78v; Mc127 99b-103a; Mc540 149-152; McV 73v-75r; Ott 97v-99v; Ve 62v-63v.

- mo(di de) susanna; Die autem <pos>tera' conuenit pop(ulus) ad <uir>um eius ioach(im:) et surrexerunt duos sen(ex) pleni iniqua cogitati(o)ne' aduersus susann(am) ut interficerent ea(m:); Et dixerunt coram <po>pulo; mittite ad su(san)nam filiam <h>e(lc)hie u(xo)rem ioachim(:) statim miserunt(:) et uenit <cum> parentibus' et filiis(:) et uniuersis cognatis s(uis:); Flebant igitur sui et <omnes> qui nouerant eam; Consurgentes autem <duo> senex in medio pop(uli:) posuerunt manus su(per) caput eius' que flen(s) suspexit ad celum(:) erat enim cor eius | fid(uciam) habens in domino; <E>t dixerunt senex' cum <de>ambularemus in po(meri)o soli(:) ingressa est hec <cu>m duabus puellis' clau(sit) hostia pomerii' et di(mis)it puellas. uenitque <ad> eam adolescens qui <er>at absconditus. et con(cu)buit cum ea; Porro <no>s cum essemus in an(gu)lo pomerii. uidentes <in>iquitatem cucurrimus <a>d eos. et uidimus eos <p>ariter commisceri' <et> illum quidem non qui(u)mus comprehendere <qu>ia fortior nobis erat <et> apertis hostiis exiliuit; <H>anc autem cum aprehen(di)ssemus' interrogauim(us) quisnam esset ado(les)scens' et noluit indi(ca)re nobis. huius r(ei) te(ste)s sumus; Cred(idit eis) multitudo quasi seni(bu)s p(opu)l(i) et i(udicibus) et con(dempnauerunt) eam ad mortem; Exclamauit uoce magna susanna' et dixit; Deus eterne qui absconditorum es conditor(.) qui nosti omnia antequam fiant(. t)u scis quia falsum contra me tulerunt testimonium et ecce morior. et ecce morior cum nichil or(um) f(ecerim) que <i>sti malitiose composuerunt aduersum me(:); Exaudiu(it) dominus uocem eius; Cumque duceretur ad mortem(.) suscitauit deus spiritum sanctum pueri iunioris' cui nomen daniel; Et exclamauit uoce magna' mundus ego sum a sanguine huius' et conuersus omnis pop(u)lus ad eum dixit; Que(m?) est sermo <iste> quem locutus es. qui cum staret in medio eorum ait; sic fatui filii israhel non iudicantes neque quod uerum est cognoscentes' condem(nastis) filiam israhe(l; Reuertimini) | ad iudicium' quia falsum testimonium locuti sunt aduersus eam; Reuersus est ergo populus cum festinatione(:) et dixit ad eos daniel; Separate <i>l)los ab inuice(m) pro(cul:) et diiudicabo eos; Cum ergo diuisi essent alter <ab> altero' uocauit unum de eis et dixit ad eum; inueterate dierum mala(rum.) nunc uenerunt peccata <tua> que operaberis prius(.) iudicans iudicia iniusta(.) innocentem oprimes' et dimitte noxias(.) dicente domino' innocentem et iustum non in(ter)ficiēs; Nunc ergo si uidisti eam dic michi sub qua arbore uideris eos loquentes si(bi:); Qui ait' sub <cin>o(.) dixit autem daniel' recte mentitus es in caput <tuum>;) Ecce (enim) angelus dei accepta sententiam ab eo scindet | te medium; Et <am>moto eum' iussi(t) uenire alium et di(xit) ei; Semen chan(aan) et non iuda. speci(es) de(cepit) te. concup(iscen)tia subuertit cor <tuum>) sic faciebatis filia(bus) israhel(.) et ille timente(s) loque(ba)n(tur) uobiscum. s(et) non filia iuda sustinui(t) iniquitatem uestram; Nunc ergo si uidist(i. dic) michi sub qua arb(ore) comprehenderis eo(s) loquentes sibi; Qui a(it') sub prino' dixit

autem <ei> daniel. recte men<(ti)>tus es et tu in capud t<(u)um;> Manet enim angelu<(s)> d<(ei)> gladium haben<(s)> ut seces te medium<.)> et int<(er)>ficiad uos;> Exclamaui<(t)> ita<(que omnis cetu)>s uoce magna. et benedixerunt d<(eum)> qui saluat sp<(eran)>tes i<(n)> se;> Et consur<(rexerunt)> aduersus duos <(pres)>byteros<(>) conuicerat <(eni)>m eos dan<(ie)>l ex ore <(suo)> falsum <(dixisse testim)>onium;> Fecer<(untque eis)> sicuti male ege<(rant)> aduersus proxi<(mu)>m et inter<(fecerunt eos)>; Et saluatus <(est sa)>nguine innoxius in d<(ie illa)>;

p. 87a

60

<(GRADUALE)> ♪ S<(i am)>bulem in me<(dio umbre)> mortis non time<(bo)> mala <(quoniam tu mecum)> es domine. <(V)> Vir<(ga tua et uacu)>lus tuus ipsa me <(con)>solata sunt. ♪

61

<(SEQUENTIA SANCTI EUANGELII SECUNDUM IOHANNEM)> In illo tempore< > <(pe)>rrexit <(iesus)> in montem oli<(ue)>ti. et diluculo iterum uenit in templum< > | et omnis populus uenit ad eum. et sedens docebat eos.,. Adducunt autem scribe et pharisei mulierem in adulterio depre<(he)>nsam. <(et)> statu<(erunt in medio)> . . . <(la)>pidare< > <(tu ergo quid di)>cis;> Hec autem <(dicebant tem)>ptant<(es eum ut possent)> accusar<(e)> eu<(m)>; Iesus autem incli<(nans se deorsum digito scribebat)> in terra;> Cum autem p<(er)>seuerarent interrogantes e<(um)> erexit se <(et di)>xit eis;> qui sine peccato est uestrum<(>) primus in illam lapidem mittat, Et iterum <(se)> incli<(na)>ns scribebat <(in)> terra<(>); Audientes autem <(unus)> post unum exiebant< > incipientes a senioribus;> | Et reman<(sit solus iesus)> . . .

p. 87b

p. 71a

62

<(OFFERTORIUM)> . . .

63

<(SECRETA)> . . .

60 Ps 22:4 RL: MRM 98. AMS: 59. BEN: Ben19 266vb; Ben29 95va; Ben33 45ra; Ben34 88v; Ben35 44r-v; Ben38 24v (*des. mutil.*); Ca 42va-b; DaB 78v; Mc127 103a-b; Mc540 152; Mc546 74; McV 75r; Ott 99v-100r; PuV 12v; Ve 63v-64r.

61 Jo 8:1-11 RL: MRM 98-99. BEN: Ben19 266vb-267rb; Ben29 95va-96ra; Ben33 45ra-b; Ca 42va (*des. mutil.*); DaB 78v; Mc127 103b-104a; Mc540 152-153; McV 75r-v; Ott 100r; Ve 64r.

62-63 [illegible]

64

⟨COMMUNIO⟩ ♪ ⟨Nemo te condempnauit mulier nemo domine nec ego⟩ te condempna(bo iam) a(m)plius noli peccare. ♪

65

p. 71b

⟨COMP. | Quesumus⟩ omnipotens deus: u(t) inter eius m(embra) numerem(ur): (cuius) corpore comm(unicamus) et sangu(ine:; per.)

66

⟨ORATIO SUPER POPULUM Pretende⟩ domine ⟨fidelibus tuis dexteram celestis auxilii. ut et te toto cor(de perquirant et que digne p)ostulant (consequi mereantur. per.)

⟨DOMINICA IIII QUADRAGESIME⟩

67

⟨INTROITUS⟩ ♪ ⟨Letare iherusalem et conuentum⟩ faci(te omnes qui diligitis eam) . . . ♪

68

p. 72a

⟨ORATIO | C)oncede quesumus omnipotens deus ut qui ex merito nostre actionis affli(gim)ur: tue gratie con(sola)tione respiremus. per(.)

69

⟨LECTIO LIBRI DEUTERONOMII In⟩ diebus illis uoca(u)it moyses omnem (is-rahe)lem. et dixit ad (eum): Audi israhel ceremo(ni)as adque iudicia. que (eg)o loquor in auribus (uestris) hodie. discite ea (et op)ere complete; Dominus (deus

64 Jo 8:10–11 RL: MRM 99. AMS: 59. BEN: Ben19 267rb; Ben29 96ra; Ben33 45rb; Ben34 89v; Ben35 44v; DaB 79r; Mc127 104a; Mc540 153; Mc546 74–75; McV 75v; Ott 100v; PuV 13r; Ve 64r.

65 RL: MRM 99. SAC: Va (112). GREG: Ha 254; Pa 228. AM: Sb 386. BEN: Ben19 267rb; Ben29 96ra; Ben33 45rb; DaB 79r; Mc127 104a; Mc339 86; Mc540 153; McV 75v; Ott 100v; Ve 64r–v.

66 RL: MRM 99. GREG: Ha 255; Pa 229. GEL8: Ge (448). BEN: Ben19 267rb; Ben29 96ra–b; Ben33 45rb; DaB 79r; Mc127 104a–b; Mc339 86; Mc540 153; McV 75v; Ott 100v; Ve 64v.

67 Is 66:10–11 RL: MRM 99. AMS: 60. BEN: Ben19 270rb; Ben29 96rb; Ben30 38r; Ben33 45rb; Ben34 89v; Ben35 45r; DaB 79r; DaO 155; Mc127 104b; Mc540 153; Mc546 75; McV 75v; Ott 100v; PuV 13r; Ve 64v.

68 RL: MRM 99. GREG: Ha 256. GEL8: Ge 443; Sg 391. BEN: Ben19 270rb; Ben29 96rb; Ben30 38r; Ben33 45rb; DaB 79r; DaO 156; Mc127 104b; Mc339 86; Mc540 153–154; McV 76r; Ott 100v; Ve 64v.

69 Deut 5:1–9, 22.

noſte)r pepigit nobiſcum <fed>uſ in oreb;; Non cum <pa>tribus noſtris inihit
 <pac>tum; ſet nobiſcum <qui> in preſentiarum ſu<mu>ſ. et uim;; Facie <ad> fa-
 ciem locuſtuſ eſt <no>biſ in monte de medio <ign>iſ. et ego ſequeſter < ? >; et me-
 diuſ fui inter <domin>um. et uoſ in tempore illo (ut annuntiarem u)obiſ <uerba
 eiuiſ;; Timu>|iſtiſ enim ignem; et non aſcendiſtiſ in montem<?> et ait; ego
 <do>minu<ſ> deu<ſ> qui educit te de ter<ra e>gipti <?> et de <d>omo ſ<eru>itu<ſ>tiſ;
 Non habebiſ deoſ alie<no>ſ in conſpec<tu meo>; non facieſ tibi ſculptilem
 <corr.>; nec ſimilitudinem omnium que in celo ſunt deſuper<?> et que in terra
 deorſum<?> et que uerſantur in aquis ſub terra<?> non adorabiſ ea neque coles;
 Ego enim ſum dominuſ deuſ tuuſ deuſ emulator;; Hec uerba locuſtuſ eſt domi-
 nuſ ad omne<m> multitudinem filiorum iſrahel. et docu<it> eoſ precepta uite;;

p. 72b

70

<LECTIO EPISTOLE BEATI PAULI APOSTOLI AD GALATOS> Fratres<?> ſcrip-
 tum eſt quoniam abraam duoſ filioſ habuit; unu<m> de ancilla et unum de
 libera;; Set qui de ancilla ſecundum car<nem nat>uſ eſt <?> qui autem [*lac.*]

<FERIA III>

71

[*lac.*] | ♪ a<n>tiquiſ<?> ♪

p. 54a

72

<SEQUENTIA SANCTI EUANGELII SECUNDUM IOHANNEM In ill>o tempore
 iam <d>ie feſto mediante <aſce>ndit ieſuſ in tem<plum>; et docebat;; <Et> mi-
 rabantur iudei <dice>ntes. quomodo <hic li>ttera ſcit; cum <non di>dicerit;
 Reſpon<dit eiſ ieſuſ> et dixit. mea doc<trina> non eſt mea ſet <eiuiſ qui> miſit
 me;; Si quiſ <uolueri>t uoluntatem <eiuiſ fac>ere. cognoscet <de doctri>na utrum
 ex d<eo ſit. an> ego a me <ipſo> lo<quar>; Qui a ſemedipſo <loquit>ur gloriam
 propriam <querit.> qui autem querit <qui miſit ill>u<m>; Hic uerax <eſt et in-
 iuſtiti>a in illo non eſt. <Nonne moysiſ> dedit <uobiſ legem et> nemo ex . . . |
 -ficere;; Reſpondit turba et dixit<;> demonium habes. quiſ te querit interfi-

p. 54b

70 Gal 4:22–23 RL: MRM 99–100 (Gal 4:22–31). BEN: Ben19 270rb–va; Ben29 96rb–vb; Ben30 38r–39r; Ben33 45va; DaB 79r–v; DaO 157; Mc127 104b–105a; Mc540 154; McV 76r; Ott 100v–101r; Ve 64v.

71 Ps 43:2 RL: MRM 104 (*N Deus auribus noſtriſ*). AMS: 62. BEN: Ben19 274va–b; Ben29 99vb; Ben33 48ra; Ben34 91v–92r; Ben35 46r–v; DaB 82r–v; Mc127 110a; Mc540 158–159; Mc546 77; McV 78v; Ott 104v; PuV 14v; Ve 67r.

72 Jo 7:14–31 RL: MRM 104. BEN: Ben19 274vb–275rb; Ben29 99vb–100rb; Ben33 48ra–va; DaB 82v–83r; Mc127 110a–111a; Mc540 159–160; McV 78v–79r; Ott 104v–105r; Ve 67r–v.

cere(⁂) respondit iesus et dixit eis; unum opus feci et omnes autem miramini. Propterea moyses dedit uobis circumcisionem. non quia moyse est set ex patribus. et in sabba(to) circumciditis hominem; Si circumcisionem accipit homo in sabbato ut non soluatur lex moysi. michi indignamini quia totum hominem sanum fecit in sabbato(⁂) Nolite iudicare secundum (faciem) set iustum iudicium iudicate; D(ic)eba(nt) ergo quida(m) ex hierusol(i)mis; nonne hic est quem querunt interficere. (Et ecce) palam loquitur et nichil ei dicu(nt. Num)- . . . | set hunc scimus unde sit. christus autem cum uenerit(⁂) nemo scit unde sit; Clamabat ergo in te(m)plo iesus docens et dicens(⁂) et me scitis. et unde sim scitis? et a me ipso non ueni? set est uerus qui misit me pater quem uos nescitis; Ego scio eum quia ab ipso sum? et (ip)se me misit(⁂); Et si dixero quia nescio eum(⁂) ero similis uobis menda(x); Et scio eum quia ab ipso sum et ipse me misit; Querebant ergo eum adprehendere et nemo misit in illum manus? quia nondum uenenerat hora eius; D(e) t(ur)ba autem multi crediderunt in eum;

p. 53a

73

⟨OFFERTORIUM⟩ ♪ Expectans expectaui dominum et respexit me et exau(diuit) deprecatio(nem) meam et immisit in os meum canticum nouum ymnum | deo nostro. ♪

p. 53b

74

⟨SECRETA⟩ H(ec) hostia quesumus domi(ne emun)det nostra delict(a. et sub)ditorum tibi corpora (mentes)que sanctificent. per.

75

⟨COMMUNIO⟩ ♪ (Le)tabimur in saluta(ri tuo et in no)min(e do)mini de(i nostri magnifica)bimur; ♪

76

⟨COMP. Huius nos domine (percep)tio sacramen(ti mun)det a crimine(. et ad ce)lestia regⁿ/a perduc(at; per.)

73 Ps 39:2–4 RL: MRM 104. AMS: 62. BEN: Ben19 275rb; Ben29 100rb–va; Ben33 48va; Ben34 92r–v; Ben35 46v; DaB 83r; Mc127 111a; Mc540 160; Mc546 77–78; McV 79r; Ott 105r–v; PuV 14v–15r; Ve 67v.

74 RL: MRM 105. GREG: Ha 265. GEL8: Ge (178); Sg (157). AM: Sb 401. BEN: Ben19 275rb; Ben29 100va; Ben33 48va; DaB 83r; Mc127 111a; Mc339 88; Mc540 160; McV 79r; Ott 105v; Ve 67v–68r.

75 Ps 19:6 RL: MRM 105. AMS: 62. BEN: Ben19 275rb; Ben29 100va; Ben33 48va; Ben34 92v; Ben35 47r; DaB 83r; Mc127 111a; Mc540 160; Mc546 78; McV 79r; Ott 105v; PuV 15r; Ve 68r.

76 RL: MRM 105. GREG: Ha 266; Pa 239. GEL8: Ge (435). AM: Sb 401. BEN: Ben19 275rb–

77

⟨ORATIO SUPER POPULUM⟩ Miserere do⟨mine⟩ populo tu⟨o et con⟩tinuis tri⟨bula-
tio⟩nibus lauoran⟨tem propiti⟩us respirare con⟨cede; per.⟩

⟨FERIA IIII⟩

78

⟨INTROITUS⟩ ♪ Dum sanctific⟨atus fuero in uobis⟩ congregabo uos ⟨de uniuersis ter-
ris et⟩ efu⟨nda⟩m super uos a⟨quam⟩ . . . ♪ [lac.]

79

[lac.] | -erunt ergo et im⟨pl⟩euerunt ⟨duodecim⟩ co- . . . q⟨uid⟩ fecerant ⟨signum
di⟩cebant⟨?⟩ quia ⟨hic est uere⟩ propheta. qui uen⟨turus est i⟩n mundum; p. 59a

80

⟨OFFERTORIUM⟩ ♪ ⟨Benedicite⟩ gentes ⟨do⟩minum de⟨um⟩ nos⟨trum et obau⟩dite
uocem laudis eius ⟨qui⟩ po⟨suit anima⟩m meam ad ⟨uita⟩m et non de⟨dit commoueri⟩
p⟨edes⟩ meos benedictus ⟨dominus qui non⟩ amouit deprecationem meam ⟨et miseri-
cord⟩iam suam a me. ⟨Alle⟩luia ♪

81

⟨SECRETA Sup⟩plices ⟨te⟩ domine ⟨ro⟩ga⟨mu⟩s ut his sac⟨rificiis peccat⟩a nostra
. . .

va; Ben29 100va; Ben33 48va; DaB 83r; Mc127 111a-b; Mc339 88-89; Mc540 160; McV 79r; Ott 105v; Ve 68r.

77 RL: MRM 105. GREG: Ha 267; Pa 240. GEL8: Ge 463; Sg 406. AM: Sb 397. BEN: Ben19 275va; Ben29 100va; Ben33 48va; DaB 83r; Mc127 111b; Mc339 89; Mc540 160; McV 79r; Ott 105v; Ve 68r.

78 Ps 36:23-25 RL: MRM 105. AMS: 63a. BEN: Ben29 100va; Ben33 48va-b; Ben34 92v-93r; Ben35 47r; DaB 83r; Mc127 111b; Mc540 160; Mc546 78; McV 79r; Ott 105v; PuV 15r; Ve 68r.

79 Jo 6:13-14 BEN: Ben19 (270vb-271rb, Jo 6:1-14 *Abiit Iesus trans mare Galilaeae*); Ben29 (96vb-97rb); Ben30 (39r-40r); Ben33 49ra-va; DaB (79r-80r); Mc127 (105b-106a); Mc540 (154-155); McV (76r-v); Ott (101v-102r); Ve (65r-v).

80 Ps 65:8-9, 20 RL: MRM 108. AMS: 63a. BEN: Ben29 102vb-103ra; Ben33 49va; Ben34 93v-94r; Ben35 47r-48r; DaB 85r; Mc127 115a; Mc540 163-164; Mc546 79; McV 81r; Ott 108r; PuV 15v-16r; Ve 69v.

81 RL: MRM 108. GREG: Ha 270; Pa 243. GEL8: Ge 466; Sg 409. AM: Sb 404. BEN: Ben29 103ra; Ben33 49va; DaB 85r; Mc127 115a; Mc339 90; Mc540 164; McV 81r; Ott 108r; Ve 69v.

82

p. 59b

⟨COMMUNIO⟩ | ♪ Lutum fecit ex puto dominus ⟨et liniuit oculos meos et abii⟩ et laui et ⟨uidi et credidi deo.⟩ ♪

83

⟨COMP.⟩ . . .

84

⟨ORATIO SUPER POPULUM Pateant aures misericordie domine precibus supplicantum. et ut petentibus desiderata concedas.⟩ fac eos que ⟨tibi⟩ placita sunt p⟨ostulare.⟩; per.⟩

⟨FERIA V⟩

85

⟨INTROITUS⟩ ♪ Letetur cor qu⟨erentiu⟩m ⟨do⟩minum ⟨que⟩rite do⟨minum et confir⟩mamini querite faciem eius ⟨sem⟩pe⟨r. Ps.⟩ Con⟨fitemin⟩i do⟨mino et inuocate nomen ei⟩s⟨.⟩ ♪

86

p. 60a

⟨ORATIO⟩ Presta nob⟨is quesumus domine. ut salutaribus ieiuniis eruditi a noxiis etiam uitiiis abstinentes propitiationem tuam faci⟩lius impetremus.⟩; per.

87

⟨LECTIO LIBRI REGUM⟩ In ⟨di⟩ebus illis. uenit mulier sunamitis ad heliseum prophetam in monte ca⟨r⟩meli. Cumque uidisset ea⟨m⟩ uir dei de contra. ait ad

82 Jo 9:6–7, 11 RL: MRM 108. AMS: 63b. BEN: Ben29 103ra; Ben33 (46vb); Ben34 94r–v; Ben35 48r; DaB 85r; Mc127 115a; Mc540 164; Mc546 79; McV 81r; Ott 108r; PuV 16r; Ve 69v.

83 [illegible]

84 RL: MRM 108. SAC: Va (1195). GREG: Ha 272; Pa 245. GEL8: Ge 468; Sg 411. BEN: Ben29 103ra; Ben33 49va; DaB 85r; Mc127 115a; Mc339 90; Mc540 164; McV 81r; Ott 108r–v; Ve 69v–70r.

85 Ps 104:3–4, 1 RL: MRM 108. AMS: 64. BEN: Ben29 103ra–b; Ben33 49va–b; Ben34 94v; Ben35 48r; DaB 85r; Mc127 115a; Mc540 164; Mc546 79; McV 81r; Ott 108v; PuV 16r; Ve 70r.

86 RL: MRM (90). SAC: Va (244). GREG: Ha (240); Pa (213). GEL8: Ge 469; Sg 412. BEN: Ben33 (41ra–b, 103rb); Ca (87ra, Sabb. 4 Temp. p. Pent.); Mc127 (91a, 256b); Mc339 (82, 188); Mc540 (141, Fer. 4 ebd. 3 Quadr.); McV (69v–70r, 174r); Ott (92r, 266v–267r); Ve (58v, Fer. 4 ebd. 3 Quadr.).

tieti puerum suu(m); Ecce sunamitis (illa.) uade ergo in occursum eius et dic ei. rectene agitur circa (te) et circa uirum tuum., que respondit recte ; Cumque uenisset at uirum dei in montem apprehendit pedes eius. et accessit gyezi. ut ammoueret eam. et ait homo dei. dimitte eam quia anima eius in amaritu(di)ne est; et dominus celauit a me; et non indicauit michi; Que dixit (illi. numquid peti)ui filium a domino (meo. num)quid non dix(i ti)bi (ne illudas) me; Et ille ait (ad gye)z(i.) accinge lu(mbos tuos.) et tolle uaculum (meum) in manu tua; e(t uade;.) Si occurrerit tib(i homo;) non salutes eum(. et si sa)lutaberit te quis(piam.) non respondeas illi et) pone uaculum (meum) super faciem (pueri;.) Porro mater p(ueri ait.) uiuit dominus et ui(uit ani)ma tua non di(mittam) te; Surrexit e(rgo et se)cutus est eam(; Gyezi) autem precesserat (ante) eos; et po-suera(t uacu)lum super fac(iem pu)eri. et non erat (uox) neque sensus; R(euer-sus)que est in occu(rsum eius.) et nuntiauit ei (dicens;) non surrexit p(uer;.) Ingressus est erg(o heliseu)s d(omum et ecce puer) [lac.]

p. 60b

⟨SABBATO⟩

88

[lac.] | ♪ T(ibi domine derelictus est pau)per (pupillo tu) eris (adiutor. V U) quid domine (recessis)ti lo(nge despicias in opportunitati)bus in tri(bu)latio(ne dum superbit impius incenditur pau)p(er.) ♪

p. 34a

89

⟨SEQUENTIA SANCTI EUANGELII SECUNDUM IOHANNEM⟩ . . . -m(o)ni(um meum; quia) sc(i)o unde . . . | . . . uener(at hora eius;.)

p. 34b

90

⟨OFFERTORIUM⟩ ♪ (Factus est dominus firmamentum et refugium) | meum et liberator me(us spe)rabo in eum. ♪

p. 33a

87 4 Reg 4:25–32 RL: MRM 108–109 (Reg 4:25–38). AM: Sb 119v–120r. BEN: Ben29 103rb–104ra; Ben33 49vb–50ra; DaB 85r–86r; Mc127 115b–116b; Mc540 164–165; McV 81r–v; Ott 108v–109r; Ve 70r–v.

88 Ps 9:35, 22–23 RL: MRM 113. AMS: 66. BEN: Ben29 107va; Ben33 51va–b; Ben34 96r–v; Ben35 49r; DaB 88v–89r; Mc127 122a; Mc540 170–171; McV 84v; Ott 113r; PuV 17r; Ve 73r.

89 Jo 8:12–20 RL: MRM 114 (*Ego sum lux mundi*). BEN: Ben29 107va–b; Ben33 51vb*; DaB 89r; Mc127 122a–b; Mc540 171; McV 84v–85r; Ott 113r–v; Ve 73r–v.

90 Ps 17:3 RL: MRM 114. AMS: 66. BEN: Ben29 107vb–108ra; Ben33 51vb; Ben34 96v–97r; Ben35 49r–v; DaB 89r; Mc127 122b–123a; Mc540 171; McV 85r; Ott 113v; PuV 17r–v; Ve 73v.

91

⟨SECRETA⟩ Oblationib(us nostris) quesumus domine placere susce(p)tisꝫ et ad nostr(a)s (e)tiam (re)pell(es com)pell(e propi)tius (uo)luntates(ꝫ) per.

92

⟨COMMUNIO⟩ ♪ (Dominus) regit me et nichil michi (deerit) in loco pas(cue) ibi me (collo)cauit super aquam refectionis (edu)cauit me. ♪

93

⟨COMP.⟩ Sacramenta que sumpsimus domine deus nosterꝫ et spiritali(bus) nos repleant alimen(tis) et corporalibus tuean(tu)r auxiliisꝫ per(.)

94

⟨ORATIO SUPER POPULUM Ple)bem tuam quesumus domine interius (e)x-teriusque restauraꝫ ut quam corporeis n(on uis) delic(t)ationi(bus) i(mped)ire spirita- . . . | -buas propitius inherere celestibus. per.

p. 33b

⟨DOMINICA V QUADRAGESIME⟩

95

⟨INTROITUS⟩ ♪ I(udica) me de(us) et di(scerne causam meam) de gente non sanc(ta ab homine iniquo et doloso) eripe me quia tu es deus (me)us et fo(r)titudo mea. . .) ♪

96

⟨ORATIO Quesumu)s omnipotens deus familiam tuam (pro)pitius respiceꝫ ut te largiente regatur in corpore. (et) te (seruante custo)diatur in mente. per.

91 RL: MRM 114. SAC: Va (1355). GREG: Ha 282; Pa 255. GEL8: Ge 481; Sg 424. AM: Sb 419. BEN: Ben29 108ra; Ben33 51vb; DaB 89r; Mc127 123a; Mc339 93; Mc540 171; McV 85r; Ott 113v; Ve 73v.

92 Ps 22:1–2 RL: MRM 114. AMS: 66. BEN: Ben29 108ra; Ben33 51vb; Ben34 97r; Ben35 49v; DaB 89r–v; Mc127 123a; Mc540 171–172; McV 85r; Ott 113v; PuV 17v; Ve 73v.

93 SAC: Va (550). GREG: Ha (271); Pa (244). GEL8: Ge (467); Sg (410). BEN: Ben29 (103ra); Ben33 (49va); DaB (85r); Mc127 (115a); Mc339 (90); Mc 540 (164); McV (81r); Ott (108r); Ve (69v).

94 SAC: Va 253. GEL8: Ge 483; Sg 42694.

95 Ps 42:1–2 RL: MRM 114–15. AMS: 67a. BEN: Ben29 108ra–b; Ben30 40v; Ben33 51vb–52ra; Ben34 97r; Ben35 49v; DaB 89v; Mc127 123a; Mc540 172; McV 85r; Ott 114r; PuV 17v; Ve 73v.

96 RL: MRM 115. GREG: Ha 285; Pa 258. GEL8: Ge 484; Sg 427. BEN: Ben29 108rb; Ben30 40v–41r; Ben33 52ra; DaB 89v; Mc127 123a; Mc339 94; Mc540 172; McV 85r; Ott 114r; Ve 73v.

97

⟨LECTIO EPISTOLE BEATI PAULI APOSTOLI AD ROMANOS Fratres' chris-
tus autem⟩ assistens ⟨pontifex futuro⟩rum ⟨bonorum per am⟩plius et p(erfectius)
tabernaculum non manufactum' idest . . . | ircorum aut uitulorum set per pro-
prium sanguinem introiuit semel in sancta eterna redemptione inuenta'; Si enim
sang(uis) ircorum aut tauro(rum) et cinis uitule aspersus in(q)uinatos sanctificat
ad emundationem carnis(.) quanto magis sanguis christi qui per spiritum sanc-
tum ⟨se⟩metipsum optulit im(m)aculatum deo. emundauit conscientia(m) nos-
tram ⟨ab⟩ operibus mortuorum ad se(r)uiendum deo uiuenti'; Et ideo noui
testamenti mediator est. ⟨ut⟩ morte intercedente in redemptionem earum pre-
uaricationum' que erant sub priore . . . | qui uocati sunt a(e)terne hereditati(s'
in) christo iesu domino nostro.

p. 48a

p. 48b

98

⟨GRADUALE⟩ ♪ E(ripe) me domine de inimicis meis doce me facere uoluntatem
tuam. ⟨V⟩ Liberator meus ⟨do⟩mine ⟨de⟩ gentib(us) iracundi(s) et insurgentibus in me
exaltabis me a uiro in(quo) eripias me. ♪

99

⟨TRACTUS⟩ ♪ Sepe expugna(ue)runt me a iuuentute mea. ⟨V⟩ Dicat nunc israh(el)
sepe expugnaueru(nt) me a iuuentutem me(a). | . . . ⟨V⟩ . . . domi(nus iustus) c(on-
ci)det ⟨ceruices peccatorum.⟩ ♪

p. 47a

100

⟨SEQUENTIA SANCTI EUANGELII SECUNDUM IOHANNEM⟩ . . . | . . . non
off(e)ndit(ꝝ) q(ua) lucem huius mundi uidet'; ⟨Si autem ambulauerit in nocte of-
fendit q(ua) l(u)x ⟨non est⟩ in eo(ꝝ) h(e)c ait' et p(ost) hec dixit eis' laza(-) [*lac.*]

p. 47b

97 Heb 9:11–15 RL: MRM 115. BEN: Ben29 108rb–va; Ben30 41r–v; Ben33 52ra–b; DaB 89v; Mc127 123a–b; Mc540 172; McV 85r–v; Ott 114r; Ve 73v–74r.

98 Pss 142:9–10, 17:48–49 RL: MRM 115. AMS: 67a. BEN: Ben29 108va; Ben30 41v; Ben33 52rb; Ben34 97v; Ben35 49v; DaB 89v–90r; Mc127 124a; Mc540 172–173; McV 85v; Ott 114r–v; PuV 17v–18r; Ve 74r.

99 Ps 128:1–2, 3–4 RL: MRM 115. AMS: 67a. BEN: Ben29 108va–b; Ben30 41v; Ben33 52rb; Ben34 97v–98r; Ben35 49v–50r; DaB 90r; Mc127 124a; Mc540 173; McV 85v; Ott 114v; PuV 18r; Ve 74r–v.

100 Jo 11:⟨1⟩–11 AM: Sb 122v–124v (Jo 11:1–46 *Erat quidam languens Lazarus*). BEN: Ben33 52rb–53va (Jo 11:1–54).

Mc271b

〈FERIA III POST PASCHA〉

101

p. 32a [lac.] | 〈que〉 su(rsum sunt querite) alleluia. ubi 〈christus〉 est in 〈dexte〉ra dei sedens q(ue sursum sunt sapite alleluia.)

102

〈COMP.〉 . . .

〈FERIA IIII POST PASCHA〉

103

〈INTROITUS〉 . . .

104

〈ORATIO〉 . . .

105

p. 32b 〈LECTIO ACTUUM APOSTOLORUM〉 In 〈diebus illis aperiens〉 | p(etru)s os suum dixit' uiri israhelite et 〈qui〉 timetis 〈deum audite;〉 Deu)s abrah(am deus isaac') et deus iacob 〈deus〉 p(atrum nostrorum) glorifi(cauit filium) suum iesum. 〈quem uos quidem tradidistis et negastis ante faciem pilati' iudicante. illo〉 〈dimitti;〉 Uos autem 〈sanctum et iustum〉 negastis. 〈et petistis uirum〉 homo(cidam donari uob)is'; Auctorem uero uit'e inter(fecistis quem deus) susci(tauit a) mortuis' 〈cuius nos tes)tes sumus'; Et nunc fratres' scio quia〉 per 〈ignorantiam fec)istis 〈sicut et principes uestri;〉 D(eus autem qui prenuntiauit per hos omnium prophetarum' pati christum suum' impleuit sic; p. 31a Penitemini ergo et conuertit|mini.) ut 〈delean)tur uestra peccata;〉

106

〈GRADUALE〉 . . .

101 Col 3:1–2 RL: MRM 217 (*Si consurrexistis*). AMS: 82. BEN: Ben29 183ra; Ben30 81v; Ben33 84vb; Ben34 135r; Ben35 75v; Ben38 56v; Ben39 39r; Ben40 32r; Ca 67vb; DaB 151r; Mc127 224a; McV 153v; Ott 234v; Ve 112r.

102–104 [illegible]

105 Ac 10:34, 13:16, 3:13–15, 17–19 RL: MRM 217. LEC: Z6 Ep. BEN: Ben29 183rb–va; Ben33 85ra; Ca 68ra; DaB 151v; Mc127 224b–225a; McV 153v; Ott 235r; Ve 112v.

106 [illegible]

107

⟨ALLELUIA⟩ . . .

108

⟨SEQUENTIA SANCTI EUANGELII SECUNDUM IOHANNEM⟩ I(n) . . . | autem
iam factoꝝ stetit iesus in litoreꝝ non ta(men cognouerunt e)um d(iscipuli quia)
iesu(s ess)et. ⟨D⟩ic(it ergo eis iesusꝝ) . . . | . . . |

p. 31b

p. 23a,b

109

⟨OFFERTORIUM⟩ . . .

110

⟨SECRETA⟩ . . . | . . . ; per(.)

p. 24a

111

⟨COMMUNIO⟩ . . . i(ſ)li ⟨ultra⟩ n(on dominabitur alleluia alleluia.)

112

⟨COMP. Ab omni⟩ nos ⟨quesumus⟩ d(omine uetusta)te pur(gatos sacramen)t(i)
tui uene(randa perceptio. in nouam transferat) creatura(m; per.)

⟨FERIA V POST PASCHA⟩

113

⟨INTROITUS⟩ Victricem ⟨manum tuam⟩ domine ⟨laudauerunt parit)e(r) alleluia ⟨quia
sapientia aperuit os mutum et linguas infantium facit) d(isertas alleluia alleluia.)

107 [illegible]

108 Jo 21:1–14 RL: MRM 218 (*Manifestauit se Iesus discipulis suis*). LEC: Z6 VI Ev. BEN: Ben29 183va–184rb; Ben30 82v–83v; Ben33 85ra–va; Ca 68ra–va; DaB 151v–152r, DaE 84r–85v; Mc127 225a–226a; McV 154r; Ott 235v–236r; Ve 112v–113r.

109–110 [illegible]

111 Rom 6:9 RL: MRM 218 (*Christus resurgens*). AMS: 83. BEN: Ben29 184rb; Ben30 84r; Ben33 85va; Ben34 137r; Ben35 76v; Ben38 57v; Ben39 40v; Ben40 33r–v; Ca 68va; DaB 152v; Mc127 226a; McV 154v; Ott 236r–v; Ve 113r.

112 RL: MRM 218. GREG: Ha 411; Pa 350 Z6 VI.3. GEL8: Ge 763. AM: Sb 602. BEN: Ben29 184rb; Ben30 84r; Ben33 85va; Ca 68va; DaB 152v; Mc127 226a; Mc339 158–159; McV 154v; Ott 236v; Ve 113r.

113 Sap 10:20–21 RL: MRM 219. AMS: 84. BEN: Ben29 184rb; Ben30 84r; Ben33 85va–b; Ben34 137r; Ben35 76v; Ben38 57v–58r; Ben39 40v–41r; Ben40 33v; Ca 68vb; DaB 152v; Mc127 226a; McV 154v; Ott 236v; Ve 113r.

114

p. 24b <ORATIO> . . . | . . .

115

p. 25a <LECTIO ACTUUM APOSTOLORUM> . . . <ad>iun|<ge> te ad <currum istum<:>
Accurren)s autem <philippus audiuit> e<um legentem> esaiam prop<hetam>; E<t
p. 25b dixit< putasne intellegis> que <legis. qui> ait< et quomo<do po>ssum . . . quoniam
tolletur <de terra> ui<ta eius<; Respondens> | autem eunuchus philippo dixit<
obsecro te de q<u>o propheta dicit hoc. de <se> an de alio aliquo. Aperiens autem
philippus os suum. et <inci>piens a scrip<tura> ista euangeli<z>auit illi iesum<;>
p. 26a Et dum . . . | . . .

116

<GRADUALE> . . .

117

<ALLELUIA> . . .

118

<SEQUENTIA SANCTI EUANGELII SECUNDUM IOHANNEM> I<n illo tempore>
p. 26b . . . <ui>dit duos a<ngelos> in alb<is sedentes unum> ad caput <et unum> ad <pedes
ubi po>situm fuerat | corpus ies<u> . . . ad p<atre>m me<um>;> Vade autem ad
p. 18a fratres meos | et <dic> eis. Ascendo ad p<atrem meum> et <patrem uestrum> . . .

119

<OFFERTORIUM> . . .

120

p. 18b <SECRETA> . . . | . . . tur . . . termini . . . dant<.>

114 [illegible]

115 Ac 8:26–40 RL: MRM 219 (*Angelus domini locutus est ad Philippum*). LEC: Z6 VII ep. BEN: Ben29 184va–185rb; Ben33 85vb–86ra; Ca 68vb–69rb; DaB 152v–153r; Mc127 226b–227b; McV 154v–155r; Ott 236v–237v; Ve 113v.

116–17 [illegible]

118 Jo 20:11–18 RL: MRM 220 (*Maria stabat ad monumentum*). LEC: Z6 VII Ev. BEN: Ben29 185rb–va; Ben30 85r–v; Ben33 86rb; Ca 69rb–va; DaB 153v; DaE 86r–v; Mc127 227b–228a; McV 155r–v; Ott 237v–238r; Ve 114r.

119–120 [illegible]

121

⟨COMMUNIO⟩ . . .

122

⟨COMP.⟩ . . .

⟨FERIA VI POST PASCHA⟩

123

⟨INTROITUS⟩ . . .

124

⟨ORATIO⟩ . . . | ⟨reconciliatione human⟩e fe⟨d⟩ere contulisti. ⟨da menti⟩b⟨us
nostris ut quod⟩ professione celebramus imitemur effectū. per. p. 17a

125

⟨LECTIO ACTUUM APOSTOLORUM⟩ . . . o⟨cto iacentem in gra⟩bato . . . te . . .
ad ⟨dominum;⟩ In I⟨oppe⟩ | fuit quedam discipula tabita nomine quae interpre- p. 17b
ta⟨tur⟩ dicitur dorcas; hec erat plena operibus bonis; et elemo⟨si⟩nis qua⟨s⟩ fa-
ciebat; Factum (est autem in diebus illis quod infir)mata moreretur(;) quam
. . .

121–123 [illegible]

124 RL: MRM 221 (*Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui paschale sacramentum in reconciliatio-
nis*). GREG: Ha 423; Pa 360 Z6 VIII.1. GEL8: Ge 779; Sg 614. AM: Sb 621. BEN: Ben29
185vb–186ra; Ben30 86r; Ben33 86va; Ca 69vb; DaB 154r; Mc127 228b; Mc339 160; McV
155v; Ott 238v–239r; Ve 114v.

125 Act 9:33–37 ff. (*inc.* 9:32?).

INDEX OF LITURGICAL FORMULAS

Note: Nos. 30, 62, 63, 83, 102–104, 106, 107, 109, 110, 114, 116, 117, and 119–123 could not be included because vigorous erasure has left the text practically or entirely illegible. For purpose of convenient reference, the conventions of modern capitalization and standard orthography have been followed.

MUSICAL ITEMS

(* = texts without notation)

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Ad te domine: 14 (Tr. V.) | Laetabimur in salutari: 75 (Com.) |
| Aperis tu: 49 (Gr. V.) | Laetare Ierusalem: 67 (Int.) |
| Benedic anima: 28 (Off.) | Laetetur cor: 85 (Int.) |
| Benedicite gentes: 80 (Off.) | Leuabo oculos: 12 (Off.) |
| Christus resurgens: 111* (Com.) | Liberator meus: 98 (Gr. V.) |
| Confessio: 21 (Int.) | Lutum fecit: 82 (Com.) |
| Confitemini domino: 85 (Int. ps.) | Meditabor: 16 (Off.) |
| Conturbata sunt: 39 (Gr. V.) | Miserere mihi domine: 39 (Gr.) |
| Custodi me domine: 24 (Gr.) | Nemo te condemnauit: 64 (Com.) |
| De necessitatibus: 14 (Tr.) | Notas mihi fecisti: 43 (Com.) |
| De uultu tuo: 24 (Gr. V.) | Oculi omnium: 49 (Gr.) |
| Deus auribus nostris: 71 (Gr. V.) | Patres nostri: 37 (Off.) |
| Dicat nunc Israel: 99 (Tr. V.) | Prolongauerunt: 99 (Tr. V.) |
| Domine | Protector noster: 10 (Gr.) |
| deus salutis: 33 (Int. ps.) | Saepe expugnaverunt me: 99 (Tr.) |
| deus uirtutum: 10 (Gr. V.) | Salus populi: 46 (Int.) |
| fac mecum: 41 (Off.) | Scapulis suis: 2 (Off.), 5 (Com.) |
| Dominus regit me: 92 (Com.) | Si |
| Dum sanctificatus fuero: 78 (Int.) | ambulauero: 51 (Off.) |
| Eripe me domine: 98 (Gr.) | ambulem in medio: 60 (Gr.) |
| Exspectans expectaui: 73 (Off.) | conurrexisti: 101* (Com.) |
| Fac mecum domine: 56 (Int.) | Sicut oculi seruorum: 7 (Int.) |
| Factus est dominus: 90 (Off.) | Tibi domine derelictus: 88 (Gr.) |
| Inclina domine: 56 (Int. ps.) | Tu mandasti: 53 (Com.) |
| Inmittet angelum: 26 (Off.) | Ut quid domine: 88 (Gr. V.) |
| Intellege clamorem: 18 (Com.) | Victricem manum: 113* (Int.) |
| Intret oratio: 33 (Int.) | Virga tua: 60 (Gr. V.) |
| Iudica me deus: 95 (Int.) | |

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- Ab omni nos quaesumus domine uetustate: 112 (Postcom.)
 Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut qui
 ex merito nostrae actionis: 68 (Coll.)
 protectionis tuae: 55 (Or. sup. pop.)
 Conuertere nos deus salutaris: 8 (Coll.)
 Da quaesumus domine rex aeternae cunctorum ut sacro: 47 (Coll.)

- Defende domine plebem tuam et toto tibi corde: 45 (Or. sup. pop.)
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 Deuotionem populi tui quaesumus domine: 22 (Coll.)
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 Hostias tibi domine placationis et laudis offerimus: 17 (Sec.)
 Huius nos domine perceptio sacramenti mundet: 76 (Postcom.)
 Ieiunia nostra quaesumus domine benigno: 57 (Coll.)
 Mentis nostras quaesumus domine lumine tuae claritatis: 20 (Or. sup. pop.)
 Miserere domine populo tuo et continuis: 77 (Or. sup. pop.)
 Oblationibus nostris quaesumus domine placere susceptis: 91 (Sec.)
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 Plebs tua quaesumus domine benedictionis: 32 (Or. sup. pop.)
 Populum tuum domine quaesumus propitius respice atque ab eo: 34 (Coll.)
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 Sacramenti tui domine ueneranda perceptio: 54 (Postcom.)
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 Suscipe
 domine quaesumus deuotorum munera: 29 (Sec.)
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 domine perceptione sacramenti: 19 (Postcom.)
 nos domine sacramenti libatio: 6 (Postcom.)

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CORPUS CHRISTI IN AGNONE*

Roger E. Reynolds

CORPUS Christi and its liturgical office have played a major role in the formation of the programme entitled *Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana* at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto.¹ First, it was a *libellus* containing the office of Corpus Christi written in Beneventan script and coming from Caiazzo, which E. A. Lowe had dated to the twelfth century² (a century before Thomas Aquinas has supposedly composed the office³), that in part has caused a reassessment of Lowe's dates for all the manuscripts he had considered. When photographs of this *libellus*, found as part of the miscellaneous codex, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 14733, were sent to the Pontifical Institute in the late 1970s it was found by this author that Pope Urban IV, whose bull *Transiturus*⁴ established the feast in 1264, was mentioned in the fifth lection of the first nocturn of Matins. Hence, the date of the *libellus* had to be pushed up to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Indeed, it was soon discovered that many of Lowe's dates for manuscripts in his classic work, *The Beneventan Script: A History of the South Italian Minuscule* (Oxford, 1914), were too early, largely because he believed at that time that the script ceased to be written by the fourteenth century without realizing that it was used into the late sixteenth century and even persisted into the eighteenth in an imitation Beneventan script.⁵

* Research for this article was conducted with a Research Grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

¹ For a brief history of the programme, see R. E. Reynolds, "Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana — New Directions," in *Sources for the History of Medieval Books and Libraries*, ed. J. Hermans (Groningen, forthcoming).

² E. A. Lowe, "A New List of Beneventan Manuscripts," in *Collectanea vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda a Bibliotheca Apostolica edita*, vol. 2, Studi e Testi 220 (Vatican City, 1962), 211–44, esp. 218.

³ See J. A. Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino: His Life, Thought, and Work* (New York, 1974), 176–84, 400.

⁴ On the bull, see E. Franceschini, "Origine e stile della bolla 'Transiturus,'" *Aevum* 39 (1965): 218–43; and T. Bertamini, "La bolla 'Transiturus' di papa Urbano IV e l'ufficio del 'Corpus Domini' secondo il codice di S. Lorenzo di Bognanco," *Aevum* 42 (1968): 29–58.

⁵ See V. Brown, "The Survival of Beneventan Script: Sixteenth-Century Liturgical Codices from Benedictine Monasteries in Naples," in *Monastica 1: Scritti raccolti in memoria del XV centenario della nascita di S. Benedetto (480–1980)* (Montecassino, 1981), 237–355,

Stimulated by work on this *libellus* with the office of Corpus Christi, Ronald J. Zawilla completed a doctoral thesis in Toronto showing that although the so-called "first" Roman office of Corpus Christi, *Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum*,⁶ could have been written by the Dominicans Hugh of St.-Cher or St. Thomas, the "second" office, *Sacerdos in aeternum*, promulgated in the papal bull *Transiturus* could only have been written by St. Thomas.⁷ This was demonstrated by an examination of the uses of the scriptural passages found in the office and in the works of many authors from the eleventh through the thirteenth century, including St. Thomas.⁸ The Caiazzo *libellus* in Beneventan script now in the Vatican Library, probably written in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century in southern Italy, was one of several *libelli* containing the office, some of which, Père Gy suggested, were sent out by Pope Urban IV together with a copy of the bull of promulgation.⁹ While full manuscripts containing the office among other liturgical pieces have a text as good as or even better than the *libelli* thus far reported, the *libelli* as manuscript artifacts are striking reminders of the way in which the office was originally dispersed.¹⁰ In a sense, they are like the rare *Exultet* rolls, whose format is a reminder of the way in which the *Exultet* was sung in southern Italy in the Middle Ages.¹¹

Another *libellus* containing largely the Mass chants from the office of Corpus Christi has recently come to light in the Biblioteca Emidiana in the small mountain town of Agnone in the *regione* of Molise. Like the Vatican *libellus* that stimulated the formation of the *Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana*, this *libellus* was written in the Beneventan script of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century and seems also to have come from Caiazzo.¹² That a manuscript from Caiazzo is now in the distant town of Agnone is not necessarily surprising inasmuch as a tenth-century bifolium of Bede's *In Marci evangelium expositio*

"Montevergine 6 and Sixteenth-Century Beneventan Script in Naples," in *Studi di paleografia e diplomatica in memoria di Jole Mazzoleni*, ed. G. Raimondi and S. Palmieri (Naples, 1996), and "Beneventan Fragments in the Biblioteca della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria," *Archivio storico per le province napoletane* 113 (1995): 32–50 and plates 14–16.

⁶ Ed. C. Lambot, "L'office de la Fête-Dieu: Aperçus nouveaux sur ses origines," *Revue Bénédictine* 54 (1942): 97–123.

⁷ For editions of this office, see *S. Thomae Aquinatis . . . Opera omnia* 15 (Parma, 1864), 233–38; and *D. Thomae Aquinatis . . . Opera omnia* 17 (Rome, 1570), 40–43.

⁸ R. J. Zawilla, "The *Historiae Corpus Christi* Attributed to Thomas Aquinas: A Theological Study of Their Biblical Sources" (Ph.D. diss., Toronto, 1985).

⁹ See P.-M. Gy, "L'office du Corpus Christi et S. Thomas d'Aquin: État d'une recherche," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 64 (1980): 501.

¹⁰ On liturgical *libelli* and their characteristics, see M. Huglo, *Les livres de chant liturgique*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 52 (Turnhout, 1988), 64–75, esp. 70 on *libelli* for the office of Corpus Christi.

¹¹ See T. F. Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy* (Oxford, 1996).

¹² V. Brown has kindly suggested this date and provenance to me.

now at Agnone reported in the second edition of *The Beneventan Script* has recently been shown by Virginia Brown to have been part of a Caiazzo manuscript now in the Vatican, Vat. lat. 14730.¹³

The new *libellus* with parts of the office of Corpus Christi was found in 1997 as members of the équipe of the *Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana* were searching at Agnone for further unreported fragments written in Beneventan script. Among those discovered at the Archivio della Parrocchia di S. Antonio Abate were a thirteenth-century folio with a missal and a bifolium of the same century with an antiphonale.¹⁴ The Archivio Storico has a thirteenth-century bifolium containing *Vitae sanctorum*.¹⁵ At the Biblioteca Emidiana there was a rich harvest of Beneventana: a bifolium of a twelfth-century graduale, flyleaves of a fifteenth-century series of *Orationes ad crucem*, a bifolium of a twelfth-century graduale, a bifolium of what is probably a missal, strips from the outer edge of a leaf with what is probably a sacramentary of the twelfth century, two heavily damaged strips from the lower part of a leaf containing an unidentified text in Bari-type Beneventan script of the early twelfth century, and four strips containing an unidentified text written in Beneventan script of the twelfth century.¹⁶ Several of these were of more than ordinary interest, such as the fragment in a script similar to the Bari type of Beneventan script, but the most surprising discovery was the *libellus* with texts from the office of Corpus Christi, which with its musical notation had attracted the attention of the priest-librarian-music composer-choir director, don Giovanni Fangio.¹⁷

The *libellus* consists of five leaves (two bifolia and one folio), each measuring 368×251 mm. (251×181 mm.).¹⁸ The damaged and worn folios are spotted with a purple mould found on many leaves of manuscripts from Caiazzo, including the *libellus* with the office of Corpus Christi in the Vatican, Vat. lat. 14733. Pricking with slits (probably nine, although some are no longer visible because of damage to the bifolia) was made on the flesh side of the parchment, and ruling was done in drypoint. There is a single vertical bounding line on each side of the one column of text and music. The bifolia are arranged with

¹³ V. Brown, "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (III)," *Mediaeval Studies* 56 (1994): 341.

¹⁴ Don Remo Quaranta kindly allowed us to search through the archive.

¹⁵ This fragment was discovered by Luigi Misischia and shown to Virginia Brown on 6 July 1998.

¹⁶ All of these items will be described in more detail by V. Brown in "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (IV)" (forthcoming).

¹⁷ Don Giovanni's cordial reception and generous assistance in the Biblioteca Emidiana were most touching and are gratefully acknowledged.

¹⁸ While it is possible that what now appears to be a *libellus* was part of a larger manuscript or had a few other quires bound to it (see n. 24 below), our specimen as it stands fits all the criteria for a liturgical *libellus* detailed by Père Gy in Huglo, *Les livres*, 64–65.

flesh side on fol. 1r. The writing is in a brown ink with rubrics in red. Distance between the seven lines of text is 45 mm. Minims measure 4 mm. and ascenders and descenders 8 mm. Among the distinctive features of the script are a final *r* that does not descend below the line (usual for a musical text), an *m* abbreviation with a larger right shoulder sweeping downward, and an abbreviation for *-us* consisting of a semicolon resembling a sideward *m* sweeping downward. In the Agnone *libellus* there are seven lines of musical text written on supports consisting of one red line with clef-marks *f*, *c*, and *b*, and two or three drypoint lines. There are custos marks at the end of each line of music. On a small piece of paper kept with the *libellus* the manuscript is described as an "innario" of the thirteenth century in "Scrittura gotica corale con notazione neumatica lombarda"; "Carte 6." There is also a letter of 26 May 1955 from the Soprintendenza alle Biblioteche per l'Abruzzo e il Molise regarding the restoration of the manuscript.

The final folio of the *libellus* is blank on the recto side and has on its verso side, upside down, in non-Beneventan script with square musical notation, the Vespers antiphon "Sacerdos in eternum Christus dominus secundum ordinem Melchisedech panem et vinum obtulit" and the psalm "Dixit dominus."¹⁹ The majority of the remaining text of the Agnone *libellus* beginning on the first folio is in Beneventan script and is completely notated. It begins with the Office antiphon "O sacrum convivium" followed by a notation for the "Magnificat" and a rubric "Ad missam."²⁰ Thereafter is the Mass introit "Cibavit eos" with psalm, the gradual "Oculi omnium," "Alleluia," and the response "Caro mea."²¹ Following this, over the "Lauda Syon" is the rubric "Sequentia," written once in a non-Beneventan hand and once in a later Beneventan hand; and the "Lauda Syon" is followed by the offertory "Sacerdotes incensum domini" and the communion "Quotiescumque manducabitis."²² After the "Alleluia" of this communion a later non-Beneventan hand has written brief rubrics for celebrating the octave of the liturgy of the feast of Corpus Christi.

The individual texts in the Agnone manuscript are those expected for the feast of Corpus Christi, but the *libellus* takes on special interest when it is compared with *libelli* of the same office in Vat. lat. 14733. This manuscript, noted earlier, came from Caiazzo and was lodged permanently in the Vatican Library after its restoration in exchange for two great urns still kept in Caiazzo. The manuscript as a whole contains a number of pieces, some in Beneventan, some in other hands. There are actually two *libelli* in the manu-

¹⁹ See *S. Thomae Aquinatis . . . Opera omnia* 15:233.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 236–37.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 237.

²² *Ibid.*, 237–38.

script with texts and music for the office of Corpus Christi. The first occupies fols. 56–65 of the manuscript and is described in the second edition of *The Beneventan Script* as a breviarium.²³ It consists of five parchment bifolia measuring 318×215 mm. with a written space of 231×164 mm. The parchment folios, now restored, are worn, damaged, and darkened. They are spotted with the same purple mould as found on the Agnone *libellus*. There are nine pricking slits seen at the extreme edge of the leaves, which are now 3–5 mm. from the edge of the folio, with ruling on the flesh side in drypoint. Single vertical bounding lines enclosing the single column of text are now 22 and 183 mm. from the edge of the page. The lower margin is 59 mm. There are 32 lines of text written 8 mm. apart. For the musical supports there is one red line with three drypoint lines. The red lines, bearing the clef marks c and f, are 27–37 mm. apart. The script of the text has the following measurements: minims 3 mm., ascenders 4.5 mm., and descenders 5 mm. The five bifolia, sewn with modern binding holes in the restored manuscript, are arranged so that the hair side is outside. The text is written in brown ink with rubrics in red with brown or red infilling.

The text of the Caiazzo *libellus* in Beneventan script, unlike that in the Agnone *libellus*, is for the full office and mass of Corpus Christi, including music and lections. In some instances the musical texts are those found in the Agnone *libellus*, such as the “O sacrum convivium,” “Cibavit eos,” “Sacerdotes incensum domini,” and “Quotiescumque manducabitis,” but they are in a different order.²⁴ Also, the Caiazzo *libellus* lacks the sequence “Lauda Syon.” The musical notation matches that in the Agnone *libellus*. At times, such as in the “Pange lingua,” there is notation for only the first few lines, suggesting that the full text for the musical sections would have been sung by a choir from a fully noted *libellus* or manuscript.

Evidence for the existence of *libelli* to be used in this way is found not only in the Agnone manuscript but also in the second *libellus* in the Vatican manuscript, fols. 84–95, written in a non-Beneventan hand of the fourteenth century. This fully notated *libellus* is remarkably similar to the Agnone *libellus* in its codicological features. Its size, 339×235 mm., is larger than the Agnone *libellus*, which was trimmed, but its written space, 255×181 mm., is close to the Agnone manuscript. Like the Agnone *libellus*, the Vatican *libellus* has stains of purple mould and is written in one column of seven notated lines in brown ink with red rubrics. The musical supports are a single red line with clef marks f,

²³ E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script: A History of the South Italian Minuscule*, 2d edition prepared and enlarged by V. Brown, 2 vols. (Rome, 1980), 2:158.

²⁴ “Sacerdotes incensum domini” (fol. 56r); “Quotiescumque manducabitis” (fol. 56r); “O sacrum convivium” (fol. 64r); and “Cibavit eos” (fol. 65r).

c, b, together with three additional lines in drypoint or ink. There are custos marks at line ends.

The text of the Vatican *libellus* begins with "Sacerdos in eternum" (fol. 84r) and is followed by the Office chants. From "O sacrum convivium" (fol. 91r) through to "Quotiescumque manducabitis" the Vatican and Agnone *libelli* are virtually identical in their text, sequence, and musical notation.²⁵ The similarity of the individual texts and music chosen to be copied and especially the codicological features suggests that the two *libelli* were made in the same or nearby scriptoria, where both Beneventan and non-Beneventan scripts were used.

That both scripts could be written in the same place is not surprising. In his discussion of scripts written in southern Italy E. A. Lowe contended that from the eighth through the twelfth centuries the ordinary script was Beneventan and that others were foreign importations.²⁶ That contention has of late been substantially modified. Caterina Tristano showed in 1979 that southern Italy might be divided into various sectors in which Beneventan and Caroline scripts were used.²⁷ A few years later it was shown that manuscripts like the canon law codex, Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana Tom. XVIII, were written in Caroline by a scribe who on occasion lapsed into Beneventan.²⁸ More recently in a masterful article Francis Newton has considered the larger issue of one scriptorium where two scripts, the Beneventan and Caroline, were used.²⁹ Newton has suggested that for display books ("libri nobilissimi") Beneventan was the script of choice. For more notable common books (Newton's "libri notabiliores"), such as those containing patristic texts and some classical and contemporary texts, most were written entirely in Beneventan and some entirely in Caroline. For less common books (Newton's "libri viliores"), such as those containing school texts, canon law, logic, medicine, and grammar, either Beneventan or Caroline could be used entirely in a manuscript or a mixture of the two. Since our *libelli* with the office of Corpus Christi date to the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they do not fit exactly into Newton's schema. They are clearly not "libri nobilissimi" in that they lack lavish decoration. Rather, given their size and

²⁵ The facts that the Vatican *libellus* has more of the Office chants than the Agnone *libellus* and that "O sacrum convivium" begins a new folio in both *libelli* suggest that the Agnone *libellus* may at one time have had a quire before it with the same Office chants as the Vatican *libellus*.

²⁶ Lowe, *The Beneventan Script*, 2d ed., 1:90.

²⁷ C. Tristano, "Scrittura beneventana e scrittura carolina in manoscritti dell'Italia meridionale," *Scrittura e civiltà* 3 (1979): 89–150.

²⁸ See R. E. Reynolds, "Odilo and the *Treuga Dei* in Southern Italy: A Beneventan Manuscript Fragment," *Mediaeval Studies* 46 (1984): 454 n. 25.

²⁹ F. Newton, "One Scriptorium, Two Scripts: Beneventan, Caroline, and the Problem of Marston MS 112," in *Beinecke Studies in Early Manuscripts*, ed. R. G. Babcock, Supplement to *The Yale University Library Gazette* 66 (1991): 118–33.

liturgical significance they fit more properly into Newton's "libri notabiliores," which he suggests might be written entirely in either Beneventan or other scripts.

It is not certain that the *libelli* were in fact written in Caiazzo itself or travelled there from another place. Further, it is not certain why a church or monastery would need or want two texts for Corpus Christi in two different scripts. Perhaps one of the *libelli* was written for another place. Perhaps, Beneventan was used to signify the dignity and importance of this newly composed feast. Perhaps two different scripts were used for two groups of choristers, one more at home with Beneventan script than the other. Or perhaps as the Beneventan item went out of style, it was replaced by a *libellus* in a different hand. But whatever the reason, the *libelli* from Agnone and Caiazzo remain interesting witnesses to the early spread of the office of Corpus Christi in southern Italy, that region in which St. Thomas of Aquino was born and spent significant parts of his life.

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FOUR INDICES FOR THE THOMISTIC PRINCIPLE *QUOD RECIPITUR IN ALIQUO EST IN EO PER MODUM RECIPIENTIS*

John Tomarchio

INTRODUCTION

IN arguing in the *Summa theologiae* for the immateriality of the human soul, Thomas Aquinas writes, “It is evident that everything that is received in something is received in it according to the mode of the receiver” (*Manifestum est enim quod omne quod recipitur in aliquo, recipitur in eo per modum recipientis*).¹ Although he uses this principle throughout his career, in all of his major works, and across the full range of philosophical questions, he nowhere else calls the principle evident.² One searches in vain in the writings of Aristotle and Plato for an express statement of it, and with the possible exception of a reference to the *Timaeus*, Thomas never attributes any formulation of the principle to either Aristotle or Plato, although he will use it in his own voice when explicating their thought.³ The principle is first explicitly formulated by

¹ See entry 61 in the *Subject Index* below. All translations are my own.

The principle is generally acknowledged by Neo-Scholastics to be a basic one: see, e.g., M.-D. Chenu, *Toward Understanding Saint Thomas*, trans. A.-M. Landry and D. Hughes (Chicago, 1964), 186–88; Bernard Wuellner, *Summary of Scholastic Principles* (Chicago, 1956), s.v. “Material Causality”; and N. Signoriello, *Lexicon peripateticum philosophico-theologicum* (Naples, 1893), 305–6. The principle as such, however, has received little commentary, perhaps because it appears to be evident. The only thematic study I have found is a Master’s thesis by John F. Clarkson, “The Principle of Reception in the Disputed Questions of St. Thomas” (St. Louis University, 1951). John F. Wippel gives a sampling of the philosophical uses to which Thomas puts the principle in “Thomas Aquinas and the Axiom ‘What is received is received according to the mode of the receiver,’ ” in *A Straight Path*, ed. Ruth Link-Salinger (Washington, D.C., 1988), 279–89.

² In *Super libros Sententiarum* Thomas introduces the principle as an established one, and in *In librum de divinis nominibus* he calls a corollary application of the principle in the metaphysics of knowledge *manifestum*; see below at notes 44–45.

³ An objection of *Super libros Sententiarum* attributes a corollary application of the principle to the reception of form in matter to *De anima mundi*, a collection of Latin fragments of the *Timaeus* available in Thomas’s day. See entry 4 in the *Index of Citations* below. Nothing in the *Timaeus* seems readily to answer to the formulation. For discussion of a passage from the commentary on the *Metaphysics* in which Thomas attributes to Plato a certain

Plotinus.⁴ For authorities, Thomas invokes the *Liber de causis* and pseudo-Dionysius—although one also searches in vain in Dionysius for an express formulation. Of the authorities Aquinas cites, the sole source for express formulations is the *Liber de causis*, an Islamic work of the ninth century first identified by Thomas himself as a creationist reworking of Proclus's *Elements of Theology*.⁵

Aquinas also employs the principle in a universal formulation which he extends even to God: "Everything that is in something is in it according to the mode of that in which it is" (*omne quod est in aliquo est in eo per modum eius in quo est*).⁶ This universal formulation prescind from the notions of passivity and potentiality entailed by the more common formulation's verb *recipio*, but it does not prescind from the concept of a thing's "mode." In this universal formulation the phrase *quod est in aliquo* replaces the common formulation's *quod recipitur*. Aside from a concatenation of indefinite and relative pronouns, the universal formulation reduces to two phrases: *est in* and *per modum*. As the term *modus* remains the term common to the two most frequent formulations of the principle, I call it the *modus* principle.

That these two formulations are indeed more and less universal formulations of the same principle is confirmed by the fact that Aquinas employs both formulations in the same kinds of arguments. He uses both, for example, to argue that the species of the thing known is in the intellect in a way different from the way in which it is in the thing;⁷ that things divine are in the human being in a less perfect way than they are in themselves;⁸ and that the known is in the knower according to the mode of the knower.⁹ Moreover, he uses the universal formulation to compare the knowledge and action of God with that of crea-

insight into the principle, see note 39 below. As for Aristotle, a check of places in the Thomistic commentaries where one might expect to find the principle shows that even when Thomas makes use of the principle, he avoids attributing it to Aristotle, raising questions not raised by Aristotle, and then employing the principle to address them. See *Subject Index* 3, 4, 27, 43, and 44. While Thomas will credit Aristotle with exemplifying instances of the *modus* principle, he never ascribes the principle itself to Aristotle.

⁴ For citations and commentary, see Jonathan Scott Lee, "The Doctrine of Reception According to the Capacity of the Recipient in *Ennead* VI.4–5," *Dionysius* 3 (December 1979): 79–97.

⁵ Thomas had no direct access to Plotinus's writings and did not know that the *Enneads* were a second subtext for the *Liber de causis* together with Proclus's *Elements of Theology*; see St. Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on the Book of Causes*, trans. Vincent A. Guagliardo, Charles R. Hess, and Richard C. Taylor (Washington, D.C.), xii n. 15.

⁶ See *Subject Index* 36.

⁷ Compare *Subject Index* 4 and 2.

⁸ Compare *Subject Index* 78 and 79.

⁹ Compare *Subject Index* 24, 28, 29, 30, 31, and 32.

tures, thus applying it at once to both immutable and mutable being.¹⁰ He also uses such "hybrid" formulations as *Omne quod est in altero est in eo per modum recipientis*.¹¹

This article presents and analyzes four indices for the *modus* principle in Aquinas's writings: a *Chronological Index*, a *Subject Index*, an *Index of Corollary Formulae*, and an *Index of Citations*. In addition, it reports the research procedure used to locate these occurrences with the *Index Thomisticus in CD-ROM*, a fully lemmatized database of Aquinas's writings.¹² The procedure described is based on the "lexicology" developed by Roberto Busa for use of his computer-generated *Index Thomisticus*.¹³ As a propaedeutic to philosophical analysis, Busa takes Aquinas's corpus as comprising a "lexicon" proper to him and uses the *Index* systematically to construct morphological, syntactical, and statistical profiles of the words Aquinas uses.¹⁴ The present study attempts to extend the principles of Busa's lexicology from the study of terms to the study of a proposition. The strategy is to focus the lexicological purview philosophically by ordering it to judgments *via* propositions, rather than to concepts *via* terms. Such a procedure produces lexicological data of more salient philosophical import without prejudicing the linguistic investigation insofar as it allows for a philosophical tailoring of the lexicological *ratio* on the basis of Aquinas's own linguistic usage, rather than on any theoretical hypothesis.

¹⁰ See *Subject Index* 36, 38, 39, and 45.

¹¹ See *Subject Index* 35. Thomas's use of this formulation in this context to argue that God knows the things he makes because the effects of an intelligible agent are in it intelligibly is notably anomalous. Since God's existence is infinite and immutable, he cannot receive anything from another, so that the universal formulation would have been more appropriate here than one referring to a recipient. For other examples of "hybrid" *recipitur*-formulations, see *Subject Index* 14, 16, 21, 30, 35, 51, 56, 60, 67, 71, and 90.

¹² *Thomae Aquinatis opera omnia, cum hypertextibus in CD-ROM*, 2d rev. ed. (Milan, 1993). In a lemmatized database, each individual word is tagged and identified as the form of its proper lemma: e.g., a given word "modis" is identified as the ablative, plural form of *modus* -i—rather than the dative, plural form of this same lemma, for example. A lemmatized database allows one to search for a pair of words at any specified distance, and either for all their forms or only for select forms, rather than simply for strings of letters.

¹³ *Index Thomisticus: Sancti Thomae Aquinatis operum omnium indices et concordantiae* (Stuttgart and Bad Cannstatt, 1974–80). For a general introduction to the printed *Index Thomisticus* on which the CD-ROM is based, see Paolo Guietti, "Hermeneutic of Aquinas's Texts: Notes on the *Index Thomisticus*," *The Thomist* 57 (1993): 667–86.

¹⁴ For some recent discussion of the principles of lexicology, see Roberto Busa, *Inquisitiones lexicologicae in Indicem Thomisticum*, 2d rev. ed. (Gallarate, Italy, 1994). For an example of a lexicological study of a term, see his "Sensus" e "sensatio" nell'"*Index Thomisticus*": *Significati, statistiche e metodi* [in *Sensus, sensatio: VIII Colloquio internazionale del Lessico intellettuale europeo, Roma, 6–8 gennaio 1995*, ed. M. L. Bianchi] (Florence, 1996). For other references to Busa's publications on lexicology, see Guietti, "Hermeneutic," 667–68 n. 1.

The purpose of this lexicological investigation of the *modus* principle was not so much to compile an exhaustive index of its occurrences as to guide a philosophical study of it through Aquinas's corpus. The research methodology developed to this end is an attempt to make computerized lexicology a more docile handmaiden to philosophy. In the full-length philosophical study in which I presented an earlier version of these four indices, the phrase *modus essendi* progressively emerges as Aquinas's metaphysically most significant specification of the principle's key term, *modus*.¹⁵ Aquinas uses this principle as a metaphysical axiom in argumentation across the range of philosophical problems and to argue for some of his most distinctive doctrines. He employs it to account for the unity in multiplicity that obtains in knowledge, in action, in the composition of form and matter, and in the composition of essence and existence. In the order of knowing, he employs it to develop a metaphysics of knowledge in terms of the identity of a form's *ratio* and a multiplicity in its modes of existing. In the order of being, he employs it according to the same distinction between *ratio* and modes of existing to negotiate receptions of perfection: the reception of form according to the mode of matter, of the similitude of the agent according to the mode the patient, of a thing's existence according to the mode of its substance, and of grace according to the mode of nature. Aquinas carried the principle well beyond his Neoplatonic sources and radicalized its import when he put it at the service of his own metaphysical ultimate, namely, *esse*. His transcendental concept of "modes of existing" proves in the final analysis to be the hermeneutical key to understanding the theoretical unity of his various uses of the principle. This proper metaphysical horizon of the *modus* principle comes into view only with the comprehensive lexicological survey made possible by the computer.

¹⁵ John Tomarchio, "The *Modus* Principle in the Writings of St. Thomas Aquinas" (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1996). The metaphysical import of the axiom in Aquinas's thought is, in my view, generally underestimated. Based on a study of formulations in the *Disputed Questions*, Clarkson concludes that the principle applies flexibly and analogously and expresses no single doctrine ("Principle of Reception," 102 ff.); cf. R. J. Henle, *Saint Thomas and Platonism* (The Hague, 1956), 331–33. Signoriello briefly explicates the principle as a principle of reception (*Lexicon peripateticum*, 305–6), and Wuellner seems in accord with this account when he lists the principle under the heading "Material Causality" in his *Summary of Scholastic Principles*. Chenu gives the principle as an example of "a vague common sense statement" which is "more closely knit in words than scientifically effective" (*Toward Understanding St. Thomas*, 186–87). None of these evaluations of the *modus* principle rests on a broad textual basis. It is clear from the *Subject Index* presented here that Thomas employs the *modus* principle as a metaphysical axiom applicable to uncreated as well as created being. To call it a principle of reception suggests a failure to give due priority to the metaphysical crux of the principle, namely, the concept of a thing's mode of existing.

LEXICOLOGICAL METHODOLOGY

On the terminological model typical of Busa's lexicology, a complete lexicological analysis of the *modus* principle calls for complete morphological and syntactical profiles of its principal terms, *modus -i* and *recipio -ere*. I, instead, took propositions of the principle as the unit of my lexicological analysis and the principle itself as a kind of philosophical *vade mecum*. This involved three particular adaptations of Busa's procedures.

First, I analyzed the propositions of the principle into formulaic phrases, such as *modum recipientis* and *in aliquo*, and searched for these rather than individual terms. This approach considerably reduced the number of contexts to be checked for occurrences of the principle. Second, once I located occurrences, I went to Thomas's writings and read the complete context in search of other philosophically significant lexical associations. Third, I correlated properly lexicological statistics with chronological and thematic divisions of the principle's occurrences.

There are both advantages and disadvantages to this propositional approach as compared to a terminological one. Analyzing the axiom in terms of key phrases rather than individual terms had the advantage both of reducing the number of contexts to be examined and predisposing the lexicological data philosophically. A search for the terms *modus -i* and *recipio -ere* would have required my examining over 30,000 contexts,¹⁶ most of which contained neither occurrences of the principle nor metaphysically relevant uses of the term *modus*. By searching for pairs such as *modus* AND *recipientis* and *modus* AND *substantiae*, I was instead examining hundreds of contexts at a time, thematically unified by a metaphysically significant phrase.

Second, during all these searches, I located not only occurrences of the principle but many other passages, both in the broader contexts of occurrences and in other contexts, that contained its key phrases and clarified its metaphysics. Thus on the propositional logic of the present study the axiom itself (as well as its key phrases) is treated as both a thematic guide and a principle of lexical

¹⁶ The substantive *modus -i* is one of three words not fully lemmatized in the *Index Thomisticus*. Its ablative and dative singular forms are not distinguished from occurrences of the adverb *modo* because of the unusually high frequency of this form. Instead, the *Index* has a "pseudo-lemma," *modo*, which groups together the occurrences of the adverb and of the two forms of the substantive as though they were forms of a single lemma. Consequently, the figure given for the frequency of the pseudo-lemma *modo* in the writings of Thomas (16,891) represents the occurrences indiscriminately of three forms from two lemmata. Likewise the figure given for the frequency of the lemma *modus* (11,460) omits all the occurrences of two of this word's forms. Adding to these the 4,813 occurrences of *recipio -ere*, the combined total is over 30,000.

unity, unifying not only clusters of terms but networks of contexts. On a terminological logic, by contrast, the lexicological investigation is typically confined to the immediate syntactical context of a term and the observation of any philosophically illuminating lexical associations in the broader context is regarded as an unsystematic and accidental benefit of the investigation.

The terminological approach, moreover, typically has pragmatic protocols with their own limitations. For example, the consideration of prepositions is generally omitted because of their high frequency. It is, however, philosophically significant that in the *modus* principle the preposition *per* has the same meaning as *secundum*—namely, “according to”—and never the sense of indirect agency or “through.”¹⁷ The selective purview of a propositional lexicology has the advantage of allowing for greater philosophical discretion in lexicological investigation.

The principal disadvantage of the propositional approach used in the present study is that though the lexicological investigation is systematic and comprehensive, it cannot claim to be exhaustive, and its statistical analyses are accordingly provisional. Even for a single term of any significant frequency, it is difficult, if not impossible, to record every syntactical link. The lexicologist generally lists, for example, every adjective predicated of the term, every genitive linked with it, every conjunct, etc., but not every preposition governing it, as already mentioned. Indeed, without such restrictions, lexicological studies become not only practically unwieldy, but too diffuse to be of much theoretical value. As the syntactical patterns of propositions are even more complex, various, and unpredictable, it is all the more difficult to anticipate and track them. Accordingly, the lexicological study of propositions is of its very nature hypothetico-deductive. One formulates, revises, and adds search criteria in light of ongoing experience, and without ever having certainty of exhaustiveness.

¹⁷ In formulations of the *modus* principle, *per* does not designate any of the three senses of indirect agency that Thomas enumerates in his prologue commentary in *Super evangelium s. Ioannis lectura*, ed. R. Cai, 5th rev. ed. (Turin and Rome, 1952), 16–17, n. 76. On the other hand, in his *Expositio libri Posteriorum* 1, lectio 10 (Leonine edition, 2d rev. ed., 1.2, pp. 39.25–40.135), Thomas indicates four senses of the phrase *per se* that relate to principles and dispositions of entity: *per* can be used of what pertains to a thing’s form and essence (39.25–30); *per* can designate a thing’s proper matter or subject (39.51–54); *per se* can refer to something as individual—*aliquid solitarium* (40.98–101); and *per* can designate a thing’s relationship to a proper efficient or extrinsic cause (40.122–25). In formulations of the *modus* principle the preposition *per* is used by Thomas to indicate just such determinations of being. The key phrases used by Thomas in applications of the *modus* principle could even be grouped according to his fourfold division of *per se* as follows: 1) *per modum formae*, *per modum essentiae*, *per modum substantiae*, *per modum naturae*; 2) *per modum materiae*, *per capacitatem materiae*, *per dispositionem materiae*; 3) *per modum recipientis*, *per modum patientis*, *per modum agentis*; and 4) *per modum rei*, *per proprium modum rei*.

The indices presented here and the study from which they are taken enable the reader to judge the value of this approach notwithstanding its limitations.

LEXICOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

Searches in the Aquinas CD-ROM, called "queries," can be conducted either for one word or for a pair of words (e.g., either for *modus* alone or for *modus* AND *recipientis*). Moreover, they can be conducted either by form or by lemma. A lemma is that form of a word which serves as a title entry in a lexicon to represent all the inflectional forms of the word as well as the meaning common to them (e.g., *modus -i* or *recipio -ere*). In a search by form the program will supply excerpts or "contexts" only for the occurrences of the precise form entered, but in a search by lemma it will supply the occurrences of all the lemma's forms. When a pair of words is searched for—i.e., in a Boolean search—the program supplies the contexts in which the pair occurs at the distance specified.¹⁸ For example, if one searches for *modum* AND *recipientis* by lemma at a distance of 1, the program would provide contexts that include such phrases as *secundum modum recipientis*, *modus autem recipiendi*, and *recipit secundum modum suum*. In light of the formulaic nature of the *modus* principle and the high frequency of its key lemmata, most of the Boolean searches in this study were done at the low distance of 1. Under normal circumstances, a higher distance is advisable to allow for the interposition, for example, of adverbs and conjunctions.

I began with Boolean searches based on such evidently key phrases as *modus recipientis* and *in aliquo*. Locating occurrences, I then went to Aquinas's texts to read the complete context of each occurrence, e.g., an entire *quaestio* in the *Summa theologiae* or an entire *capitulum* in the *Summa contra gentiles*. In the process, I discovered other key phrases and determined new criteria for further searches. The following is a list of all the searches with the distance values used and the number of contexts found:

SEARCHES BY LEMMA

SEARCH	CONTEXTS	SEARCH	CONTEXTS
<i>modus</i> AND <i>recipio</i> @ 1	132	<i>modus</i> AND <i>rei</i> @ 1	57
<i>modus</i> AND <i>eius</i> @ 1	368	<i>modus</i> AND <i>naturae</i> @ 1	255
<i>modus</i> AND <i>ipsius</i> @ 1	183	<i>modus</i> AND <i>substantiae</i> @ 1	142
<i>modus</i> AND <i>suus</i> @ 1	269	<i>modus</i> AND <i>patientis</i> @ 0	13
		<i>modus</i> AND <i>participantis</i> @ 0	26

¹⁸ In a search by lemma, any form of the lemma may be entered. The distance value refers to the number of words between the two lemmata.

<i>modo</i> ¹⁹ AND <i>recipio</i> @ 1	40	<i>modo</i> AND <i>suo</i> @1	109
<i>modo</i> AND <i>eius</i> @ 1	58	<i>modo</i> AND <i>proprio</i> @ 1	4
<i>modo</i> AND <i>ipsius</i> @ 1	23		

SEARCHES BY FORM

SEARCH	CONTEXTS	SEARCH	CONTEXTS
<i>in</i> AND <i>aliquo</i> @ 0	1,585	<i>in</i> AND <i>alio</i> @ 0	677
<i>in</i> AND <i>altero</i> @ 0	191		
<i>secundum</i> AND <i>conditionem</i> @ 0	141	<i>secundum</i> AND <i>dispositionem</i> @ 0	134
<i>secundum</i> AND <i>proportionem</i> @ 0	39	<i>secundum</i> AND <i>capacitatem</i> @ 0	26

I also conducted some searches of certain individual terms of limited frequency by form: *receptum*, *recipere*, *recipientis*, *receptio*, *perfectibilis*. Needless to say, human error and oversight in both the searches themselves and in the selection of search criteria must be allowed for.

By this procedure I located 107 propositions that I classify as proper formulations of the *modus* principle, and 150 that I classify as corollary applications of the principle. For purposes of classification, I define as proper formulations those of indefinite extension: e.g., *omne quod recipitur in aliquo*, *quidquid recipitur*, *quod recipitur*, *omne receptum*, *omne quod est in aliquo*, etc. I count as corollary applications those formulations that specify a definite subject: e.g., *omnis forma*, *omnis actus*, *omnis perfectio*, *omnis actio*, *omnis cognitio*, *esse participatum*, etc. Note that this division is linguistic rather than philosophical in that it turns on the presence of an indefinite pronoun or a syntactical equivalent rather than on a determination of the metaphysical extension of the formulation. On a philosophical view, formulations applied to *omnis perfectio* or *esse participatum* could well be argued to belong to the class of proper universal formulations.

Aquinas's corollary applications of the principle admit of such variation in formulation that the formulae located must be regarded as but a sampling, as I did not attempt to reiterate my research procedures on the highly variable phrases of these corollary applications. At any rate, the full metaphysical import of these corollary formulae is easily missed if they are not understood in light of the general axiom. It is only in a broad and systematic view of Thomas's use of the principle and its corollaries that their integration with his existential metaphysics becomes apparent.

Of Aquinas's proper formulations of the principle, 74 are what I call formulations *in voce sua*, occurring for example in the *corpus* of articles and in

¹⁹ Concerning the pseudo-lemma *modo*, see note 16 above.

replies to objections. The remaining 33 propositions *in voce aliena* occur in objections and *sed contra*—27 in objections and 6 in *sed contra*—and must be interpreted with more care. With respect to the interpretation of these latter formulations, I offer two observations. First, I found no reply of Thomas's that corrected a formulation of the *modus* principle as phrased in an objection;²⁰ second, of the authorities cited by Thomas for the *modus* principle, only the *Liber de causis* contains express formulations, and none of Thomas's own proper formulations is a direct quotation of any of these.²¹ In any case, I maintain that the formulations from objections and *sed contra* represent either Thomas's own formulations or his own selection, even if *in voce aliena*, and should not be excluded unless shown to be at odds with argumentation *in voce sua*. They occur with relative frequencies of from 33% to 67% in the individual works.²²

The 107 proper formulations of the *modus* principle are distributed among the works in the list preceding the indices. I classify Thomas's proper formulations of the *modus* principle according to three types:

1) *Recipitur*-formulations: those containing a form of the lemma *recipio -ere*; e.g., *omne quod est in altero, est in eo secundum modum recipientis* (*Chronological Index* 27);

2) *Inest*-formulations:²³ those not containing any form of *recipio -ere*, and containing instead some form of *sum-esse* and the preposition *in*, but no other verb; e.g., *quod est in aliquo est in eo per modum eius in quo est* (*Chronological Index* 37);

3) Variant formulations: those not containing any form of *recipio -ere*, and containing some verb besides *sum-esse*; e.g., *omne quod est participatum in aliquo, est in eo per modum participantis* (*Chronological Index* 1).

²⁰ A possible exception may be objection 3 from *Quaestiones de veritate* 1.2: "Praeterea, omne quod est in aliquo consequitur id in quo est" (*Subject Index* 26). In his reply, Thomas remarks as follows on the objector's formulation: "Ad tertium dicendum quod illud quod est in aliquo non sequitur illud in quo est nisi quando causatur ex principiis eius." (Leonine edition, 22.1, p. 8). Although this rejoinder does not constitute an overt rejection of the objector's formulation, it restricts its validity to what is caused by the thing's principles, a restriction Thomas never puts upon the *modus* principle.

²¹ See the excerpts from the *Liber de causis* listed in the *Index of Citations*.

²² Following are frequencies of proper formulations *in voce aliena*: *Super libros Sententiarum*—7/21 (or 33%); *Quaestiones de veritate*—8/19 (or 42%); *Quaestiones de anima*—6/9 (or 67%); *Summa theologiae*—6/17 (or 35%)

²³ I chose the appellation "*inest*-formulation" for its sonoric value; there is no relationship between the formulation and the verb *inesse*, which Thomas never uses in proper formulations of the *modus* principle.

In the *Chronological Index* and in the synopsis for the *Subject Index*, *inest*-formulations and variant formulations are marked with symbols. In the *Subject Index* and the *Index of Citations* all proper formulations are printed in bold to allow for their ready identification.²⁴ Italics are used in all indices for any entry in *voce aliena*. The *Index Thomisticus* acronyms for the titles of Thomas's works are used in the indices and are listed before the *Chronological Index*.

ANALYSIS OF THE INDICES

The Chronological Index

I will begin with the *Chronological Index* because the diachronic analysis it allows for provides a useful statistical background for the thematic analysis of the *Subject Index*.²⁵ Of the 107 proper formulations of the *modus* principle, 57% (61/107) occur in the early works, i.e., written before the period of *Summa theologiae*, and 43% (46/107) occur from the writing of the *Summa theologiae* onward.²⁶ There is thus a quantitative decrease overall in Thomas's use of proper formulations of the principle over the course of his career. The principle occurs with the greatest absolute frequency in the following five works, listed in chronological order:

<i>Super libros Sententiarum</i>	21
<i>Quaestiones de veritate</i>	19
<i>Summa contra gentiles</i>	12
<i>Quaestiones de anima</i>	9
<i>Summa theologiae</i>	17

Considering the frequency of occurrence relative to the size of each work, we will see that the concentrations in the *Quaestiones de anima* and *Quaestiones de veritate* will be paralleled by a concentration generally in questions of knowledge. The distribution within these five principal works of formulations in *voce sua* and in *voce aliena* is as follows:

²⁴ Note that there are 105 entries in the *Subject Index* but 107 in the *Chronological Index*, because in two of the *Subject Index* entries formulations occur both in an argument and in its reply and are listed together.

²⁵ In the statistical analyses to follow, figures may not total to 100% because of rounding. For the chronology followed in this study, see Jean-Pierre Torrell, *Initiation à saint Thomas d'Aquin* (Fribourg Suisse and Paris, 1993), translated by Robert Royal under the title *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, vol. 1: *The Person And His Work* (Washington, D.C., 1996).

²⁶ Torrell places the writing of the *Quaestiones disputatae de anima* in the same period as the writing of the *Prima pars* and describes it as preparing for qq. 75–89 of the *Prima pars*; see *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, 161–62 and 335. I thus count the *Quaestiones de anima* a “late work,” taking it to reflect a maturity of usage comparable to that of the *Prima pars*.

	<i>In voce sua</i>	Objections	<i>Sed contra</i>
<i>Super libros Sententiarum</i>	14/21 or 67%	4/21 or 19%	3/21 or 14%
<i>Quaestiones de veritate</i>	11/19 or 58%	6/19 or 32%	2/19 or 11%
<i>Summa contra gentiles</i>	—	—	—
<i>Quaestiones de anima</i>	3/9 or 33%	6/9 or 67%	0/9 or 0%
<i>Summa theologiae</i>	11/17 or 65%	6/17 or 35%	0/17 or 0%

The irregularly high concentration of formulations from objections in the *Quaestiones de anima* is reechoed by an irregularly high concentration of *recipitur*-formulations in the same work.²⁷ The decrease over time in *sed contra* occurrences is consistent with the fact that most of Thomas's citations of an authority for proper formulations of the *modus* principle occur before the *Summa theologiae*.

Of the total number of formulations, *recipitur*-formulations constitute 66% (71/107), *inest*-formulations 26% (28/107), and variant formulations 7% (8/107). There is a notable relative trend: the frequency of *inest*-formulations increases relative to *recipitur*-formulations and variant formulations over Thomas's career. Up to the *Summa theologiae*, 21% of the formulations are *inest*-formulations, but from the *Summa theologiae* onward they make up 33% of the occurrences.²⁸ The increasing trend in the relative frequency of *inest*-formulations is even more dramatically evidenced when the five principal works listed above are considered in chronological order. The frequencies increase steadily from 14% in the *Super libros Sententiarum* to 47% in the *Summa theologiae*, as follows:

Formulation type:	<i>Recipitur</i>	<i>Inest</i>	Variant
<i>Super libros Sententiarum</i>	17/21 or 81%	3/21 or 14%	1/21 or 5%
<i>Quaestiones de veritate</i>	14/19 or 74%	3/19 or 16%	2/19 or 11%
<i>Summa contra gentiles</i>	6/12 or 50%	4/12 or 33%	2/12 or 17%
<i>Quaestiones de anima</i>	7/9 or 78%	2/9 or 22% ²⁹	0/9 or 0%
<i>Summa theologiae</i>	9/17 or 53%	8/17 or 47%	0/17 or 0%

²⁷ There is a statistical increase overall in the frequency of formulations in objections over Thomas's career, but the statistic here is no doubt skewed by the *Quaestiones de anima*. In any case, the figures are as follows: of the 61 formulations in the early works, 72% are *in voce sua*, 20% are from objections, and 8% are from *sed contra*; of the 46 formulations from the period of the *Summa theologiae* onward, 63% are *in voce sua*, 35% are from objections, and 2% are from *sed contra*.

²⁸ Formulation type:

	<i>Recipitur</i>	<i>Inest</i>	Variant
Early Works	43/61 or 70%	13/61 or 21%	5/61 or 8%
Late Works	28/46 or 61%	15/46 or 33%	3/46 or 7%

²⁹ The drop in the use of *inest*-formulations in the *Quaestiones de anima* may be attributed to the particular relevance of the *recipitur*-formulation to the human soul's reception of intelligible species.

Furthermore, the proportion of *inest*-formulations that are *in voce sua* is higher than that of *recipitur*-formulations *in voce sua*:

	<i>In voce sua</i>	Objections	<i>Sed contra</i>
<i>Recipitur</i> -formulations	47/71 or 66%	19/71 or 27%	5/71 or 7%
<i>Inest</i> -formulations	22/28 or 79%	6/28 or 21%	0/28 or 0%
Variant formulations	4/8 or 50%	3/8 or 38%	1/8 or 13%

In light of the increase in frequency of *inest*-formulations relative to *recipitur*-formulations over the course of Thomas's career, this concentration of *inest*-formulations *in voce sua* suggests that they are more properly Thomistic than are the better known *recipitur*-formulations. In this regard, it is significant that the *inest*-formulation is metaphysically universal because it abstracts from reception and passivity, thus highlighting the principle's metaphysical crux, namely, the mode of a thing's existence.

The Subject Index and the Index of Corollary Formulae

The *Subject Index* lists each occurrence of a proper formulation of the *modus* principle with sufficient context to allow the reader to infer its philosophical import. The excerpts are grouped according to uses in the orders of knowing, of being, and of grace. Needless to say, the soundness of the statistical analyses to follow are predicated on the soundness of my judgments both about the division of categories and the assignment of texts to them. Preceding the *Subject Index* is a synopsis in which the entries are listed concisely by subject and marked according to type of formulation. The *Index of Corollary Formulae* is an important complement to the *Subject Index*, as the criteria according to which the 107 proper formulations were classified as such occludes the analogical flexibility discernible in the corollary applications. In the *Index of Corollary Formulae*, applications in the order of transient action are listed separately from other formulae in the order of being, both because of their great number and to allow for easier comparison of these particular applications.³⁰

³⁰ The derivation of some of these principles of transient action from the *modus* principle may not be immediately apparent. By way of a quick sketch, I offer the following exposition by Thomas of a text of the *Liber de causis*: "... causa autem agit in effectum per modum ipsius causae, effectus autem recipit actionem causae per modum suum; unde oportet quod causa sit in effectu per modum effectus et effectus sit in causa per modum causae . . ." (see *Index of Corollary Formulae* 69). Action proceeds from the agent according to its mode—*modus enim actionis est secundum modum formae agentis* (see *Index of Corollary Formulae* 56)—and is received by the patient according to its mode—*omne passivum recipit actionem agentis secundum suum modum* (see *Index of Corollary Formulae* 29).

Certain significant differences between the *Subject Index* and the *Index of Corollary Formulae* must be kept in mind if they are to be used accurately in tandem. First, the *Index of Corollary Formulae* is a much less complete list of all such applications of the *modus* principle in Thomas's writings than is the list of proper formulations in the *Subject Index*. Second, the formulations of the *Subject Index* are classified according to their use in context, while the corollary formulae are classified according to their terms, irrespective of their use. For example, a formulation such as "Every form received in anything is limited and bounded according to the capacity of the recipient" will be listed in the *Corollary Index* under *Principles of Being*, even though Thomas employs the formulation in an argument about grace or angelic knowledge. In short, the divisions of the *Subject Index* are thematic, while those of the *Corollary Index* are terminological. Nevertheless, as long as the proper *ratio* of each index is kept in mind, the *Corollary Index* offers a view of the inflectional and theoretical extension of the *modus* principle that provides an important background for interpreting the *Subject Index*.

First of all, looking at the *Subject Index* synchronically and according to its principal divisions, namely the *Order of Knowing*, the *Order of Being*, and the *Order of Grace*, we see that the majority of formulations fall under *Knowing*, 38% (41/107); next is *Being*, 33% (35/107); and then *Grace*, 29% (31/107). On the face of it, this fact would seem to support the hypothesis that Thomas first formulates the *modus* principle in his theory of knowledge, where its truth is most evident to us, and then extends it into other orders.³¹ However, further considerations suggest otherwise. First, Thomas's uses of the principle in the order of being occur with more frequency in his early works, both absolutely and proportionally, than in the order of knowing.³² Furthermore, there are more than twice as many corollary formulae under *Principles of Being* as under *Principles of Knowledge*, even factoring out the corollaries under *Principles of Action*, which could well be classed together with the principles of being; if these were added in, there would be more than four times as many corollary formulations under *Principles of Being* as under *Principles of Knowledge*, and again, with the formulations occurring as early in Thomas's career.³³

³¹ In the article cited in note 1 above, John F. Wippel suggests that Thomas may have regarded sense perception and human intellection as the most evident illustrations of the principle and may have then generalized from these applications (p. 279).

³² Order:	<i>Knowing</i>	<i>Being</i>	<i>Grace</i>
Early Works	21/41 or 51%	24/35 or 69%	16/31 or 52%
Late Works	20/41 or 49%	11/35 or 31%	15/31 or 48%

³³ The number of entries are as follows, with the breakdown in parentheses according to Early/Late: *Knowledge* 24 (14/10); *Action* 47 (23/24); *Being* 52 (28/24); *Grace* 26 (11/15). Note that these figures are at best indicative, as this list is a sampling of unknown extent.

One gets similar results from an analysis of the distribution of formulations according to types. One might expect the majority *recipitur*-formulations to occur with greater frequency in the early works and with greater concentration in questions of knowledge, but in fact they occur with nearly the same relative frequency in each of the three principal subject areas. Similarly, since the *inest*-formulation is more universal in scope, abstracting as it does from reception and passivity, one might expect it to occur more frequently in later treatments and in applications to questions of being, but in fact in his early works Thomas uses *inest*-formulations with greater frequency in questions of knowledge than in questions of being.³⁴ Furthermore, it can be seen in the *Index of Citations* that although he cites authorities for the *modus* principle much more frequently in his earlier works, these citations are not restricted to questions of knowledge.

All these data suggest that Thomas appreciated the universal character of the *modus* principle from the beginning of his career. There is other evidence, however, from the *Index of Corollary Formulae*, to suggest a certain development in his appreciation of the principle's full metaphysical import. First of all, we have already noted in the analysis of the *Chronological Index* that there is a significant increase overall in the frequency of *inest*-formulations relative to *recipitur*-formulations along the course of Thomas's career, and that *inest*-formulations appear significantly less frequently in objections than do *recipitur*-formulations. Furthermore, with respect to corollary applications in the order of knowing, Thomas's early formulations refer to the mode of the knower, the mode of the intellect, or the mode (or way) in which the known is in the knower, but from the *Summa theologiae* onwards certain properly metaphysical rubrics begin to appear as well: *secundum modum suae naturae*, *secundum modum sui actus*, and *secundum modum suae substantiae*. Likewise, under *Action*, the formulae before the *Summa theologiae* are less succinct and more variable in terminology: *secundum proportionem recipientis*; *per modum virtutis ipsius agentis*; *secundum conditionem causae et effectus*; *secundum dispositionem recipientis*. Beginning with the *Summa theologiae*, the term "mode" prevails and one finds important metaphysical determinations of the term: *secundum modum sui esse*; *secundum modum substantiae eius*; *secundum modum naturae eius*; *secundum modum suae formae*. One can see a similar pattern in the formulae under *Being*, with the exception that such alternatives to "mode" as "capacity" and "condition" continue to occur with com-

³⁴ The overall distribution according to philosophical use in the early works is as follows:

	<i>Recipitur</i> -Formulations	<i>Inest</i> -Formulations	Variant Formulations
<i>Knowledge</i>	27/41 or 66%	12/41 or 29%	2/41 or 5%
<i>Being</i>	22/35 or 63%	10/35 or 29%	3/35 or 9%
<i>Grace</i>	22/31 or 71%	6/31 or 19%	3/31 or 10%

parable frequency before and after the *Summa theologiae*, specifically in applications of the principle to matter. In any case, the data indicate that Thomas employed the term “mode” more frequently and precisely as a term of metaphysical distinction in his later works.

Other observations about the theoretical distribution of proper formulations of the principle can be made. Evident in the synopsis of the *Subject Index* is an appreciable concentration of formulations under the subheading *Human Knowledge* (27). Only one other subheading even approaches such frequency, namely *Form and Matter* (17). Under these two subheadings, moreover, there are notable concentrations, namely, in the subsections “Intelligible Species” and “The Knowledge of the Separate Soul”; and in the subsection “Soul and Body.” On the other side, there is a notable and unsurprising concentration of *inest*-formulations in questions of divine and angelic knowledge, and in questions of divine action. It is noteworthy that these three concentrations span Thomas’s works, early and late.

As for Thomas’s applications of the principle to the reception of grace, besides the fact that there are fewer formulations under the heading *Grace* than under *Knowing* and *Being*, 52% of the former appear in objections and *sed contra*, whereas only 20% and 26%, respectively, of the latter do so. That Thomas so often formulates the *modus* principle *in voce aliena* in his theological argumentation may suggest that the principle belongs more to his apologetics than to his positive doctrine.³⁵ At any rate, the not infrequent occurrence of the *modus* principle in objections raises the question of how current and generally accepted the principle was in the disputations of the Schools. There was certainly an explosive development of the concept of “modes” in subsequent Scholastic philosophy.³⁶ Whether Thomas was reflecting or effecting the term’s rise to metaphysical prominence is an interesting question beyond the scope of this article.

³⁵ Note that in the workings of grace, the mode of the receiver is no impediment to the divine agent: “. . . sicut Deus, quia est causa universalis in agendo, non praeexigit materiam, nec aliquam materiae dispositionem, in corporalibus effectibus, sed simul potest et materiam et dispositionem et formam inducere; ita etiam in effectibus spiritualibus non praeexigit aliquam dispositionem, sed potest simul cum effectu spirituali inducere dispositionem convenientem, qualis requireretur secundum ordinem naturae. Et ulterius posset etiam simul per creationem producere ipsum subiectum . . .” (*Summa theologiae* II^aII^{ae} 172.3 co. [Leonine edition, 10:380]).

³⁶ Witness, for example, the extensive entries for *modus* in *Lexicon Scholasticum philosophico-theologicum*, ed. Fernández García (Quaracchi, 1910), *Prima pars*, pp. 1 ff.; and *Lexicon philosophicum, quo tanquam clave philosophiae fores aperiuntur, Informatum opera & studio Rodolphi Goclenii* (Frankfurt, 1613), 694 ff.

The Index of Citations

There are seven places in Aquinas's writings where the *modus* principle proper is formulated and attributed to an authority.³⁷ Four of these are in objections. Further, in the course of his commentary on the *Liber de causis*, Aquinas quotes a proposition of that work and a corresponding proposition of its Proclean subtext, and then explicates them using his own formulation of the *modus* principle. All seven citations of authority name the *Liber de causis*; one of these citations, from an objection of the *Super libros Sententiarum*, also names Dionysius, but I found nothing in pseudo-Dionysius to answer to this citation.³⁸ Of these seven citations, only two appear in Thomas's mature writings: one in the *Summa theologiae*, and the other in the *Quaestiones disputatae de malo*. Among these seven citations there is no notable pattern with respect to subject matter: they occur with comparable frequency in the order of knowing and in the order of being. In addition, in his commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, Thomas attributes to Plato an intuition of the general principle, although he otherwise consistently attributes the errors of the Platonic theory of knowledge to Plato's failure to understand the *modus* principle.³⁹

³⁷ See *Index of Citations* 6, 8, 17, 18, 20, 29, and 32; cf. also 35.

³⁸ See *Subject Index* 5 (*Index of Citations* 8) for the proper formulation of the *modus* principle in which Dionysius is named. Thomas credits him with corollary applications several times: see *Index of Citations* 7, 10, 14, 15, 22, 24, 31, and 33. One of the passages cited by editors to explain Thomas's ascription of the *modus* principle to Dionysius is part of a reply in a question concerning whether light is an accident (*Super 2 Sent.* 13.1.3 ad 10; *Index of Citations* 7); see, e.g., the note on this passage in the *Indicis Thomistici Supplementum* and in the *Sentencia libri de anima* 2.12 (Leonine edition, 1:155, at lines 74–76). How unsatisfactory this citation of Thomas's is as a precedent for the axiom is not remarked upon.

Much more significant for understanding the *modus* principle are passages in Dionysius's writings that Thomas explicates using it. In these latter passages the metaphysics of the principle is discernible, as is its intimate connection with the notion of intensively infinite existence. See *In librum de divinis nominibus* 7 lc. 3 (ed. C. Pera [Turin and Rome, 1950], pp. 270–71, nn. 717, 724, and 726); 13 lc. 2 (pp. 363–64, nn. 972–76); 9 lc. 1 (p. 301, n. 808); 5 lc. 1 (pp. 229–30, nn. 262–68; pp. 234–37, nn. 629, 640–41, and 644).

³⁹ See *Subject Index* 44 (*Index of Citations* 34). Although this is a proper formulation of the *modus* principle, I do not regard it as a proper citation, in that Thomas attributes to Plato a certain insight into the principle that is implicit but unarticulated in his reasoning. An apt example of the principle or an implicit reliance on its metaphysics is noteworthy, but does not constitute an authoritative precedent. In fact, in this very same context Thomas faults Plato for a failure to bring the metaphysics of the *modus* principle to bear on the question of human intellection: "Patet autem diligenter intuenti rationes Platonis, quod ex hoc in sua positione erravit, quia credidit, quod modus rei intellectae in suo esse sit sicut modus intelligendi rem ipsam" (ed. R. M. Spiazzi, *In duodecim libros Metaphysicorum Aristotelis expositio* 1 lc. 10 [Turin and Rome, 1950], p. 47, n. 158).

In *Saint Thomas and Platonism*, R. J. Henle documents that Thomas consistently identifies as the root error of Platonism an insistence that the known have the same mode of being

The seven citations of authority for proper formulations of the *modus* principle are listed chronologically in the *Index of Citations* with cross-references to the corresponding entries in the *Subject Index*. Together with these seven proper citations are listed any assertion of Thomas's that I encountered in which he associates an author or writing with a corollary application of the *modus* principle or its metaphysics. At the end of the *Index of Citations* are listed the passages from the *Liber de causis* that seem to answer to Thomas's citations of it. For corollary applications of the *modus* principle, I encountered 29 citations of authority. Most notably, Thomas cites Boethius⁴⁰ and the *Liber*

as the mode of understanding—*modus existendi rei cognitae sit sicut modus intelligendi rem ipsam*—or that the form of the known be in the knower in the same way as it is in the known—*modus existendi in re sit sicut modus recipiendi in intellectu*. On the basis of these two ways of considering knowledge, Henle distinguishes between an operational *modus* principle and a reception principle, acknowledging that the two must be intimately related—however without saying how. He observes that the *modus* terminology and formulae Thomas employs to distinguish the *esse naturae* from the *esse intelligibile* do not appear to be used by Aristotle, Averroes, or Avicenna, but rather arise from the medieval debate on universals bequeathed to the thirteenth century by Boethius and Abelard. He notes further that the application of *modus* terminology to distinguish the *modus existendi rei cognitae* from the *modus intelligendi rem ipsam* does not occur in Thomas's early critiques of Plato; the terminology becomes central only later, in *Summa theologiae* I^o 52 and 84, and in *In duodecim libros Metaphysicorum* 1 lc. 10. Henle holds that Thomas's *modus* formulae are flexible and analagous formulae that express no single theory and that they require their doctrinal determination from more basic and general principles (pp. 328–33). See my remarks in note 15 above.

⁴⁰ *Index of Citations* 1, 2, and 11. The dictum of Boethius to which Thomas is alluding may be among the following three quotations, taken from *Philosophiae consolatio* (ed. L. Bieler, CCL 94 [Turnhout, 1957]): 1) "Quoniam igitur, uti paulo ante monstratum est, omne quod scitur non ex sua sed ex comprehendentium natura cognoscitur, intueamur nunc quantum fas est quis sit diuinae substantiae status, ut quanam etiam scientia eius sit possimus agnoscere" (5 m. 5, n. 6.1 [pp. 100.1–101.3]); 2) "Cuius erroris causa est quod omnia quae quisque nouit ex ipsorum tantum ui atque natura cognosci aestimat quae sciuntur. Quod totum contra est; omne enim quod cognoscitur non secundum sui uim sed secundum cognoscentium potius comprehenditur facultatem" (5 m. 3, nn. 4.24–25 [pp. 96.64–97.68]); 3) "Videsne igitur ut in cognoscendo cuncta sua potius facultate quam eorum quae cognoscuntur utantur? Neque id iniuria; nam cum omne iudicantis actus existat, necesse est ut suam quisque operam non ex aliena sed ex propria potestate perficiat" (5 m. 3, nn. 4.38–39 [pp. 97.101–98.106]).

Boethius's analysis of cognition in these contexts seems to be more phenomenological in nature than metaphysical, i.e., it is more an articulation of differences than an attempt to reduce them to principles of being as to their causes. His contrast between the *vis* of what is known and the *facultas* of the knowers remains metaphysically unelaborated, and is hardly comparable with the distinctions between the *modus rei cognitae*, *modus cognoscentis*, and *modus cognitionis* which Thomas attributes to him in *Super 1 Sent.* 38.1.2 so. Another remark of Boethius's on a dictum of Porphyry's, however, though not a formulation or application of the *modus* principle, does make more sense of Thomas's attributing to Boethius a meta-

*de causis*⁴¹ for applications to knowledge; he cites Dionysius, Peter Lombard, and St. Jerome for theological applications;⁴² and an objection of the *Super libros Sententiarum* cites Plato for an application to the reception of form in matter.⁴³ The majority of these citations for corollary applications occur in the early works.

With respect to the self-evidence of the principle, at one point in the *Super libros Sententiarum* Thomas introduces the principle as an accepted one: "Constat enim quod omne quod recipitur in aliquo, est in eo per modum recipientis. . . ."⁴⁴ In his commentary on the *De divinis nominibus*, he calls an application of the principle to cognition evident: "Manifestum est enim quod omnis cognitio est secundum modum eius quo aliquid cognoscitur, sicut omnis operatio est secundum modum quo aliquis operatur."⁴⁵ In the *Summa theologiae*, as already noted, he calls the *modus* principle itself evident.⁴⁶

The only citations of Thomas's for the *modus* principle proper that have clear referents are those of the *Liber de causis*. Both the principle and its metaphysics are expressly articulated in this work, and in particular the important term *modus* is prominent in the Latin translation. It is noteworthy that the *Liber de causis* contains no formulations so close to Thomas's own that we could call any proper formulation of his a direct quotation of one in the *Liber de causis*. Given that the *modus* principle appears frequently in objections, and thus seems to have been accepted in scholastic disputations, it is surprising that one cannot find among the authorities Thomas cites a close precedent. Further historical research would be necessary to locate precedents not cited by Thomas.⁴⁷

physically significant distinction between "modes": . . . *ipsa enim genera et species subsistunt quidem alio modo, intelliguntur uero alio . . .* (Boethius, *In Isagogen Porphyrii commenta* 1.11, ed. Samuel Brandt, CSEL 48 [Vienna and Leipzig, 1906], 167.8–9). For some commentary on this issue, including comparisons with Abelard, see Henle, *Saint Thomas and Platonism*, 329.

⁴¹ *Index of Citations* 12, 13, 14, 16, 19, 21, 26, 27, and 28.

⁴² *Index of Citations* 3, 10, 15, 22, 30, 31, and 33.

⁴³ See *Index of Citations* 4.

⁴⁴ See *Subject Index* 15.

⁴⁵ See *Index of Corollary Formulae* 14.

⁴⁶ See *Subject Index* 61 and see above at note 1.

⁴⁷ Many thanks to Kevin White and Marina McCoy for their comments on drafts of this article and to Jonathan Black for careful and patient editing.

SIGLA AND EDITIONS CITED

All citations are to the Leonine edition (*S. Thomae Aquinatis . . . Opera omnia iussu Leonis XIII. P.M. edita*, ed. Fratres Ordinis Praedicatorum [Rome and Paris, 1882-]) unless otherwise indicated in the following list of works. The *Subject Index*, *Index of Corollary Formulae*, and *Index of Citations* include parenthetical volume, page, and line references to the editions specified below for each work.

- 1-4SN *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum magistri Petri Lombardi*, ed. R. P. McDonnet and M. F. Moos, 4 vols. (Paris, 1929-47); 4SN 13-50 in *S. Thomae Aquinatis . . . Opera omnia* 7.2 (Parma, 1862; rpt. New York, 1948-50).
- QDV *Quaestiones disputatae de veritate* (Leonine edition).
- QDL *Quaestiones de quolibet VII-XI* (Leonine edition).
- SCG *Summa contra gentiles* (Leonine edition).
- QDP *Quaestiones disputatae de potentia*, in *Quaestiones disputatae*, ed. P. Bazzi et al., 9th ed., 2 vols. (Turin and Rome, 1953).
- CDN *In librum beati Dionysii de divinis nominibus expositio*, ed. C. Pera (Turin and Rome, 1950).
- QDA *Quaestiones disputatae de anima* (Leonine edition).
- ST1-4 *Summa theologiae* (I^a, I^a II^{ae}, II^a II^{ae}, III^a) (Leonine edition).
- CRO *Super Epistolam Pauli apostoli ad Romanos*, in *Super Epistolas s. Pauli lectura*, ed. R. Cai, 8th ed., 2 vols. (Turin and Rome, 1953).
- C1C/C2C *Super Epistolas Pauli apostoli ad Corinthios*, in *Super Epistolas s. Pauli lectura*, ed. Cai; see also *Reportationes Ineditae Leoninae in Opera Omnia: Indicis Thomistici Supplementum*, ed. R. Busa, vol. 6 (Stuttgart and Bad Cannstatt, 1980).
- RHE *Super Epistolam Pauli apostoli ad Hebraeos*; see *Reportationes Ineditae Leoninae in Opera Omnia: Indicis Thomistici Supplementum*, ed. Busa, vol. 6.
- QDM *Quaestiones disputatae de malo* (Leonine edition).
- QDS *Quaestio disputata de spiritualibus creaturis*, in *Quaestiones disputatae*, ed. Bazzi et al.
- CAN *Sentencia libri de anima* (Leonine edition).
- QDL *Quaestiones de quolibet I-VI, XII* (Leonine edition).
- CMP *In duodecim libros Metaphysicorum Aristotelis expositio*, ed. R. M. Spiazzi (Turin and Rome, 1950).
- QDW *Quaestiones disputatae de virtutibus*, in *Quaestiones disputatae*, ed. Bazzi et al.
- OTS *De substantiis separatis* (Leonine edition).
- CDC *Super librum de causis expositio*, ed. H. D. Saffrey (Fribourg and Louvain, 1954).

ad *responsum ad*
ag. *argumentum/*
objection

co. *corpus*
lc. *lectura/lectio*
pr. *propositio*

qa. *quaestuncula*
s.c. *sed contra*
so. *solutio*

• *Inest-Formulation* * *Variant Formulation*
Argumentum and *sed contra* cited in italics

CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX

Corresponding *Subject Index* entry numbers are indicated in brackets.

Early Works:

Scriptum super libros Sententiarum magistri Petri Lombardi (1252–56, Paris)

1 Sent.:

- * 1. 8.1.2 s.c. 2 [69] ... omne quod est participatum in aliquo, est in eo per modum participantis. ...
- 2. 8.5.3 so. [54] ... nihil recipitur in aliquo nisi secundum proportionem recipientis. ...
- 3. 17.1.1 s.c. [78] ... omne quod recipitur in aliquo, recipitur in eo per modum recipientis.
- 4. 36.1.3 ad 2 [70] ... omne quod est in aliquo [lege aliquo], est in eo per modum ejus in quo est, et non per modum sui. ...
- 5. 37.2.3 ad 3 [45] ... omne quod in altero est, est in eo per modum ejus in quo est, et non per modum sui.
- 6. 38.1.2 so. [34] Unumquodque autem est in aliquo per modum ipsius, et non per modum sui. ...
- 7. 43.1.1 so. [65] ... quod recipitur in aliquo limitatur ad capacitatem ejus.

2 Sent.:

- 8. 3.3.1 so. [28] ... unumquodque recipitur in aliquo per modum recipientis. ...
- 9. 17.2.1 ag. 3 [5] ... omne quod recipitur in aliquo, recipitur in eo per modum recipientis, et non per modum sui. ...
- 10. 30.1.2 ad 5 [90] ... cum omne quod est in altero sit in eo per modum recipientis. ...
- 11. 32.2.3 so. [55] ... cum omne quod in aliquo recipitur per modum recipientis sit receptum. ...

3 Sent.:

- 12. 13.1.2 so. 2 [49] Limitatur autem aliquid ex capacitate recipientis. ...
- 13. 14.—.1 so. 3 [83] Cum enim omne quod recipitur in aliquo, sit in eo per modum recipientis. ...

4 Sent.:

- 14. 1.1.4 qa. 2 ag. 4 [97] ... omne quod recipitur in aliquo, est in eo per modum recipientis. ...
- 15. 36.1.4 so. [73] ... receptum est in recipiente per modum recipientis, et non per modum dantis. ...
- 16. 44.2.4 so. 1 [86] Quod enim recipitur in aliquo, non recipitur per modum influentis, sed per modum recipientis. ...
- 17. 44.3.3 qa. 3 ag. 4 [100] ... omne quod recipitur in aliquo, est in eo per modum recipientis.

18. 48.1.3 ag. 4 [101] ... *omne quod recipitur in aliquo, recipitur per modum recipientis, et non per modum recepti.*
19. 49.2.1 so. [15] ... *omne quod recipitur in aliquo, est in eo per modum recipientis. ...*
20. 49.2.2 so. [87] ... *cum omne quod recipitur in aliquo, sit in eo per modum recipientis. ...*
21. 50.1.2 s.c. 3 [18] ... *quod recipitur in aliquo, recipitur in eo per modum recipientis.*

Quaestiones disputatae de veritate (1256–59, Paris)

- * 22. 1.2 ag. 3 [26] ... *omne quod est in aliquo consequitur id in quo est. ...*
23. 2.3 so. [35] ... *omne autem quod est in altero est in eo per modum recipientis. ...*
- 24. 2.5 so. [36] ... *omne quod est in aliquo est in eo per modum eius in quo est. ...*
- * 25. 2.12 ad 7 [37] ... *illa enim quae attribuuntur ei [sc. rei] secundum se conveniunt ei secundum modum suum. ...*
- 26. 2.13 ad 3 [38] ... *quod autem est in aliquo est in eo per modum eius in quo est.*
27. 8.11 ag. 5 [30] ... *omne quod est in altero, est in eo per modum recipientis. ...*
28. 10.11 ag. 8 [16] ... *omne quod est in altero, est in eo per modum recipientis. ...*
29. 12.6 ag. 4 [93] ... *quicquid recipitur in aliquo est in eo per modum recipientis et non per modum suum. ...*
30. 12.12 s.c. 2 [94] ... *omne quod in aliquo recipitur, recipitur in eo per modum recipientis. ...*
31. 18.5 s.c. 3 [95] ... *unumquodque quod recipitur in aliquo recipitur in eo per modum eius in quo recipitur. ...*
32. 19.1 so. [19] ... *omne quod recipitur in aliquo recipitur in eo per modum recipientis.*
33. 19.1 so. [20] ... *unumquodque recipit influentiam a suo superiori per modum sui esse.*
34. 20.4 ad 1 [50] ... *cum omne receptum sit in recipiente secundum modum recipientis.*
35. 21.6 so. [71] ... *cum omne quod est in aliquo sit in eo per modum recipientis.*
36. 21.6 ad 5 [72] ... *cum receptum limitetur secundum recipientem. ...*
- 37. 24.8 ag. 6 [88] ... *quod est in aliquo est in eo per modum eius in quo est. ...*
38. 24.8 ad 6 [88] ... *quod recipitur in aliquo ... secundum quidem esse suum est in eo in quo recipitur per modum recipientis. ...*
39. 27.4 ag. 4 [98] ... *omne quod recipitur in altero recipitur in eo per modum recipientis. ...*
40. 28.3 ad 5 [89] ... *omne enim quod recipitur in alio est in eo per modum recipientis.*

Quaestiones de quolibet VII–XI (1256–59, Paris)

- 41. 7.1.1 co. [17] Cum autem omne quod recipitur in aliquo, recipiatur in eo per modum recipientis. . . .
- 42. 9.4.1 co. [51] . . . cum omne quod est in altero, sit in eo per modum recipientis. . . .
- 43. 10.3.2 co. [6] . . . cum receptum sit in recipiente per modum recipientis. . . .

Summa contra gentiles (1259–65, Paris/Naples/Orvieto)

- * 44. 1.32 [66] . . . omne quod participatur determinatur ad modum participati [*lege participantis?*]. . . .
- 45. 1.43 [67] . . . quia quod est in altero, est in eo per modum recipientis.
- 46. 1.49 [39] Omne autem quod est in aliquo, est in eo per modum eius in quo est.
- 47. 2.23 [46] Omne autem quod est in altero, est in eo per modum eius in quo est.
- 48. 2.50 [56] Omne quod est in aliquo est in eo per modum recipientis.
- * 49. 2.55 [52] Unumquodque perficitur secundum modum suae substantiae.
- 50. 2.73 [7] Receptum est in recipiente per modum recipientis.
- 51. 2.74 [8] Quod recipitur in aliquo, est in eo per modum recipientis.
- 52. 2.79 [57] Unumquodque quod recipitur in aliquo, recipitur in eo secundum modum eius in quo est.
- 53. 2.99 [31] . . . quod enim est in aliquo, est in eo per modum eius in quo est.
- 54. 3.79 [76] . . . cum unumquodque recipiat aliquid secundum modum suum.
- 55. 4.13 [68] Quod autem est in aliquo, est in eo per modum eius in quo est, et non per proprium modum. . . .

Quaestiones disputatae de potentia (1265–66, Rome)

- 56. 3.3 ag. 1 [47] . . . omne quod recipitur in aliquo, est in eo per modum recipientis.
- 57. 3.11 ag. 14 [42] . . . quod recipitur in alio, est in eo per modum recipientis, et non per modum sui.
- 58. 3.15 co. [48] Omne autem quod est in aliquo, est in eo per modum eius in quo est. . . .
- 59. 7.10 ad 10 [1] . . . unumquodque recipitur in altero per modum recipientis. . . .

In librum beati Dionysii de divinis nominibus expositio (1265–67, Rome)

- 60. 5 lc. 1 [74] . . . omne quod est in altero, est in eo per modum eius in quo est. . . .
- 61. 13 lc. 2 [75] . . . omne quod est in aliquo, est in eo per modum eius in quo est. . . .

Late Works:*Quaestiones disputatae de anima* (1265–66, Rome)

- 62. 2 ag. 19 [58] *Omne autem quod recipitur in aliquo est in eo per modum recipientis.*
- 63. 4 ag. 3 [9] *... cum omne receptum sit in recipiente per modum recipientis.*
- 64. 10 ag. 14 [59] *Omne quod est in altero est in eo per modum eius in quo est.*
- 65. 10 ad 14 [59] *... dicitur unumquodque esse in alio secundum modum eius in quo est. ...*
- 66. 13 ag. 6 [60] *Omne quod est in alio, est in eo per modum recipientis.*
- 67. 19 ad 10 [21] *... omne quod est in aliquo, est in eo per modum recipientis. ...*
- 68. 20 ag. 7 [23] *Omne quod recipitur in aliquo recipitur in eo per modum recipientis.*
- 69. 20 co. [22] *... omne enim receptum determinatur in recipiente secundum modum recipientis.*
- 70. 21 ag. 13 [102] *... cum receptum sit in recipiente secundum modum eius. ...*

Summa theologiae (1265–73, Rome/Paris/Naples)*I^a:*

- 71. 14.5 co. [40] *... omne quod est in altero, est in eo secundum modum eius in quo est.*
- 72. 24.3 ag. 2 [103] *... quidquid est in aliquo, est in eo per modum eius in quo est.*
- 73. 55.1 ag. 3 [29] *... omne quod est in altero, est in eo per modum eius in quo est.*
- 74. 57.1 co. [32] *Omne autem quod est in aliquo, est in eo per modum eius in quo est.*
- 75. 75.5 co. [61] *... omne quod recipitur in aliquo, recipitur in eo per modum recipientis.*
- 76. 76.1 ag. 3 [62] *... receptum est in recipiente secundum modum recipientis.*
- 77. 76.2 ag. 3 [10] *... omne quod recipitur in aliquo, est in eo per modum recipientis.*
- 78. 79.6 co. [11] *Quod enim recipitur in aliquo, recipitur in eo secundum modum recipientis.*
- 79. 84.1 co. [2] *... receptum est in recipiente per modum recipientis.*
- 80. 89.2 co. [24] *... est autem aliquid in altero per modum eius in quo est.*
- 81. 89.4 co. [25] *... omne quod recipitur in aliquo, determinatur in eo secundum modum recipientis.*

I^a II^{ae}:

- 82. 50.4 ag. 2 [63] *... omne quod est in aliquo, est in eo per modum eius in quo est.*
- 83. 66.6 ad 1 [79] *... unumquodque est in altero per modum eius in quo est.*

II^a II^{ae}:

- 84. 23.6 ad 1 [80] ... unumquodque est in aliquo per modum eius in quo est. ...

III^a:

- 85. 11.5 co. [84] ... receptum est in recipiente per modum recipientis.
- 86. 54.2 ad 1 [85] ... omne quod recipitur in aliquo, recipitur in eo secundum modum recipientis.
- 87. 62.4 ag. 1 [99] ... quod recipitur ab aliquo, est in eo per modum recipientis.

Super Epistolas Pauli apostoli (?1265–68, Rome; ?1272–73 Paris/ Naples)*Ad Rom*

- 88. 5 lc. 3 [92] ... omne receptum est in recipiente per modum recipientis.

Ad 1 Cor

- 89. 13 lc. 3 [13] Quod autem recipitur in aliquo, est in eo per modum recipientis.
- 90. 13 vs. 8 [14] Unumquodque enim quod est in altero est in eo per modum recipientis.

Ad Heb

- 91. Prol. [96] ... cum enim omne quod recipitur sit secundum modum et dispositionem eius in quo recipitur. ...

Quaestiones disputatae de malo (1266–70, Rome/Paris)

- 92. 7.5 ag. 8 [91] ... omne quod est in altero est in eo per modum eius in quo est.
- * 93. 16.5 ag. 16 [104] ... quod additur alicui aduenit ei secundum modum eius.
- * 94. 16.5 co. [77] ... omne quod aduenit alicui, aduenit ei secundum modum sue nature. ...
- * 95. 16.6 ag. s.c. 4 [105] Omne quod aduenit alicui, <aduenit ei> secundum modum sue nature. ...

Quaestio disputata de spiritualibus creaturis (1267–68, Rome)

- 96. 9 ag. 16 [64] ... receptum est in recipiente per modum recipientis.

Sentencia libri de anima (1267–68, Rome)

- 97. 2.12 [3] Vnumquodque autem recipitur in aliquo per modum <ipsius et non per modum> sui.
- 98. 2.24 [43] ... unumquodque enim recipitur in altero secundum modum recipientis. ...
- 99. 2.27 [27] ... omne enim recipiens recipit aliquid secundum modum suum. ...

Quaestiones de quolibet I–VI, XII (1268–72, Paris)

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In duodecim libros Metaphysicorum Aristotelis expositio (1270–72, Paris/Naples?)

- 101. 1 lc. 10 [4] ... omne quod est in aliquo, est per modum eius in quo est.
- 102. 1 lc. 10 [44] ... unumquodque recipitur in aliquo secundum mensuram recipientis.

Quaestiones disputatae de virtutibus (De caritate) (1271–72, Paris)

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- 104. *De car. 3 ad 13* [82] ... cum omne quod est in altero, sit in eo per modum eius in quo est. ...

De substantiis separatis (1271–73, Paris or Naples)

105. 7 [53] ... fit enim receptio secundum modum recipientis. ...
- 106. 14 [41] Quod autem est in aliquo oportet quod in eo sit secundum modum substantiae eius. ...

Super librum de causis expositio (1272, Paris)

- 107. Pr. 12 [33] ... unum est in alio secundum convenientem modum ei in quo est.

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In the Order of Knowing

HUMAN KNOWLEDGE

The Immateriality of Human Knowledge

1. *Utrum Deus realiter referatur ad creaturam, ita quod ipsa relatio sit res aliqua in Deo.* QDP 7.10 ad 10 (2:211).

Ad decimum dicendum, quod licet doctor incipiat a rebus, tamen alio modo recipiuntur rerum conceptiones in mente doctoris quam sint in natura rei, quia **unumquodque recipitur in altero per modum recipientis**: patet enim quod conceptiones in mente doctoris sunt immaterialiter, et materialiter in natura.

2. *Utrum anima cognoscat corpora per intellectum.* ST1 84.1 co. (5:314).

Et similiter intellectus species corporum, quae sunt materiales et mobiles, recipit immaterialiter et immobiliter, secundum modum suum: nam **receptum est in recipiente per modum recipientis**. — Dicendum est ergo quod anima per intellectum cognoscit corpora cognitione immateriali, universali et necessaria.

3. *Quare sensus sit singularium, sciencia universalium* (In Aristotelis *De anima* 417b16–418a6). CAN 2.12 (45.1, p. 115.74–92).

Vnumquodque autem recipitur in aliquo per modum <ipsius et non per modum> sui. Cognitio autem omnis fit per hoc quod cognitum est aliquo modo in cognoscente, scilicet secundum similitudinem: nam cognoscens in actu est ipsum cognitum in actu. Oportet igitur quod sensus corporaliter recipiat similitudinem rei quae sentitur, intellectus autem recipit similitudinem eius quod intelligitur incorporaliter et immaterialiter. . . . Manifestum est igitur quod similitudo rei recepta in sensu representat rem secundum quod est singularis, recepta autem in intellectu representat rem secundum rationem uniuersalis nature.

4. In Aristotelis *Metaphysica* 987a30–988a20. CMP 1 lc. 10 (p. 47, n.158).

Patet autem diligenter intuenti rationes Platonis, quod ex hoc in sua positione erravit, quia credidit, quod modus rei intellectae in suo esse sit sicut modus intelligendi rem ipsam. . . . [N]on tamen oportet quod modo illo sit species illa in intellectu quo in re intellecta: nam **omne quod est in aliquo, est per modum eius in quo est**. Et ideo ex natura intellectus, quae est alia a natura rei intellectae, necessarium est quod alius sit modus intelligendi quo intellectus intelligit, et alius sit modus essendi quo res existit.

Intelligible Species

5. *Utrum anima intellectiva vel intellectus sit unus in omnibus hominibus.*

2SN 17.2.1 ag. 3 (2:421).

Praeterea, omne quod recipitur in aliquo, recipitur in eo per modum recipientis, et non per modum sui, ut ex Dionysio et ex lib. De causis habetur. Si ergo intellectus individuatur ad divisionem corporis, ut sit alius diversorum, oportet quod formae intellectuales in eo receptae, etiam sint individuae. . . .

6. *Utrum [anima rationalis] secundum suam substantiam sit incorruptibilis.*

QDL 10.3.2 co. (25.1, p. 133.101–7).

[S]i in nobis non est aliqua uirtus nisi materialis, lumen intellectus agentis non poterit in nobis recipi nisi materialiter, **cum receptum sit in recipiente per modum recipientis**, et ita non recipietur modo intelligibili, et sic nos non poterimus esse intelligentes.

7. *Quod intellectus possibilis non est unus in omnibus hominibus.* SCG 2.73 (13:462a4–7).

Item. *Receptum est in recipiente per modum recipientis.* Sed intellectus secundum se est supra motum. Ergo quod recipitur in eo, recipitur fixe et immobiliter.

8. *De opinione Avicennae, qui posuit formas intelligibiles non conservari in intellectu possibili.* SCG 2.74 (13:470a24–30).

Amplius. *Quod recipitur in aliquo, est in eo per modum recipientis.* Esse autem intellectus possibilis est magis firmum quam esse materiae corporalis. Cum igitur formae fluentes in materiam corporalem ab intelligentia agente, secundum ipsum [sc. Avicennam], conserventur in ea, multo magis conservantur in intellectu possibili.

9. *Utrum necesse sit ponere intellectum agentem.* QDA 4 ag. 3 (24.1, p. 31.34–41).

Ad hoc ergo ponitur intellectus agens, ut species intelligibiles a materia abstrahantur. Set hoc potest fieri sine intellectu agente, nam intellectus possibilis, cum sit immaterialis, immaterialiter necesse est quod recipiat, cum omne receptum sit in recipiente per modum recipientis. Nulla igitur necessitas est ponere intellectum agentem.

10. *Utrum intellectivum principium multiplicetur secundum multiplicationem corporum.*

ST1 76.2 ag. 3 (5:216).

Praeterea, si intellectus meus est alius ab intellectu tuo, intellectus meus est quoddam individuum, et similiter intellectus tuus. . . . Sed omne quod recipitur in aliquo, est in eo per modum recipientis. Ergo species rerum in intellectu meo et tuo recipiuntur individualiter: quod est contra rationem intellectus, qui est cognoscitivus universalium.

11. *Utrum memoria sit in parte intellectiva animae.* ST1 79.6 co. (5:270).

Repugnat etiam praedicta positio rationi. *Quod enim recipitur in aliquo, recipitur in eo secundum modum recipientis.* Intellectus autem est magis stabilis naturae et immobilis, quam materia corporalis. Si ergo materia corporalis formas quas recipit . . . tenet . . . etiam postquam agere per eas cessaverit, multo fortius intellectus immobiliter et inamissibiliter recipit species intelligibiles. . . .

12. *Utrum anima separata a corpore cognoscat aliam animam separatam.*

QDL 3.9.1 co. (25.2, p. 279.65–71).

Quod enim species intelligibiles in intellectu possibili non conseruentur, est contra rationem: *quod enim in aliquo recipitur, est in eo per modum recipientis*; unde, cum intellectus possibilis habeat esse stabile et immobile, species intelligibiles oportet quod in eo recipiantur stabiliter et immobiliter.

13. C1C 13 lc. 3 (p. 385, n. 791).

Quod autem recipitur in aliquo, est in eo per modum recipientis. Cum ergo substantia intellectus possibilis sit immutabilis et fixa, consequens est, quod species intelligibiles remaneant in eo immobiliter.

14. *Super Epistolam I Ad Cor.: XI, 1–XIII, 11.*

C1C (*Reportationes Ineditae Leoninae*) n. 3, 13 vs. 8 (6:374b40–46).

[C]um intellectus habeat esse firmum et stabile, quod ideo recipitur oportet stabiliter recipi. Unumquodque enim quod est in altero est in eo per modum recipientis. Hoc autem est ex voluntate quod speciebus in intellectu existentibus quandoque actu utitur et quandoque non utitur, unde habitus diffinitur [*sic*]. . . .

Knowledge of the Divine Essence

15. *Utrum intellectus humanus possit pervenire ad videndum Deum per essentiam.*

4SN 49.2.1 so. (Parma ed., pp. 1198–99).

Constat enim quod omne quod recipitur in aliquo, est in eo per modum recipientis: et ideo similitudo divinae essentiae impressa ab ipso in intellectu nostro erit per modum nostri intellectus. Modus autem intellectus nostri deficiens est a receptione perfectae divinae similitudinis. . . . Et ita patet quod per nullam similitudinem receptam in intellectu creato potest sic Deus intelligi quod essentia ejus videatur immediate.

16. *Utrum mens in statu viae possit videre Deum per essentiam.*

QDV 10.11 ag. 8 (22.2, p. 334.60–66).

Praeterea, omne quod est in altero, est in eo per modum recipientis; sed Deus per essentiam suam est in mente nostra; cum igitur modus mentis nostrae sit intelligibilitas ipsa, videtur quod essentia divina sit in mente nostra ut intelligibilis, et ita mens nostra Deum per essentiam intelligit in statu viae.

17. *Utrum aliquis intellectus creatus possit divinam essentiam videre immediate.*

QDL 7.1.1 co. (25.1, p. 8.113–17).

Cum autem omne quod recipitur in aliquo recipiatur in eo per modum recipientis, impossibile est in intellectu creato similitudinem divinae essentiae recipi quae eam perfecte secundum totam suam rationem repraesentet. . . .

The Knowledge of the Separated Soul

18. *Utrum anima per species quas nunc a corpore abstrahit, separata postmodum per eas aliquid intelligat.*

4SN 50.1.2 s.c. 3 (Parma ed., p. 1248).

Praeterea, quod recipitur in aliquo, recipitur in eo per modum recipientis. Sed anima est incorruptibilis et perpetua. Ergo quod in ea recipitur, recipitur ut perpetuo conservabile in ipsa; ergo species intelligibiles quas a sensibus accipit, remanent in ea post separationem a corpore.

19. *Utrum anima post mortem possit intelligere.*

QDV 19.1 so. (22.2, p. 564.263–71).

[O]mne quod recipitur in aliquo recipitur in eo per modum recipientis. Cum autem substantia immaterialis habeat esse magis fixum et stabile quam substantia corporea, in parte intellectiva recipientur species firmiter et immobiliter quam in aliqua re materiali; et quamvis recipiantur in ea secundum rationem intelligibilis, non tamen oportet quod semper actu intelligantur. . . .

20. *Utrum anima post mortem possit intelligere.*

QDV 19.1 so. (22.2, pp. 565.332–566.356).

[U]numquodque recipit influentiam a suo superiori per modum sui esse. Esse autem animae rationali acquiritur quodam modo medio inter formas separatas et formas materiales. . . . Et ideo etiam influentiam a Deo medio recipit anima rationalis inter angelos et substantias materiales. Recipit enim intellectuale lumen hoc modo ut eius intellectiva cognitio habeat ordinem ad corpus in quantum a corporeis potentiis accipit <phantasmata>. . . . Et tamen hoc lumen non est corpori obligatum, ut eius operatio per organum corporeum compleatur. . . .

21. *Utrum potentiae sensitivae remaneant in anima separata.*

QDA 19 ad 10 (24.1, p. 166.313–17).

Ad decimum dicendum quod omne quod est in aliquo, est in eo per modum recipientis.

tis; unde res sensibiles sunt in anima separata, non per modum sensibilem, set per modum intelligibilem.

22. *Utrum anima separata singularia cognoscat.* QDA 20 co. (24.1, p. 173.328–38).

Set tamen huiusmodi species influxe determinantur in ipsa anima ad cognitionem aliquorum singularium ad que anima habet aliquem ordinem specialem uel inclinationem, sicut ad ea que patitur uel ad ea ad que afficitur, uel quorum aliquae impressiones et uestigia in ea remanent: **omne enim receptum determinatur in recipiente secundum modum recipientis.** Et sic patet quare anima separata cognoscit singularia, non tamen omnia, set quedam.

23. *Utrum anima separata singularia cognoscat.* QDA 20 ag. 7 (24.1, p. 169.56–63).

Praeterea. Omne quod recipitur in aliquo recipitur in eo per modum recipientis. Set anima separata est immaterialis. Ergo forme influxe recipiuntur in ea immaterialiter. Set quod est immateriale non potest esse principium cognitionis singularium, que sunt indiuiduata per materiam. Ergo anima separata per formas influxas non potest cognoscere singularia.

24. *Utrum anima separata intelligat substantias separatas.* ST1 89.2 co. (5:375).

Est autem commune omni substantiae separatae quod *intelligat id quod est supra se, et id quod est infra se, per modum suae substantiae*: sic enim intelligitur aliquid secundum quod est in intelligente; **est autem aliquid in altero per modum eius in quo est.** Modus autem substantiae animae separatae est infra modum substantiae angelicae, sed est conformis modo aliarum animarum separatarum. Et ideo de aliis animabus separatis perfectam cognitionem habet; de angelis autem imperfectam et deficientem, loquendo de cognitione naturali animae separatae.

25. *Utrum anima separata cognoscat singularia.* ST1 89.4 co. (5:378).

Animae vero separatae non possunt cognoscere per huiusmodi species [*sc. a Deo receptae*] nisi solum singularia illa ad quae quoddammodo determinantur, vel per praecedentem cognitionem, vel per aliquam affectionem, vel per naturalem habitudinem, vel per divinam ordinationem: **quia omne quod recipitur in aliquo, determinatur in eo secundum modum recipientis.**

Miscellany

26. *Utrum veritas principalius inveniatur in intellectu quam in rebus.*

QDV 1.2 ag. 3 (22.1, p. 8.18–25).

Praeterea, omne quod est in aliquo consequitur id in quo est; si ergo veritas principaliter est in anima, tunc iudicium de veritate erit secundum aestimationem animae, et ita redibit antiquorum philosophorum error qui dicebant omne quod quis opinatur in intellectu esse verum et duo contradictoria simul esse vera, quod est absurdum.

27. In Aristotelis *De anima* 426b8–427a15.

CAN 2.27 (45.1, p. 185.218–23).

[**O]mne enim recipiens recipit aliquid secundum modum suum;** et sic etiam sensus communis nobiliori modo recipit quam sensus propius propter hoc quod uirtus sensitua consideratur in sensu communi ut in radice et minus diuisa.

ANGELIC KNOWLEDGE

Knowledge through Infused Species

28. *Utrum angelus cognoscat res per suam essentiam.* 2SN 3.3.1 so. (2:114).

Et quia **unumquodque recipitur in aliquo per modum recipientis**; lumen illud quod in Deo est simplex, recipitur in mente angeli ut divisum et multiplicatum: omnis enim potentia receptiva de se divisibilitatem habet secundum quod non est terminata ad unum, quod fit per actum terminantem: et ideo dicitur in libro *De causis*, ubi supra, quod sicut in natura inferiori multiplicantur singularia, ita et species intelligibiles in intelligentiis; utrumque enim est propter multiplicabilitatem potentiae. . . .

29. *Utrum angeli cognoscant omnia per suam substantiam.* ST1 55.1 ag. 3 (5:54).

Praeterea, omne quod est in altero, est in eo per modum eius in quo est. Sed angelus habet naturam intellectualem. Ergo quidquid est in ipso, est in eo per modum intelligibilem. Sed omnia sunt in eo: quia inferiora in entibus sunt in superioribus essentialiter, superiora vero sunt in inferioribus participative. . . . Ergo angelus omnia in sua substantia cognoscit.

Angelic Knowledge of Material Singulars

30. *Utrum angelus cognoscat singularia.* QDV 8.11 ag. 5 (22.2, p. 254.32–38).

Praeterea, omne quod est in altero, est in eo per modum recipientis; sed intellectus angeli est simplex et immaterialis; ergo similitudines particularium in eius intellectu existentes sunt in eo immaterialiter et simpliciter, et ita universaliter, et sic per eas singularia non cognoscit.

31. *Quod substantiae separatae cognoscunt materialia.* SCG 2.99 (13:594a16–21).

Cum igitur substantiae separatae sint supra substantias corporales, oportet quod ea quae sunt in substantiis corporalibus per modum materialem, sint in substantiis separatis per modum intelligibilem: **quod enim est in aliquo, est in eo per modum eius in quo est.**

32. *Utrum angeli cognoscant res materiales.* ST1 57.1 co. (5:69).

Omne autem quod est in aliquo, est in eo per modum eius in quo est. Angeli autem secundum suam naturam sunt intellectuales. Et ideo, sicut Deus per suam essentiam materialia cognoscit, ita angeli ea cognoscunt per hoc quod sunt in eis per suas intelligibiles species.

33. *Primorum omnium sunt quaedam in quibusdam per modum quo licet ut sit unum eorum in alio.* CDC pr. 12 (p. 78.10–13, p. 81.7–12).

Idem autem est quod PROCLUS dicit: *proprie autem in unoquoque*, et quod hic dicitur: *per modum quo licet ut sit unum eorum in alio*; utrobique enim significatur quod **unum est in alio secundum convenientem modum ei in quo est.** . . . Ex quo accipi potest qualiter intelligentiae se invicem intelligant et causam primam: unaquaeque enim intelligit aliam secundum quod alia est in ipsa, per modum eius in quo est; quia etiam in superioribus sunt inferiores secundum quasdam excellentiores similitudines seu species, superiores vero in inferioribus secundum quasdam deficientiores similitudines et species.

DIVINE KNOWLEDGE

34. *Utrum scientia Dei sit uniformiter de rebus scitis.* ISN 38.1.2 so. (1:901).

[C]ognitio non fit nisi secundum quod cognitum est in cognoscente. **Unumquodque autem est in aliquo per modum ipsius, et non per modum sui**, ut patet ex libro *De Causis*, propos. 10: et ideo oportet quod cognitio fiat secundum modum cognoscentis. Quia ergo in intellectu divino est summa unitas, ideo ejus cognitio est uniformis de omnibus; omnia enim in eo unum sunt.

35. *Utrum Deus cognoscat alia a se.* QDV 2.3 so. (22.1, p. 51.236–54).

Sciendum est igitur quod cum omne agens agat in quantum est in actu, oportet quod illud quod per agentem efficitur aliquo modo sit in agente, et inde est quod omne agens agit sibi simile; **omne autem quod est in altero est in eo per modum recipientis**. . . [S]i autem sit immateriale activum principium etiam effectus eius in eo immaterialiter erit. Dictum autem est supra quod secundum hoc aliquid cognoscitur ab altero secundum quod in eo immaterialiter recipitur. . . [S]ed in principiis activis immaterialibus effectus sunt secundum quod cognoscibiles sunt quia immaterialiter. . .

36. *Utrum Deus cognoscat singularia.* QDV 2.5 so. (22.1, pp. 62.277–63.303).

Sed tunc restat dubitatio: **cum omne quod est in aliquo est in eo per modum eius in quo est** et ita similitudo rei non sit in Deo nisi immaterialiter, unde est quod intellectus noster ex hoc ipso quod immaterialiter recipit formas rerum singularia non cognoscit, Deus autem cognoscit? . . . Illa enim quae est in intellectu nostro est accepta a re secundum quod res agit in intellectum nostrum. . . Sed similitudo rerum quae est in intellectu divino est factiva rei . . . unde similitudo immaterialis quae est in Deo non solum est similitudo formae sed materiae.

37. *Utrum Deus sciat singularia futura contingentia.* QDV 2.12 ad 7 (22.1, p. 86.381–403).

Aliter enim est de his quae attribuuntur rei secundum se, aliter de his quae attribuuntur ei secundum quod est cognita: **illa enim quae attribuuntur ei secundum se conveniunt ei secundum modum suum**, sed illa quae attribuuntur ei vel quae consequuntur ad ipsam in quantum est cognita sunt secundum modum cognoscentis. . . Et similiter cum dico ‘si Deus scit aliquid, illud erit’, consequens est sumendum non secundum dispositionem rei in se ipsa sed secundum modum cognoscentis; quamvis autem res in se ipsa sit futura, tamen secundum modum cognoscentis est praesens; et ideo magis esset dicendum ‘si Deus scit aliquid, hoc est’ quam ‘hoc erit’. . .

38. *Utrum scientia Dei sit variabilis.* QDV 2.13 ad 3 (22.1, pp. 89.205–90.211).

Ad tertium dicendum quod omnis scientia, sive sit per receptionem a rebus sive per impressionem in res, est per modum scientis quia utraque est secundum hoc quod similitudo rei cognitae est in cognoscente: **quod autem est in aliquo est in eo per modum eius in quo est**.

39. *Quod Deus cognoscit alia a se.* SCG 1.49 (13:142a11–17).

Omnis effectus in sua causa aequaliter praeexistit similitudo: cum omne agens agat sibi simile. **Omne autem quod est in aliquo, est in eo per modum eius in quo est**. Si igitur Deus aliquarum rerum est causa, cum ipse sit secundum suam naturam intellectualis, similitudo causati sui in eo erit intelligibiliter.

40. *Utrum Deus cognoscat alia a se.* ST1 14.5 co. (4:172).

[I]psum esse causae agentis primae, scilicet Dei, est eius intelligere. Unde quicumque

effectus praeexistunt in Deo sicut in causa prima, necesse est quod sint in ipso eius intelligere; et quod omnia in eo sint secundum modum intelligibilem: **nam omne quod est in altero, est in eo secundum modum eius in quo est.**

41. *Ostenditur Deum habere omnium cognitionem.* OTS 14 (40:D65.79–86).

Quod autem est in aliquo oportet quod in eo sit secundum modum substantiae eius; substantia autem Dei est ipsum eius intelligere: oportet igitur omnia quae quocumque modo sunt in rebus, in Deo intelligibiliter existere secundum eminentiam substantiae eius. Necesse est igitur Deum perfectissime omnia cognoscere.

In the Order of Being

ACTION AND PASSION

Agents and Patients

42. *Utrum anima sensibilis et vegetabilis sint per creationem vel traducantur ex semine.*

QDP 3.11 ag. 14 (2:73).

[Q]uod recipitur in alio, est in eo per modum recipientis, et non per modum sui. Si ergo virtus intellectualis substantiae recipitur in corpore caelesti non vivente, non erit ibi ut virtus vitalis quae possit esse principium vitae.

43. In Aristotelis *De anima* 424a17–424b18. CAN 2.24 (45.1, p. 169.30–38).

Nam forma quae in paciente recipitur ab agente, quandoque quidem habet eundem modum essendi in paciente quem habet in agente (... **unumquodque enim recipitur in altero secundum modum recipientis**, unde si eodem modo disponatur paciens sicut agens, eodem modo recipitur forma in paciente sicut erat in agente). ...

44. In Aristotelis *Metaphysica* 987a30–988a20. CMP 1 lc. 10 (p. 48, n. 167).

Videbat enim Plato quod **unumquodque recipitur in aliquo secundum mensuram recipientis.** Unde diversae receptiones videntur provenire ex diversis mensuris recipientium. Una autem materia est una mensura recipiendi. Vedit etiam quod agens, qui inducit speciem, facit multas res speciem habentes, cum sit unus, et hoc propter diversitatem quae est in materiis. ... Et inde est quod posuit unitatem ex parte speciei, et dualitatem ex parte materiae.

Divine Action

45. *Utrum esse ubique conveniat Deo ab eterno.* 1SN 37.2.3 ad 3 (1:866).

Sed cum dicitur res esse in Deo, importatur relatio creaturae ad Deum, non secundum exitum ab ipso, sed magis secundum adunationem creaturae ad principium; et quia principium est aeternum, ideo etiam et scire aeternum, et res ab aeterno in Deo. Deus enim est in rebus temporaliter per modum rerum, sed res ab aeterno in Deo per modum Dei; **quia omne quod in altero est, est in eo per modum eius in quo est, et non per modum sui.**

46. *Quod Deus non agat ex necessitate naturae.* SCG 2.23 (13:324b1–10).

Omne autem quod est in altero, est in eo per modum eius in quo est. Cum igitur Deus sit per essentiam suam intelligens, ut supra probatum est, oportet quod similitudo effectus sui sit in eo per modum intelligibilem. Igitur per intellectum agit. Intellectus autem non agit aliquem effectum nisi mediante voluntate. ... Deus igitur per voluntatem agit, non per necessitatem naturae.

47. *Utrum creatio sit aliquid realiter in creatura, et si est, quid sit.* QDP 3.3 ag. 1 (2:42).

Ut enim dicitur in libro de Causis, omne quod recipitur in aliquo, est in eo per modum recipientis. Sed actio Dei creantis recipitur simpliciter in non ente: quia Deus creando ex nihilo aliquid facit. Ergo creatio nihil reale ponit in creatura.

48. *Utrum res processerint a Deo per necessitatem naturae vel per arbitrium voluntatis.*

QDP 3.15 co. (2:84).

Tertia ratio est, quia cum omne agens agat sibi simile aliquo modo, oportet quod effectus in sua causa aliquid praeexistat. Omne autem quod est in aliquo, est in eo per modum eius in quo est; unde cum ipse Deus sit intellectus, creaturae in ipso intelligibiliter praeexistunt. . . . Quod autem est in intellectu, non proceditur nisi mediante voluntate: . . . et ita oportet quod res creatae a Deo processerint per voluntatem.

FORM AND MATTER

Infinity of Form

49. *Utrum gratia illa [sc. Christi] potuerit augmentari.* 3SN 13.1.2 so. 2 (3:402, nn. 46, 48–49).

Limitatur autem aliquid ex capacitate recipientis. . . . Sed si forma talis sit recepta in aliquo, de necessitate limitata est quantum ad esse debitum illi formae, non solum quantum ad esse simpliciter; quia non solum non habet plenitudinem essendi simpliciter, sed nec totum esse quod naturae illius est possibile fore. Sed possibile est ut non sit limitata quantum ad rationem illius formae, ut scilicet habeat illam formam secundum omnem modum completionis ipsius, ut nihil sibi desit de pertinentibus ad perfectionem formae illius; et hoc erit, si ex parte recipientis non sit defectus vel ex parte agentis.

50. *Utrum anima Christi sciat in Verbo omnia quae scit Verbum.*

QDV 20.4 ad 1 (22.2, p. 583.302–11).

[Q]uaelibet substantia immaterialis est quidem finita in quantum habet esse limitatum ad propriam naturam, eo quod nulla creata substantia quamvis immaterialis est esse suum, sed esse participat; est tamen infinita per remotionem illius terminationis secundum quam forma terminatur ex hoc ipso quod in materia recipitur, **cum omne receptum sit in recipiente secundum modum recipientis.**

Immaterial Form

51. *Utrum [angeli] sint compositi ex materia et forma.* QDL 9.4.1 co. (25.1, p. 101.67–81).

Si enim angeli haberent materiam de sui compositione, oporteret omne quod in eis est eis inesse per modum materie conuenientem, **cum omne quod est in altero sit in eo per modum recipientis**, ut habetur in Libro de causis; forma autem aliqua hoc modo est in materia quod in ea habet esse particulare et materiale; unde, si angeli essent ex materia compositi, oporteret quod . . . angelus nunquam cognosceret nisi particulare quia forma particulariter in aliquo recepta non posset esse uniuersalis cognitionis principium. . . .

52. *Quod substantiae intellectuales sunt incorruptibiles.* SCG 2.55 (13:394b35–48).

Adhuc. **Unumquodque perficitur secundum modum suae substantiae.** Ex modo igitur perfectionis alicuius rei potest accipi modus substantiae ipsius. . . . Modus igitur substantiae intelligentis est quod esse suum sit supra motum, et per consequens supra tempus. Esse autem cuiuslibet rei corruptibilis subiacet motui et tempori. Impossibile est igitur substantiam intelligentem esse corruptibilem.

53. *Quod spiritualis et corporalis substantiae non posset esse una materia.*

OTS.7 (40:D52.23–32).

Materia autem corporalium rerum suscipit formam particulariter, id est non secundum communem rationem formae; . . . hoc convenit tali materiae ex ipsa natura materiae, quae quia est infima debilissimo modo recipit formam — **fit enim receptio secundum modum recipientis** — . . .

*Soul and Body*54. *Utrum anima sit tota in toto, et tota in qualibet parte.* 1SN 8.5.3 so. (1:233–34).

[N]ihil recipitur in aliquo nisi secundum proportionem recipientis; et ideo non eandem perfectionem recipit ab anima auris et oculus, cum tamen quaelibet pars recipiat esse. Unde si consideretur anima prout est forma et essentia, est in qualibet parte corporis tota; si autem prout est motor secundum potentias suas, sic est tota in toto, et in diversis partibus secundum diversas potentias.

55. *Utrum animae sint aequales in sua creatione.* 2SN 32.2.3 so. (2:839).

[C]um anima non habeat materiam partem sui, oportet quod diversitas et distinctio gradus in animabus causetur ex diversitate corporis: ut quanto corpus melius complexionatum fuerit, nobiliorem animam sortiatur, **cum omne quod in aliquo recipitur per modum recipientis sit receptum**. . . .

56. *Quod substantiae intellectuales sunt immateriales.* SCG 2.50 (13:384b3–8).

Praeterea. **Omne quod est in aliquo est in eo per modum recipientis.** Si igitur intellectus sit compositus ex materia et forma, formae rerum erunt in intellectu materialiter, sicut sunt extra animam. Sicut igitur extra animam non sunt intelligibiles actu, ita nec existentes in intellectu.

57. *Quod anima humana, corrupto corpore, non corrumpitur.* SCG 2.79 (13:498b1–7).

Item. **Unumquodque quod recipitur in aliquo, recipitur in eo secundum modum eius in quo est.** Formae autem rerum recipiuntur in intellectu possibili prout sunt intelligibiles in actu. Sunt autem intelligibiles actu prout sunt immateriales, universales, et per consequens incorruptibiles. Ergo intellectus possibilis est incorruptibilis.

58. *Utrum anima humana sit separata secundum esse.* QDA 2 ag. 19 (24.1, p. 15.133–41).

Praeterea. **Omnis forma unita materie est in materia recepta. Omne autem quod recipitur in aliquo est in eo per modum recipientis.** Ergo omnis forma unita materie est in ea per modum materie. Set **modus materie sensibilis et corporalis non est quod recipiat aliquid per modum intelligibilem.** Cum igitur intellectus habeat esse intelligibile, non potest esse forma materie corporali unita.

59. *Utrum anima sit in toto corpore et qualibet parte eius.*

QDA 10 ag. 14 (24.1, p. 89.102–8).

Praeterea. **Omne quod est in altero est in eo per modum eius in quo est.** Si igitur anima est in corpore, oportet quod sit in eo per modum corporis. Set **modus corporis est ut ubi est una pars, non sit alia.** Ergo **ubi est una pars anime, non est alia; et ita non est tota in qualibet parte corporis.**

Responsum ad 14 (24.1, p. 94.371–78).

Ad quartum decimum dicendum quod cum dicitur unumquodque esse in alio secundum modum eius in quo est, intelligitur quantum ad modum capacitatis ipsius, non autem

quantum ad naturam eius. Non enim oportet ut id quod est in aliquo habeat naturam et proprietatem eius in quo est, set quod recipiatur in eo secundum capacitatem ipsius. . . .

60. *Utrum potentiae animae distinguantur per obiecta.* QDA 13 ag. 6 (24.1, p. 113.38–42).

Praeterea. Omne quod est in alio, est in eo per modum recipientis. Set potentie anime sunt in organis corporis: sunt enim actus organorum. Ergo distinguuntur secundum organa corporis et non secundum obiecta.

61. *Utrum anima sit composita ex materia et forma.* ST1 75.5 co. (5:202).

Manifestum est enim quod omne quod recipitur in aliquo, recipitur in eo per modum recipientis. Sic autem cognoscitur unumquodque, sicut forma eius est in cognoscente. Anima autem intellectiva cognoscit rem aliquam in sua natura absolute. . . . Anima igitur intellectiva est forma absoluta, non autem aliquid compositum ex materia et forma.

62. *Utrum intellectivum principium uniatur corpori ut forma.* ST1 76.1 ag. 3 (5:208).

Praeterea, quaecumque potentia receptiva est actus alicuius corporis, recipit formam materialiter et individualiter: quia receptum est in recipiente secundum modum recipientis. Sed forma rei intellectae . . . recipitur in intellectu . . . immaterialiter et universaliter. . . . Intellectus ergo non unitur corpori ut forma.

63. *Utrum in ipso intellectu sit aliquis habitus.* ST2 50.4 ag. 2 (6:320).

Praeterea, omne quod est in aliquo, est in eo per modum eius in quo est. Sed id quod est forma sine materia, est actus tantum. . . . Sed intellectus est forma sine materia. Ergo habitus, qui habet potentiam simul cum actu, quasi medium inter utrumque existens, non potest esse in intellectu; sed solum in coniuncto, quod est compositum ex anima et corpore.

64. *Utrum intellectus possibilis sit unus in omnibus hominibus.* QDS 9 ag. 16 (2:401).

Praeterea, receptum est in recipiente per modum recipientis. Sed species intelligibilis recipitur in intellectu ut intellecta in actu, et non individuata per materiam. Ergo intellectus possibilis non est individuatus per materiam. Ergo neque multiplicatur per multiplicationem materiae corporalis.

EXISTENCE

Esse divinum

65. *Utrum potentia Dei sit infinita.* 1SN 43.1.1 so. (1:1003).

Et ideo illud quod habet esse absolutum et nullo modo receptum in aliquo, immo ipsemet est suum esse, illud est infinitum simpliciter, et ideo essentia ejus infinita est, et bonitas ejus, et quidquid aliud de eo dicitur; quia nihil eorum limitatur ad aliquid, sicut quod recipitur in aliquo limitatur ad capacitatem ejus. Et ex hoc quod essentia est infinita, sequitur quod potentia ejus infinita sit. . . .

66. *Quod nihil de Deo et rebus aliis univoce praedicatur.* SCG 1.32 (13:97b14–23).

Omne quod de pluribus praedicatur univoce, secundum participationem cuilibet eorum convenit de quo praedicatur: nam species participare dicitur genus, et individuum speciem. De Deo autem nihil dicitur per participationem: nam omne quod participatur determinatur ad modum participati [lege participantis?] et sic partialiter habetur et non secundum omnem perfectionis modum. Oportet igitur nihil de Deo et rebus aliis univoce praedicari.

67. *Quod Deus est infinitus.*

SCG 1.43 (13:124a43–b9).

Omnis actus alteri inhaerens terminationem recipit ex eo in quo est: quia **quod est in altero, est in eo per modum recipientis**. Actus igitur in nullo existens nullo terminatur. . . . Deus autem est actus nullo modo in alio existens: quia nec est forma in materia, ut probatum est; nec esse suum inhaeret alicui formae vel naturae, cum ipse sit suum esse, ut supra ostensum est. Relinquitur igitur ipsum esse infinitum.

68. *Quod non est nisi unus filius in divinis.*

SCG 4.13 (15:50a11–22).

Quod autem est in aliquo, est in eo per modum eius in quo est, et non per proprium modum. . . . Res igitur intelligendae sunt in Verbo Dei praeexistisse [*sic*] secundum modum Verbi ipsius. Est autem modus ipsius Verbi quod sit unum, simplex, immateriale, et non solum vivens, sed etiam vita: cum sit suum esse. Oportet igitur quod res factae a Deo praeexistenterint [*sic*] in Verbo Dei ab aeterno, immaterialiter, et absque omni compositione, et quod nihil aliud in eo sint quam ipsum Verbum, quod est vita.

*Esse creatum*69. *Utrum Deus sit esse omnium rerum.*

ISN 8.1.2 s.c. 2 (1:197–98).

Praeterea, nihil habet esse, nisi in quantum participat divinum esse, quia ipsum est primum ens, quare causa est omnis entis. Sed omne quod est participatum in aliquo, est in eo per modum participantis: quia nihil potest recipere ultra mensuram suam. Cum igitur modus cujuslibet rei creatae sit finitus, quaelibet res creata recipit esse finitum et inferius divino esse quod est perfectissimum. Ergo constat quod esse creaturae, quo est formaliter, non est divinum esse.

70. *Utrum res quae cognoscuntur a Deo sint in Deo.*

1SN 36.1.3 ad 2 (1:836–37).

Cum ergo dicitur quod creatura verius esse habet in Deo quam in seipsa, . . . pro tanto dicitur quod in Deo habet verius esse, quia **omne quod est in aliquo [*lege aliquo?*], est in eo per modum ejus in quo est, et non per modum sui**; unde in Deo est per esse increatum, in se autem est per esse creatum, in quo minus est de veritate essendi quam in esse increato.

71. *Utrum bonum creaturae consistat in 'modo, specie et ordine.'*

QDV 21.6 so. (22.3, p. 609.138–49).

Species enim pertinet ad ipsam rationem speciei, quae quidem secundum quod in aliquo esse habet, recipitur per aliquem modum determinatum, **cum omne quod est in aliquo sit in eo per modum recipientis**. Ita igitur unumquodque bonum, in quantum est perfectivum secundum rationem speciei et esse simul habet modum, speciem et ordinem: speciem quidem quantum ad ipsam rationem speciei, modum quantum ad esse, ordinem quantum ad ipsam habitudinem perfectivi.

72. *Utrum bonum creaturae consistat in 'modo, specie, et ordine.'*

QDV 21.6 ad 5 (22.3, p. 610.179–85).

Ad quintum dicendum quod ubicumque est aliquid receptum, oportet ibi esse modum, **cum receptum limitetur secundum recipiens**; et ideo cum esse creaturae et accidentale et essentiale sit receptum, modus non solum invenitur in accidentalibus sed etiam in substantialibus.

MISCELLANY

Political Status of Offspring

73. *Utrum filii debeant sequi conditionem patris.* 4SN 36.1.4 so. (Parma ed., p. 997).

Hoc etiam in naturalibus invenitur quod **receptum est in recipiente per modum recipientis, et non per modum dantis**; et ideo rationabile est quod semen receptum in muliere ad conditionem ipsius trahatur [sc. sive libertatis sive servitutis].

Unity

74. *De causalitate primi Enti.*

CDN 5 lc. 1 (p. 237, n. 644).

[E]t dicit quod *numerus uniformiter praeexistit in unitate*, quia unitas virtute est omnis numerus, ut Boëtius dicit in *Arithmetica*. Dicit autem: *uniformiter*, quia **omne quod est in altero, est in eo per modum eius in quo est**; unde numerus in unitate est existens in ea per modum unitatis et hoc est quod dicit: *uniformiter*.

75. *Ostendit causalitatem unius in communi.*

CDN 13 lc. 2 (p. 364, n. 976).

Et sic manifestum fit quod, cum omnia quocumque modo sint multa, conveniunt tamen in aliquo uno: *nihil enim est in entibus, quod non participet secundum aliquid*, ipso uno; quod quidem secundum suam rationem, *est secundum omnia singulare*, idest indivisum in se. Nam multa individua quae sunt unum genere multa sunt divisa secundum speciem; et similiter, **omne quod est in aliquo, est in eo per modum eius in quo est**, ut omnes effectus sunt in principio.

In the Order of Grace

QUESTIONS IN SACRED THEOLOGY

Angels

76. *Quod substantiae intellectivae inferiores reguntur per superiores.*

SCG 3.79 (14:231b4–10).

Superiores intellectuales substantiae perfectius divinae sapientiae influentiam in seipsis recipiunt: **cum unumquodque recipiat aliquid secundum modum suum**. Per sapientiam autem divinam omnia gubernantur. Et sic oportet quod ea quae magis divinam sapientiam participant, sint gubernativa eorum quae minus participant.

77. *Utrum liberum arbitrium in daemonibus possit reverti ad bonum post peccatum.*

QDM 16.5 co. (23:305.320–30).

Verum est autem quod [angeli] sunt in potentia respectu motus in supernaturalia siue per conversionem siue per aversionem. Vnde hec sola mutatio in eis esse potest . . . set quia **omne quod advenit alicui, advenit ei secundum modum sue nature**, consequens est ut immobiliter angeli perseuerent uel in aversione uel in conversione respectu supernaturalis boni.

Charity

78. *Utrum charitas sit aliquid creatum in anima.*

1SN 17.1.1 s.c. (1:393).

Contra, omne quod recipitur in aliquo, recipitur in eo per modum recipientis. Sed amor increatus, qui est Spiritus sanctus, participatur in creatura. Ergo secundum modum ipsius creaturae. Sed modus ejus est finitus. Ergo oportet quod recipiatur in creatura

aliquis amor finitus. Sed omne finitum est creatum. Ergo in anima habente Spiritum sanctum est aliqua charitas creata.

79. *Utrum caritas sit maxima inter virtutes theologicas.* ST2 66.6 ad 1 (6:437).

In his autem quae sunt supra hominem, nobilior est dilectio quam cognitio. Perficitur enim cognitio, secundum quod cognita sunt in cognoscente: dilectio vero, secundum quod diligens trahitur ad rem dilectam. Id autem quod est supra hominem, nobilius est in seipso quam sit in homine: quia **unumquodque est in altero per modum eius in quo est**. E converso autem est in his quae sunt infra hominem.

80. *Utrum caritas sit excellentissima virtutum.* ST3 23.6 ad 1 (8:170).

Ea autem quae sunt infra animam nobiliori modo sunt in anima quam in seipsis, quia **unumquodque est in aliquo per modum eius in quo est**, ut habetur in libro *de Causis*: quae vero sunt supra animam nobiliori modo sunt in seipsis quam sint in anima. Et ideo eorum quae sunt infra nos nobilior est cognitio quam dilectio. . . . Sed eorum quae sunt supra nos, et praecipue dilectio Dei, cognitioni praefertur. Et ideo caritas est excellentior fide.

81. *Utrum caritas sit aliquid creatum in anima vel sit ipse spiritus sanctus.*

QDW De car. 1 s.c. (2:755).

Sed contra, omne quod recipitur in aliquo, recipitur in eo per modum recipientis. Si ergo caritas recipitur in nobis a Deo, oportet quod recipiatur a nobis finite secundum modum nostrum. Omne autem finitum est creatum. Ergo caritas est aliquid creatum in nobis.

82. *Utrum caritas sit forma virtutum.* QDW De car. 3 ad 13 (2:762).

Actus autem intellectus est secundum quod res intellectae sunt in intelligente: unde quando res sunt infra intelligentem, intellectus illarum est dignior voluntate: quia tunc altiori modo sunt in intellectu res quam in seipsis, **cum omne quod est in altero, sit in eo per modum eius in quo est**; sed quando res sunt altiores intelligente, tunc voluntas altius ascendit quam possit pertingere intellectus.

Christ

83. *Utrum in Christo sit aliqua scientia creata.* 3SN 14.1 so. 3 (3:438, n. 49).

Cum enim omne quod recipitur in aliquo, sit in eo per modum recipientis, essentiae divinae similitudo non potest in aliqua creatura recipi, quae perfecte repraesentet ipsam, propter infinitam distantiam creaturae ad Deum. . . . *Et ita patet quod anima Christi et qualibet alia anima quae videt Verbum per essentiam, non videt eum mediante aliqua similitudine.*

84. *Utrum scientia indita se infusa in Christo fuerit habitualis scientia.*

ST4 11.5 co. (11:163).

[M]odus huius scientiae inditae animae Christi fuit conveniens ipsi subiecto recipienti: nam **receptum est in recipiente per modum recipientis**. . . . Et sic patet quod modus connaturalis animae humanae est ut recipiat scientiam per modum habitus. Et ideo dicendum est quod scientia indita animae Christi fuit habitualis: poterat enim ea uti quando volebat.

85. *Utrum corpus Christi resurrexerit gloriosum.* ST4 54.2 ad 1 (11:510).

Ad primum ergo dicendum quod **omne quod recipitur in aliquo, recipitur in eo secundum modum recipientis**. Quia igitur gloria corporis derivatur ab anima . . . fulgor seu claritas corporis gloriosi est secundum colorem humano corpori naturalem. . . .

Grace and Glory

86. *Utrum corporibus gloriosis claritas conveniet.* 4SN 44.2.4 so. 1 (Parma ed., p. 1099).

Quod enim recipitur in aliquo, non recipitur per modum influentis, sed per modum recipientis; et ita claritas quae est in anima ut spiritualis, recipitur in corpore ut corporalis; et ideo secundum quod anima erit majoris claritatis secundum majus meritum, ita etiam erit differentia claritatis in corpore. . . .

87. *Utrum sancti post resurrectionem Deum corporalibus oculis videbunt.*

4SN 49.2.2 so. (Parma ed., pp. 1201–2).

Quia autem sensus inquantum est sensus, utitur organo corporali, non potest in eo aliquid recipi nisi corporaliter; **cum omne quod recipitur in aliquo, sit in eo per modum recipientis.** . . . Cum ergo visus et sensus sit futurus idem specie in corpore glorioso, non poterit esse quod divinam essentiam videat sicut visibile per se; videbit autem eam sicut visibile per accidens. . . .

88. *Utrum liberum arbitrium creaturae possit confirmari in bono per aliquod donum gratiae.* QDV 24.8 ag. 6 (22.3, p. 699.34–40).

Praeterea, ut dicitur in libro De causis, quod est in aliquo est in eo per modum eius in quo est; sed liberum arbitrium secundum naturam suam est mutabile in bonum et malum; ergo et gratia ei superveniens hoc modo in eo recipitur quod in bonum et malum mutari possit, et ita non potest ipsum confirmare in bono.

Responsum ad 6 (22.3, p. 701.171–85).

Ad sextum dicendum quod eius quod recipitur in aliquo potest considerari et esse et ratio: secundum quidem esse suum est in eo in quo recipitur per modum recipientis, sed tamen ipsum recipiens trahit ad suam rationem. . . . Ita etiam et gratia secundum esse suum est in libero arbitrio per modum eius sicut accidens in subiecto; sed tamen ad rationem suae immutabilitatis liberum arbitrium pertrahit, ipsum Deo coniungens.

89. *Utrum ad iustificationem impii liberum arbitrium requiratur.*

QDV 28.3 ad 5 (22.3, p. 829.340–48).

[I]ustificatio secundum communem causam inest parvulo et adulti, scilicet secundum gratiam, quae tamen recipitur in parvulo et adulto diversimode secundum diversam utriusque condicionem; **omne enim quod recipitur in alio est in eo per modum recipientis.** Et inde est quod in adulto recipitur gratia cum usu liberi arbitrii, non autem in parvulo.

Sin

90. *Utrum aliquis defectus veniens in nos per originem habeat rationem culpae.*

2SN 30.1.2 ad 5 (2:772–73).

Ad quintum dicendum, quod anima non inficitur per infectionem corporis, quasi corpore agente in animam; sed per quamdam collimationem unius ad alterum: quia forma recipitur in materia secundum conditionem ipsius materiae, **cum omne quod est in altero sit in eo per modum recipientis;** et ideo ex hoc ipso quod corpus illa virtute privatur qua perfecte erat subijcibile animae, sequitur etiam quod anima illa virtute careat qua perfecte corpus subditum regat. . . .

91. *Utrum in ratione superiori possit esse veniale peccatum.* QDM 7.5 ag. 8 (23:171.64–72).

Preterea. Ratio deliberationem importat: si ergo aliquod peccatum sit in ratione, oportet quod sit in ea per deliberationem, quia omne quod est in altero est in eo per

modum eius in quo est. Set peccatum quod est ex deliberatione est ex industria siue ex certa malitia, quod est maxime mortale cum sit peccatum in Spiritum Sanctum. Ergo in ratione superiori non potest esse nisi peccatum mortale.

92.

CRO 5 lc.3 (p. 74, n. 408).

Consequens igitur videtur quod nec peccatum, quod est accidens animae, possit per carnis originem traduci. Ad hoc autem rationabiliter respondetur, quod licet in semine non sit anima, est tamen in semine virtus dispositiva corporis ad animae receptionem, quae cum corpori infunditur, etiam ei suo modo conformatur, eo quod **omne receptum est in recipiente per modum recipientis**.

Supernatural Knowledge

93. *Utrum prophetae videant in speculo aeternitatis. QDV 12.6 ag. 4 (22.2, p. 385.33–41).*

Sed dicebat quod futura contingentia sunt quidem primordialiter in divina praescientia, sed exinde derivantur per quasdam species ad mentem humanam ubi a propheta videntur. — Sed contra, quicquid recipitur in aliquo est in eo per modum recipientis et non per modum suum; sed mens prophetae mutabilis est; ergo in ea non possunt futura contingentia immobiliter recipi.

94. *Utrum prophetia quae est secundum visionem intellectualem tantum sit eminentior ea quae habet visionem intellectualem simul cum imaginaria visione.*

QDV 12.12 s.c. 2 (22.2, p. 406.128–34).

Praeterea, omne quod in aliquo recipitur, recipitur in eo per modum recipientis; sed intellectus in quo aliquid recipitur in visione intellectuali est nobilior quam imaginatio in qua recipitur aliquid in visione imaginaria; ergo prophetia quae fit secundum intellectualem visionem est nobilior.

95. *Utrum Adam in statu innocentiae angelos per essentiam viderit.*

QDV 18.5 s.c. 3 (22.2, p. 546.115–27).

Sed contra, unumquodque quod recipitur in aliquo recipitur in eo per modum eius in quo recipitur; sed modus animae humanae est infra modum angelicae naturae; ... cum igitur anima cognoscat aliquid per modum quo cognitum est in ipsa, anima per huiusmodi impressionem non pertinet ad cognoscendum angelum secundum quod est in essentia sua.

96.

RHE, Prol., n. 4 (*Indicis Thomistici Supplementum*: 6:375a64–66).

... cum enim omne quod recipitur sit secundum modum et dispositionem eius in quo recipitur, non est mirum si apostolus perfectius receperit donum spiritus sancti secundum modum propriae linguae in qua nutritus fuerat.

Objections Concerning Sacraments

97. *Utrum sacramenta novae legis sint causa gratiae.*

4SN 1.1.4 qa. 2 ag. 4 (Parma ed., vol. 7.1, p. 461).

Praeterea, omne quod recipitur in aliquo, est in eo per modum recipientis; et inde est quod virtus spiritualis non potest esse in re corporali. Sed haec virtus, quae ordinatur ad gratiam inducendam, est maxime spiritualis. Ergo non potest esse in rebus corporalibus.

98. *Utrum sacramenta novae legis sint causa gratiae. QDV 27.4 ag. 4 (22.3, p. 802.36–42).*

[Q]uia omne quod recipitur in altero recipitur in eo per modum recipientis; et sic

cum sacramentum sit materiale elementum, ut Hugo de Sancto Victore dicit, non recipiet nisi virtutem materiale, quae non sufficit ad productionem formae spiritualis; ergo sacramentum nullo modo est causa gratiae.

99. *Utrum in sacramentis sit aliqua virtus gratiae causativa.* ST4 62.4 ag. 1 (12:24).

Sed in corpore non potest esse virtus spiritualis: neque ita quod sit propria ei, quia virtus fluit ab essentia rei, et ita non potest eam transcendere; neque ita quod recipiat eam ab alio, quia quod recipitur ab aliquo, est in eo per modum recipientis. Ergo in sacramentis non potest esse aliqua virtus gratiae causativa.

Objections Concerning the Damned

100. *Utrum in anima separata remaneant potentiae sensitivae.*

4SN 44.3.3 qa. 3 ag. 4 (Parma ed., p. 1107).

Sed omne quod recipitur in aliquo, est in eo per modum recipientis. Ergo quod recipitur ab igne in anima, non est in ea materialiter, sed spiritualiter. Sed formae rerum in anima spiritualiter existentes sunt perfectiones ipsius. Ergo etsi ponatur quod anima patiatur ab igne corporeo, hoc non erit in ejus poenam; sed magis in ejus perfectionem.

101. *Utrum Divinitas a malis sine gaudio videri possit.* 4SN 48.1.3 ag. 4 (Parma ed., p. 1169).

Praeterea, omne quod recipitur in aliquo, recipitur per modum recipientis, et non per modum recepti. Sed omne quod videtur, quodammodo in vidente recipitur. Ergo quamvis Divinitas in se sit delectabilissima, tamen visa ab illis qui sunt tristitia absorpti, non delectabit, sed magis contristabit.

102. *Utrum anima separata possit pati poenam ab igne corporeo.*

QDA 21 ag. 13 (24.1, pp. 177.106–178.113).

Si igitur anima patiatur ab igne corporeo diuina uirtute prout ratio passionis consistit in receptione tantum, cum receptum sit in recipiente secundum modum eius, sequeretur quod anima separata recipiat ab igne corporeo immaterialiter et incorporaliter, secundum modum suum. Talis autem receptio non est anime punitiua set perfectiua.

103. *Utrum aliquis deleatur de libro vitae.* ST1 24.3 ag. 2 (4:288).

Praeterea, quidquid est in aliquo, est in eo per modum eius in quo est. Sed liber vitae est quid aeternum et immutabile. Ergo quidquid est in eo, est ibi non temporaliter, sed immobiliter et indelebilit.

104. *Utrum liberum arbitrium in demonibus possit reverti ad bonum.*

QDM 16.5 ag. 16 (23:303.134–39).

[Q]uod additur alicui aduenit ei secundum modum eius; et ita, cum liberum arbitrium angeli secundum se sit conuertibile, uidetur quod illud quod ei additur uertibiliter inhereat ei. Non ergo immobiliter perseuerat in malo.

105. *Utrum intellectus diaboli post peccatum sic sit obtenebratus ut in eum possit cadere error uel deceptio.*

QDM 16.6 ag. s.c. 4 (23:309.183–88).

Praeterea. Omne quod aduenit alicui, <aduenit ei> secundum modum sue nature, ut dicitur in libro De causis. Si ergo demones secundum suam naturalem cognitionem non possunt errare, uidetur quod nec etiam circa cognitionem gratuitorum que eis superuenit errare possint.

INDEX OF COROLLARY FORMULAE

Principles of Knowledge – Principles of Action – Principles of Being – Principles of Grace

Principles of Knowledge

1. ... cum omnis cognitio sit per modum cognoscentis. ... 1SN 3.1.1 ad 5 (1:92).
2. ... *eo quod cognitio sit in cognoscente secundum modum ipsius cognoscentis.*
1SN 3.1.3 ag. 7 (1:96).
3. Omne autem cognoscens cognoscit secundum modum suum. ... 1SN 8.2.3 so. (1:207).
4. ... oportet quod cognitio fiat secundum modum cognoscentis. 1SN 38.1.2 so. (1:901).
5. ... oportet enim quod cognitum sit in cognoscente per modum cognoscentis. ...
QDV 1.2 so. (22.1, p. 9.63–65).
6. ... omnis scientia, sive per receptionem a rebus sive per impressionem in res, est per modum scientis. ...
QDV 2.13 ad 3 (22.1, pp. 89.205–90.207).
7. ... unumquodque hoc modo cognoscitur in aliquo quo modo est in eo.
QDV 8.12 so. (22.2, p. 258.83–85).
8. ... modus cognoscendi rem aliquam est secundum condicionem cognoscentis in quo forma recipitur secundum modum eius. QDV 10.4 so. (22.2, p. 306.68–70).
9. ... hoc est enim de ratione cognitionis, ut cognoscens contineat species cogniti secundum modum suum. SCG 1.70 (13:204a46–48).
10. Quod autem recipitur in substantia intellectuali, oportet quod recipiatur in ea per modum ipsius, scilicet intelligibiliter. SCG 2.55 (13:394a55–57).
11. ... nam cuiuslibet naturae intellectuali creatae proprium est ut intelligat secundum modum suae substantiae. ... SCG 3.52 (14:144b17–19).
12. In quolibet cognoscente modus cognitionis consequitur modum propriae naturae. ...
SCG 3.152, n. 3 (14:446a15–16).
13. ... recipitur enim aliquid in intellectu per modum sui, ut dicitur in libro De causis.
QDV 22.11 so. (22.3, p. 639.174–76).
14. ... omnis cognitio est secundum modum eius quo aliquid cognoscitur, sicut omnis operatio est secundum modum formae quo aliquis operatur. CDN 7 lc.3 (p. 271, n. 724).
15. Cognitum autem est in cognoscente secundum modum cognoscentis. Unde cuiuslibet cognoscentis cognitio est secundum modum suae naturae. ST1 12.4 co. (4:120).
16. ... scientia est secundum modum cognoscentis: scitum enim est in sciente secundum modum scientis. ST1 14.1 ad 3 (4:167).
17. Est enim unumquodque cognoscibile secundum modum sui actus. ...
ST1 14.3 co. (4:170).
18. ... ita cognitio est secundum modum speciei qua cognoscens cognoscit.
ST1 76.2 ad 3 (5:217).
19. Est autem commune omni substantiae separatae quod *intelligat id quod est supra se, et id quod est infra se, per modum suae substantiae.* ... ST1 89.2 co. (5:375).
20. Naturalis enim cognitio cuiuslibet creaturae est secundum modum substantiae eius.
... ST2 5.5 co. (6:51).
21. ... cognita sunt in cognoscente secundum modum cognoscentis. ST3 1.2 co. (8:11).
22. ... actus autem cognitivae virtutis est secundum modum cognoscentis.
ST3 27.4 co. (8:227).

23. ... oportet quod omne cognoscens secundum *modum suae substantiae* cognoscat quidquid cognoscit. CDC pr. 8 (p. 56.15–16).
 24. Cognitio autem cuiuslibet cognoscentis est secundum modum substantiae eius, sicut et quaelibet operatio est secundum modum operantis. ... OTS 14 (40:D65.31–34).

Principles of Action

25. ... *nihil potest recipere ultra mensuram suam.* ISN 8.1.2 s.c. 3 (1:197).
 26. ... impressio alicujus agentis non recipitur in aliquo nisi per modum recipientis. ... 2SN 15.1.2 ad 3 (2:372).
 27. ... influentiam agentis recipit patiens per modum virtutis suae, et non per modum virtutis ipsius agentis. 2SN 18.2.2 ad 2 (2:465).
 28. ... ex causa sequitur effectus secundum conditionem causae et effectus. ... 2SN 36.1.1 ad 2 (2:924).
 29. ... omne passivum recipit actionem agentis secundum suum modum. 4SN 44.2.1 so. 3 ad 2 (Parma ed., p. 1086).
 30. ... sicut et omnis alia actio, effectum habet secundum dispositionem recipientis. ... 4SN 45.2.4 so. 2 ad 1 (Parma ed., p. 1129).
 31. ... ex parte autem operati requiritur receptio, quae fit secundum proportionem recipientis. ... 4SN 46.2.2 so. 2 (Parma ed., p. 1146).
 32. ... actio agentis recipitur in medio per modum medii. ... QDV 5.9 ad 17 (22.1, p. 168.534–35).
 33. ... *efficacia virtutis est secundum modum substantiae.* ... QDV 8.14 ad ag. s.c. 5 (22.2, p. 267.382–83).
 34. ... quod fit non est secundum modum agentis sed secundum modum facti. ... QDV 21.2 ad 18 (22.3, p. 597.176–78).
 35. ... *cum illud quod superadditur sit accidens, oportet quod insit per modum recipientis.* ... QDV 24.10 ag. 14 (22.3, p. 704.131–33).
 36. Habent enim effectus suarum causarum suo modo similitudinem. ... SCG 1.8 (13:21a7–8).
 37. Cum omne agens agat secundum quod actu est, oportet modum actionis esse secundum modum actus ipsius rei. ... SCG 2.21 (13:313b41–43).
 38. Secundum igitur modum actus uniuscuiusque agentis est modus suae virtutis in agendo. ... SCG 2:22 (13:320b12–13).
 39. Intellectus enim possibilis, sicut et quaelibet substantia, operatur secundum modum suae naturae. SCG 2.73 (13:462a51–53).
 40. ... unicuique enim agenti naturali est virtus determinata secundum modum suae naturae. ... SCG 3.10 (14:26a9–11).
 41. Modus autem agendi cuiuslibet rei consequitur formam eius, quae est principium actionis. SCG 3.73 (14:216a5–7).
 42. Nam impressio universalis causae recipitur in unoquoque secundum modum suum. SCG b. 3.85 (14:256a12–14).
 43. Impressiones enim causarum universalium recipiuntur in effectibus secundum recipientium modum. SCG 3.86 (14:261a6–8).
 44. Causa autem prima causat operationem causae secundae secundum modum ipsius. SCG 3.148 (14:438a12–14).
 45. ... secundum modum substantie rei est modus operationis. ... *Compendium theologiae* 1.78 (42:106.1–2).

46. ... omnis operatio est secundum modum formae quo aliquis operatur.
CDN 7 lc.3 (p. 271, n. 724).
47. ... unumquodque proportionaliter agit aut patitur secundum modum suum. ...
CDN 9 lc.4 (p. 317, n. 845).
48. ... unumquodque quod est in potentia, reducitur in actum secundum modum sui esse.
ST1 7.4 ad 1 (4:79).
49. Praeexistunt autem effectus in causa secundum modum causae. ST1 19.4 co. (4:2376).
50. ... effectus sequitur a causa agente naturaliter secundum modum suae formae. ...
ST1 46.1 ad 9 (4:480).
51. Operatio enim cuiuslibet rei est secundum modum substantiae eius. ST1 50.2 co. (5:6).
52. ... quia enim unumquodque operatur secundum quod est actu, operatio rei indicat modum esse ipsius. ...
ST1 50.5 co. (5:12).
53. ... omnis forma inclinat suum subiectum secundum modum naturae eius.
ST1 62.3 ad 2 (5:113).
54. ... omnis actio est secundum modum formae qua agens agit. ... ST1 76.2 ad 3 (5:217).
55. ... *similitudo agentis recipitur in patiente secundum modum patientis.*
ST1 79.3 ag. 3 (5:264).
56. ... modus enim actionis est secundum modum formae agentis. ST1 84.1 co. (5:314).
57. Inclination autem cuiuslibet rei est in ipsa re per modum eius. ST1 87.4 co. (5:363).
58. ... cum nihil operetur nisi inquantum est actu, modus operandi uniuscuiusque rei sequitur modum essendi ipsius.
ST1 89.1 co. (5:370).
59. Deus autem movet unumquodque secundum modum eius quod movetur. ...
ST3 52.1 co. (8:383).
60. ... in unaquaque re generatio est secundum modum sui esse et suae naturae.
Super Epistolam ad Colosseos 1 lc.4 (*Super Epistolas*, ed. Cai, 2:133, n. 34).
61. ... unumquodque agens agit secundum modum sue nature. ...
QDL 3.3.2 {7} co. (25.2, p. 250.15–16).
62. ... cum omnis receptio sit secundum naturam recepti. ...
De unitate intellectus contra Averroistas 4 (43:310a251–52).
63. Non enim oportet quod actio agentis recipiatur in patiente secundum modum agentis, sed secundum modum patientis et recipientis. CMP 4 lc.12 (p. 187, n. 673).
64. A quolibet enim agente procedit effectus secundum modum sui esse. ...
OTS 9 (40:D58.225–26).
65. ... quaelibet operatio est secundum modum operantis. ... OTS 14 (40:D65.33–34).
66. ... sicut causa est quodam modo in effectum per sui similitudinem participatam, ita omnis effectus est in sua causa excellentiori modo secundum virtutem ipsius. ...
OTS 14 (40:D65.74–77).
67. ... unumquodque autem agit per modum suae substantiae. ...
OTS 15 (40:D67.30–31).
68. ... unaquaeque res operatur secundum modum formae suae quae est operationis principium. ...
CDC pr. 8 (p. 56.9–10).
69. ... causa autem agit in effectum per modum ipsius causae, effectus autem recipit actionem causae per modum suum; unde oportet quod *causa sit in effectum per modum effectus et effectus sit in causa per modum causae.* CDC pr. 12 (pp. 80.27–81.1).
70. ... priora sunt in posterioribus secundum modum posteriorum. CDC pr. 12 (p. 81.6–7).
71. ... *unaquaeque res recipit actionem eius [sc. causae primae] secundum modum suae virtutis.* ...
CDC pr. 24 (p. 121.4–5).

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72. ... *nihil potest recipere ultra mensuram suam.* ISN 8.1.2 s.c. 3 (1:197).
73. ... *esse enim recipitur in aliquo secundum modum ipsius, et ideo terminatur, sicut et quaelibet alia forma, quae de se communis est, et secundum quod recipitur in aliquo, terminatur ad illud.* ... 1SN 8.2.1 so. (1:202).
74. ... *omnis perfectio infundatur materiae secundum capacitatem suam.* ... 1SN 8.5.2 ad 6 (1:231).
75. *Sed forma substantialis datur secundum capacitatem materiae.* ... 1SN 17.1.3 ag. 2 (1:400).
76. *Perfectio enim non excedit capacitatem perfectibilis.* 1SN 17.2.4 ag. 1 (1:421).
77. ... *forma recipitur in materia secundum conditionem ipsius materiae.* ... 2SN 30.1.2 ad 5 (2:772).
78. ... *inferiora participant perfectiones superiorum secundum modum suum; et ideo participationes determinantur in participantibus ex capacitate et natura participantium.* 3SN 27.2.4 so. 3 ad 5 (3:891, n. 184).
79. ... *diversae creaturae diversimode secundum suum modum divinam similitudinem habent.* 4SN 7.2.1 qa. 2 ad 1 (4:282, n. 113).
80. ... *natura dictat animali cuilibet secundum modum convenientem suae speciei.* ... 4SN 33.1.1 ad 4 (Parma ed., p. 968).
81. ... *omnia creata secundum impressionem a creatore receptam inclinantur in bonum appetendum secundum suum modum.* ... 4SN 49.1.3 qa. 4 so. (Parma ed., p. 1191).
82. ... *omnis enim forma in aliquo recepta terminatur secundum modum recipientis.* ... QDV 2.2 ad 5 (22.1, p. 46.264–65).
83. ... *quia omnis forma recepta in aliqua materia finitur ad modum recipientis et ita non habet intensionem infinitam.* QDV 2.9 so. (22.1, p. 73.169–71).
84. *Diversae autem res diversimode ipsam [essentiam divinam] imitantur, et unaquaeque secundum proprium modum suum, cum unicuique sit esse distinctum ab altera.* ... QDV 3.2 so. (22.1, p. 104.200–202).
85. ... *omnis enim perfectio, quae non recipitur in aliquo nisi secundum dispositionem recipientis, requirit aliquam determinatam dispositionem in recipiente.* ... QDV 12.4 ag. 1 (22.2, p. 380.3–7).
86. ... *forma recepta sequitur modum recipientis quantum ad aliquid, prout habet esse in subiecto ... sed quantum ad aliquid forma recepta trahit subiectum recipiens ad modum suum, prout scilicet nobilitates quae sunt de ratione formae communicantur subiecto recipienti.* ... QDV 12.6 ad 4 (22.2, pp. 388.289–389.298).
87. ... *eius quod recipitur in aliquo potest considerari et esse et ratio: secundum quidem esse suum est in eo in quo recipitur per modum recipientis, sed tamen ipsum recipiens trahit ad suam rationem.* ... QDV 24.8 ad 6 (22.3, p. 701.171–75).
88. ... *oportet quod [accidens] insit per modum recipientis.* ... QDV 24.10 ag. 14 (22.3, p. 704.132–33).
89. ... *omnis enim forma recepta in aliquo subiecto terminationem recipit secundum capacitatem recipientis.* ... QDL 9.6 co. (25.1, p. 114.58–60).
90. *Omnia autem appetunt esse actu secundum suum modum.* ... SCG 1.37 (13:111a28–b9).
91. *Omnis actus alteri inhaerens terminationem recipit ex eo in quo est: quia quod est in altero, est in eo per modum recipientis.* SCG 1.43 (13:124a43–45).

92. Cuilibet autem enti competit appetere suam perfectionem et conservationem sui esse: unicuique tamen secundum suum modum. . . . SCG 1.72 (13:209b14–17).
93. Omnia autem, inquantum sunt, suo modo naturaliter diligunt suum esse. SCG 1.80 (13:224a2–4).
94. . . . unumquodque naturaliter velit aut appetat suo modo proprium bonum. . . . SCG 1.91 (13:246a20–21).
95. . . . formae in materia recipiuntur secundum materiae capacitatem. SCG 2.92 (13:558b7–8).
96. Nam impressio universalis causae recipitur in unoquoque secundum modum suum. SCG 3.85 (14:256a12–14).
97. . . . cum omnis natura determinatum modum habeat quo procedit in esse. SCG 3.107 (14:336a17–19).
98. Unumquodque entium habet proprium esse secundum modum suae naturae. SCG 3.107 (14:336a22–23).
99. . . . quelibet enim res suo modo appetit suum esse perfectum, quod est bonum uniuscuiusque. . . . *Compendium theologiae* 1.113 (42:123.17–18).
100. . . . omnis forma, recepta in aliquo, limitatur et finitur secundum capacitatem recipientis. . . . CDN 5 lc.1 (p. 234, n. 629).
101. . . . *omnis forma unita materie est in ea per modum materie.* QDA 2 ag. 19 (24.1, p. 15.136–7).
102. . . . unumquodque quod est in potentia, reducitur in actum secundum modum sui esse. ST1 7.4 ad 1 (4:79).
103. Sed radius [divinae bonitatis] non multiplicatur nisi secundum diversitatem recipientium. ST1 50.3 ag. 4 (5:8).
104. . . . omnis forma inclinat suum subiectum secundum modum naturae eius. ST1 62.3 ad 2 (5:113).
105. . . . omnis perfectio recipitur in perfectibili secundum modum eius. ST1 62.5 co. (5:115).
106. Esse autem participatum finitur ad capacitatem participantis. ST1 75.5 ad 4 (5:202).
107. . . . unumquodque naturaliter suo modo esse desiderat. ST1 75.6 co. (5:204).
108. . . . *omnis forma determinatur secundum naturam materiae cuius est forma.* . . . ST1 76.1 ag. 2 (5:208).
109. . . . actus et forma recipitur in materia secundum materiae capacitatem. ST1 85.7 co. (5:344).
110. Inclination autem cuiuslibet rei est in ipsa re per modum eius. ST1 87.4 co. (5:363).
111. *Sed omnis perfectio inest perfectibili secundum modum ipsius.* ST2 5.4 ag. 1 (6:49).
112. . . . in hoc enim consistit uniuscuiusque rei bonitas, quod convenienter se habeat secundum modum suae naturae. ST2 71.1 co. (7:3).
113. . . . unumquodque intendit assimilari Deo secundum suum modum. ST2 109.6 co. (7:300).
114. . . . *nulla forma excedit capacitatem sui subiecti.* ST3 24.7 ag. 2 (8:182).
115. . . . id quod a superiori natura in inferiori recipitur, habetur per inferiorem modum. . . . ST4 13.1 ad 2 (11:172).
116. Forma autem completa est in subiecto secundum conditionem subiecti. ST4 63.5 ad 1 (12:38).
117. *Sed forma recipitur in materia secundum eius capacitatem.* ST4 69.8 ag. 3 (12:112).

118. ... omnis perfectio perficitur perfectibile suum secundum modum suae naturae.
C1C (*Reportationes Ineditae Leoninae*) n. 3.13, vs. 8 (6:374a60–61).
119. ... omnis autem forma est in aliquo secundum modum recipientis. ...
QDM 3.13 ad 6 (23:95.162–63).
120. ... actus enim sunt in susceptivis secundum modum ipsorum. ...
Sententia libri de sensu et sensato tractatus 1.4 (45.2, p. 28.44–45).
121. ... omnis forma recipitur in suo supposito secundum modum recipientis.
QDW In communi 1 ad 12 (2:710).
122. ... huiusmodi bonitates [sc. defluxae de causa prima] recipit unaquaeque res secundum modum et proprietatem suae substantiae et virtutis. ...
CDC pr. 20 (p. 110.9–12).
123. ... *tamen unaquaeque res recipit actionem eius* [sc. causae primae] *secundum modum suae virtutis.*
CDC pr. 24 (p. 121.4–5).

Principles of Grace

124. ... *charitas datur secundum capacitatem naturae, quae per eam perficitur.*
ISN 17.1.3 ag. 2 (1:400).
125. ... tamen voluntas et quaelibet alia res exequitur divinam voluntatem secundum modum suum quia et ipsum modum divina voluntas rebus dedit ut sic eius voluntas impleretur. ...
QDV 6.3 ad 3 (22.1, p. 187.275–79).
126. ... secundum ordinem sapientiae suae [Deus] disponit de rebus secundum earum condicionem ut unicuique tribuat secundum suum modum.
QDV 23.2 so. (22.3, p. 656.115–17).
127. ... Dominus habeat providentiam de omnibus, et dat unicuique secundum modum suum. ...
Super evangelium s. Matthaei lectura 6.5 (ed. R. Cai, 5th rev. ed. [Turin and Rome, 1951], p. 96, n. 622).
128. ... [Deus] providet omnibus secundum modum suae naturae.
Super evangelium s. Matthaei lectura 10.2 (ed. Cai, p. 137, n. 874).
129. ... cum divina sapientia unicuique secundum modum suae naturae provideat.
SCG 1.5 (13:14a4–5).
130. Unumquodque enim Deus instituit secundum convenientem modum suae naturae.
SCG 2.83 (13:521b48–49).
131. ... licet divinam bonitatem unaquaeque res imitetur secundum suum modum.
SCG 3.20 (14:46a8–10).
132. Optimum in gubernatione qualibet est ut rebus gubernatis secundum modum suum provideatur. ...
SCG 3.71 (13:210a22–24).
133. Ad providentiam divinam pertinet ut rebus utatur secundum modum earum.
SCG 3.73 (14:216a4–5).
134. Divina enim providentia rebus omnibus providet secundum modum eorum. ...
SCG 3.148 (14:437b5–6).
135. Divina providentia omnibus providet secundum modum suae naturae. ...
SCG 3.150 (14:442b22–23).
136. ... divina providentia rebus singulis secundum earum modum providet. ...
Compendium theologiae 1.143 (42:136a1–2).
137. ... Deus rebus providet secundum eorum modum.
Compendium theologiae 1.144 (42:137a14–15).

138. ... gratia perfecit naturam secundum modum naturae: sicut et omnis perfectio recipitur in perfectibili secundum modum eius. ST1 62.5 co. (5:115).
139. ... [Deus] operibus suis perfectionem dedit secundum eorum modum. ... ST1 91.1 co. (5:390).
140. Deus autem movet unumquodque secundum modum eius quod movetur. ... ST3 52.1 co. (8:383).
141. *Prophetia enim recipitur in propheta secundum dispositionem recipientis.* ST3 172.3 ag. 1 (10:380).
142. ... divina sapientia unicuique rei providet secundum suum modum. ... ST4 60.4 co. (12:6).
143. Pertinet autem ad divinam providentiam ut unicuique rei provideat secundum modum suae conditionis. ST4 61.1 co. (12:14).
144. ... Deus omnia movet, sed diversimode, inquantum sc. unumquodque movetur ab eo secundum modum naturae suae. CRO 9 lc.3 (1:136).
145. ... quia charitas recipitur in anima hominis secundum modum ipsius ut scilicet possit ea uti, vel non uti. C1C 13 lc.3 (1:384, n. 787).
146. ... oportet quod hoc fiat secundum modum suae naturae, id est, rei motae. Et ideo [Deus] omnia movet secundum suas naturas. ... C2C 3 lc.1 (1:433).
147. ... Deus movet omnia secundum modum eorum. ... QDL 1.4.2 {7} ad 2 (25.2, p. 187.101–2).
148. ... divina sapientia ita omnia ordinat ut unicuique provideat secundum modum suae conditionis. ... *Super evangelium s. Ioannis lectura* 3 lc. 1.4 (ed. R. Cai, 5th rev. ed. [Turin and Rome, 1952], p. 86, n. 443).
149. Deus omnia movet proportionaliter, unumquodque secundum suum modum. QDM 6.– ad 3 (23:150.509–11).
150. ... sed gratia et donum recipitur secundum modum naturae nostrae. ... *In Psalmos* ps. 31, n. 7 (*Indicis Thomistici Supplementum* 6:91).

INDEX OF CITATIONS

1. ISN 3.1.1 ad 5 (1:92). [Index of Corollary Formulae 1]
 ... cum omnis cognitio sit per modum cognoscentis, sec. Boetium, *De cons.*, lib. V, prosa vi, col. 858, t. I ...
2. ISN 8.2.3 so. (1:207). [Index of Corollary Formulae 3]
 Omne autem cognoscens cognoscit secundum modum suum, ut dicit boetius lib. V *De consolat.*, pros. 2. ...
3. ISN 17.1.3 ag. 1 (1:399).
Ita dicitur Matth., xxv, 15: "Dedit unicuique secundum propriam virtutem"; ubi Glossa Hieronymi: "Non pro largitate vel paritate, alii plus vel minus recipiunt; sed secundum virtutem recipientium."
4. ISN 17.1.3 ag. 2 (1:400). [Index of Corollary Formulae 75]
Sed forma substantialis datur secundum capacitatem materiae, ut dicit Plato, II De anima mundi.
5. ISN 38.1.2 so. (1:901).
 Modus quidem rei cognitae non est modus cognitionis, sed modus cognoscentis, ut dicit Boetius, V *De consol. Philos.*, prop. IV, col. 848, t. I.
6. ISN 38.1.2 so. (1:901). [Subject Index 34 and Index of Corollary Formulae 4]
Unumquodque autem est in aliquo per modum ipsius, et non per modum sui, ut patet ex libro De causis, propos. 10: et ideo oportet quod cognitio fiat secundum modum cognoscentis.
7. 2SN 13.1.3 ad 10 (2:337).
 Ad decimum dicendum, quod, sicut dicit Dionysius in IV cap. *De divinis nominibus*, col. 694, t. I, lumen solis recipitur in diversis corporibus diversimode secundum diversam capacitatem eorum. ...
8. 2SN 17.2.1 ag. 3 (2:421). [Subject Index 5]
Praeterea, omne quod recipitur in aliquo, recipitur in eo per modum recipientis, et non per modum sui, ut ex Dionysio et ex lib. De causis habetur.
9. 3SN 13.3.2 so. 3, expositio (3:425, n. 161).
 "Quibus datus est spiritus ad mensuram". ... Et dicendum quod *mensura dari* potest accipi *vel ex largitate dantis*; et sic nulli dat cum mensura, quia omnibus dat ex largitate infinita: *vel ex capacitate recipientis*; et sic dat cuilibet cum mensura, quia nulli dat ultra quam capax sit: *vel secundum rationem dati*; et sic Christo non dat cum mensura, quia gratia ejus, non est limitata quantum ad rationem gratiae; sed aliis dat cum mensura, ut patet ex dictis.
10. 3SN 21.2.3 so. (3:647, n. 84).
 Dicendum quod *lumen divinum non recipitur in nobis*, ut dicit DIONYSIUS, 1. cap. *Caelest. hierar.* (G. 3, 119), *nisi secundum nostram proportionem.*
11. QDV 2.5 ag. 17 (22.1, p. 61.166–168).
Praeterea, nihil cognoscitur nisi per modum quo est in cognoscente, ut Boetius dicit in V De consolatione. ...

12. QDV 8.3 so. (22.2, p. 226.219–22).

... et ideo dicitur in libro De causis quod “intelligentia intelligit quod est supra se per modum substantiae suae”. . . .

13. QDV 8.7 so. (22.2, p. 242.237–40).

In commento etiam libri De causis dicitur quod ‘intelligentia inferior scit quod est supra se per modum substantiae suae’ et non per modum substantiae superioris.

14. QDV 8.14 ad 6 (22.2, p. 266.273–77).

... cognoscit enim [angelus] omnia per modum substantiae suae, ut dicitur in libro De causis, et secundum propriam virtutem et naturam, ut dicit Dionysius VII cap. De divinis nominibus.

15. QDV 13.1 ag. 4 (22.2, p. 415.29–33).

Sed contra, Dionysius dicit VIII cap. De divinis nominibus quod ‘iustitia Dei in hoc attenditur quod omnibus rebus distribuit secundum suum modum et dignitatem’. . . .

16. QDV 22.11 so. (22.3, p. 639.172–76).

[Index of Corollary Formulae 13]

Rerum autem quae sunt anima superiores, formas percipit intellectus inferiori modo quam sint in ipsis rebus: recipitur enim aliquid in intellectu per modum sui, ut dicitur in libro De causis.

17. QDV 24.8 ag. 6 (22.3, p. 699.34–36).

[Subject Index 88]

Praeterea, ut dicitur in libro De causis, quod est in aliquo est in eo per modum eius in quo est. . . .

18. QDL 9.4.1 co. (25.1, p. 101.70–72).

[Subject Index 51]

... cum omne quod est in altero sit in eo per modum recipientis, ut habetur in Libro de causis. . . .

19. SCG 2.98 (13:580b.8–11).

Et hoc est quod in libro de Causis dicitur, quod *intelligentia scit quod est sub se et quod est supra se, per modum suae substantiae: quia alia est causa alterius.*

20. QDP 3.3 ag. 1 (2:42).

[Subject Index 47]

Ut enim dicitur in libro de Causis {prop. 10}, omne quod recipitur in aliquo, est in eo per modum recipientis.

21. QDP 3.4 ag. 11 (2:45).

Praeterea, in eodem lib. {prop. 7} [sc. De causis] dicitur, quod intelligentia scit quod sub se est, per modum substantiae suae, in quantum est ei causa.

22. CDN 4 lc.7 (p. 122, n. 377).

... in Anima ... uniformes Dei illuminations recipit non uniformiter, sed differenter secundum suum modum. Hoc est ergo quod dicit, quod *anima movetur oblique in quantum illuminatur divinis cognitionibus secundum suam proprietatem.* . . .

23. CDN 5 lc.1 (p. 237, n. 644).

... et dicit quod *numerus uniformiter praeexistit in unitate*, quia unitas virtute est omnis numerus, ut Boëtius dicit in *Arithmetica*. Dicit autem: *uniformiter*, quia omne quod est in altero, est in eo per modum eius in quo est; unde numerus in unitate est existens in ea per modum unitatis et hoc est quod dicit: *uniformiter*.

24. CDN 9 lc.4 (p. 317, n. 845). [Index of Corollary Formulae 47]
 ... quia una res est magis receptiva quam alia, sed secundum aequalitatem proportionis, quia unumquodque proportionaliter agit aut patitur secundum modum suum; et hoc est quod dicit: *secundum singulorum opportunitatem*.
25. QDA 17 ag. 19 (p. 345).
Praeterea, una intelligentia intelligit aliam per modum suae substantiae, ut dicitur in libro de Causis.
26. ST1 58.1 ag. 3 (5:80).
Praeterea, in libro de Causis dicitur quod intelligentia intelligit secundum modum suae substantiae.
27. ST2 5.5 co. (6:51). [Index of Corollary Formulae 20]
 Naturalis enim cognitio cuiuslibet creaturae est secundum modum substantiae eius: sicut de Intelligentia dicitur in libro de Causis, quod *cognoscit ea quae sunt supra se, et ea quae sunt infra se, secundum modum substantiae suae.*
28. ST2 50.6 co. (6:323).
 ... sed inquantum [intellectus angelicus] est actu, per essentiam suam potest aliqua intelligere, ad minus seipsum, et alia secundum modum suae substantiae, ut dicitur in lib. de Causis: et tanto perfectius, quanto est perfectior.
29. ST3 23.6 ad 1 (8:170). [Subject Index 80]
 ... quia **unumquodque est in aliquo per modum eius in quo est**, ut habetur in libro de Causis: quae vero sunt supra animam nobiliori modo sunt in seipsis quam sint in anima.
30. ST3 24.3 ag 3 (8:176).
Sed in angelis caritas et alia dona gratuita sunt data secundum capacitatem naturalium; ut Magister dicit, III dist. II lib. Sent.
31. ST3 175.1 ag. 2 (10:402).
Praeterea, Dionysius dicit, viii cap. de Div. Nom, quod iustitia Dei in hoc attenditur, quod omnibus rebus distribuit secundum suum modum et dignitatem.
32. QDM 16.6 ag. s.c. 4 (23:309.183–85). [Subject Index 105]
Omne quod aduenit alicui, <aduenit ei> secundum modum sue nature, ut dicitur in libro De causis.
33. Super evangelium s. Ioannis lectura 3 lc. 1.4 [Index of Corollary Formulae 148]
 ... nam, sicut Dionysius dicit, divina sapientia ita omnia ordinat ut unicuique provideat secundum modum suae conditionis. ...
34. CMP 1 lc.10 (p. 48, n. 167). [Subject Index 44]
 Videbat enim Plato quod **unumquodque recipitur in aliquo secundum mensuram recipientis**. Unde diversae receptiones videntur provenire ex diversis mensuris recipientium.
35. CDC pr. 12 (p. 78.6–13). [Subject Index 33]
 Et est propositio talis: Primorum omnium sunt quaedam in quibusdam per modum quo licet ut sit unum eorum in alio. Haec etiam propositio proponitur ciii^a in libro PROCLI sub his verbis: Omnia in omnibus, proprie autem in unoquaque. Idem autem est quod PRO-

CLUS dicit: *proprie autem in unoquoque*, et quod hic dicitur: *per modum quo licet ut sit unum eorum in alio*; utrobique enim significatur quod unum est in alio secundum convenientem modum ei in quo est.

36. CDC pr. 22 (p. 116.13–18).

... quia causa prima est ipsa bonitas interminata, sequitur quod ipsa sit *prima bonitas* and quod repleat *omnia saecula*, id est omnes distinctiones rerum et temporum, *bonitatibus* suis, licet non omnia recipiant eodem modo et aequaliter bonitatem eius, sed unum-quodque *secundum modum suae potentiae*, ut supra habitum est in 20^a propositione.

Excerpts from the *Liber de causis*

1. Et similiter omnis sciens non scit rem meliorem et rem inferiorem et deteriorem nisi secundum modum suae substantiae et sui esse, non secundum modum secundum quem res sunt. CDC pr. 8 (p. 54).
2. Et similiter aliqua ex rebus non recipit quod est supra eam nisi per modum secundum quem potest recipere ipsum, non per modum secundum quem est res recepta. CDC pr. 10 (p. 66).
3. *Primorum omnium quaedam sunt in quibusdam per modum quo licet ut sit unum eorum in alio.* CDC pr. 12 (p. 77).
4. Causatum ergo in causa est per modum causae et causa in causato per modum causati. CDC pr. 12 (p. 77).
5. Prima enim bonitas influit bonitates supra res omnes influxione una; verumtamen unaquaeque rerum recipit ex illa influxione, secundum modum suae virtutis et sui esse. CDC pr. 20 (p. 108).
6. Et diversificantur bonitates et dona [quae prima bonitas influit] ex concursu recipientis. CDC pr. 20 (p. 108).
7. Quod est quia quamvis causa prima existat in rebus omnibus tamen unaquaeque rerum recipit eam secundum modum suae potentiae. CDC pr. 24 (p. 119).
8. Et diversitas quidem receptionis non fit ex causa prima sed propter recipientes, quod est quia suscipiens diversificatur: propter illud ergo et susceptum est diversificatum. CDC pr. 24 (p. 119).
9. Ergo secundum modum propinquitatis causae primae et secundum modum quo res potest recipere causam primam, secundum quantitatem illius potest recipere ex ea et delectari per eam. Quod est quia non recipit res ex causa prima et delectatur in ea nisi per modum esse sui. CDC pr. 24 (p. 120).

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